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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

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No. 3.

"HAYES HAS 185 VOTES, AND IS ELECTED."

Telegram from Z. CHANDLER, Nov. 9, 1876.

The above famous dispatch of November 9th has proven prophetic. It has been trebly vindicated, first, by the official returns; second, by the electoral commission created through Democratic influence to test the validity of the claim; third, by public opinion. It flashed over the wires at a time when Tilden's election was conceded by many, and, though it came from a leader whose political sagacity had never been at fault, it was regarded by many skeptical Republicans as too good to be true. But its truth has been established. It has stood unshaken in the midst of the fiercest political contest of modern times, and remains as true as when uttered by its distinguished author two days after the election. It was based upon reliable evidence; and the desperate efforts of Democracy to disprove it have only tended to reveal more clearly the truth upon which it rested.

But the struggle has ended, and over its results we congratulate the American people. Right has triumphed; justice has asserted its supremacy, and the Republic begins its second century with its government in the hands of men as loyal and true as those who stood guard at its birth. The majesty of the ballot has been acknowledged; and before a majority of one vote forty-five millions of people bow as cheerfully as they would before a majority of one hundred.

In reviewing the contest since the day of election we discern the hand of Providence leading the nation through unseen dangers

as a skillful pilot would a ship through the sunken reefs of a treacherous sea. The very desperation of our opponents has been turned to our advantage. Their efforts to prove corruption upon the Republican party have resulted in disclosing to the world the purity and patriotism of Republican leaders. Every investigation has recoiled upon Democracy. The exposure of telegrams has resulted in bringing to the light a series of Democratic dispatches wherein money was promised for the purchase of votes and tempting bribes offered for the buying of Republican electors. Not a line could be found to reflect upon the honor of the Republican managers. Every dispatch, every letter, every proposition and suggestion might be written on the doors of a church without bringing a blush of shame to the cheeks of any American citizen. So with the investigation of campaign expenditures and the laying bare of bank accounts, the revelations have been in favor of the Republican party, while Democratic transactions have been unearthed that clearly proved that the corrupt tactics of Tammany were not lost sight of in the attempt to elect Mr. Tilden. Surely the friends of good government throughout the world have reason to congratulate each other that the Republican party has passed through the fiery ordeal, forced upon it by Democratic hate, and emerged from it purer and stronger than ever.

With the vindication of its original claim and the peaceful inauguration of President

tutional right and submitted a certainty to the arbitration of an impartial tribunal. For the sake of the nation it will avoid the rekindling of party animosities, and will seek through a liberal policy the awakening of that spirit of patriotism which will bring to its support many who have been blinded with prejudice against it. It will invite the co-operation of good citizens everywhere to bring about the complete pacification of the country by measures calculated to subdue party passions, restore industries, resume specie payments, cancel in good faith our national obligations, and make universal the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship.

The next ten years of its history will round out its record of usefulness, and men who to-day revile at it and hate it because they do not comprehend its true character, will hasten to do justice to its merits when the scales of party prejudice shall fall from their eyes, and permit them to behold the grandeur of the work it has accomplished.

Now, that its tenure of power is assured, we look for a revival of business, a restoration of confidence throughout the land, and for a long period of unexampled prosperity. The dread of Democratic supremacy is no longer felt. The inauguration of Hayes has lifted a burden of doubt and anxiety from the business men of the country, and will cause them to return to their old channels of commercial activity. The future is no longer doubtful, it is bright with promise, and tens of thousands will start forward with renewed energy to realize the possibilities which it holds in store.

We do not regret the closeness of the contest. It has proven to the world that public virtue still rules in our Republic, and that the party of freedom is practically incorruptible. Out of one hundred and eighty-five electors not one could be found willing to sell his vote. They turned aside the tempter and performed their duty

without fear or favor. Some of them were poor in money, but all were rich in patriotism and virtue, and they proved by their acts that there was not money enough in the Democratic party to induce them to betray their sacred trusts. To these men and to the members of returning boards in the closely contested States the nation owes a debt of gratitude which can never be canceled. In the name of liberty, which they have preserved, and speaking for generations yet unborn who will enjoy the fruits of their labors, we thank them for their heroic devotion to the right, and their services to the Republic. They saved, by their fidelity and courage, the fruits of four years of war, and held for the future the results of a century of free government.

To justify their faith and to show to the world that the Republican party is still worthy of public confidence, and able to meet the growing difficulties of government, should be the duty and privilege of its friends. The mission of the party is not ended, for with the inauguration of Hayes a new era began in its eventful career. It has education to foster, patriotism to rekindle, resources to develop, and general prosperity to restore to the country. To the accomplishment of its work it calls upon every good citizen to lend a helping hand, and invites the blessing and protection of Providence on its patriotic labors.

SECRETARY CHANDLER'S TELEGRAM.—The *Washington Star*, of March 2, says: "Secretary Chandler has proved himself a prophet. A few days after the election he telegraphed from New York the result, and a copy of this dispatch was posted up in one of the windows of the building on F street occupied by the National Republican Committee. It was a large piece of brown paper with the legend inscribed in rude letters, 'Hayes has 185 votes and is elected. Chandler.' The placard is still up to silently attest Mr. Chandler's accuracy in forecasting the result of the Presidential election."

WITH Rutherford B. Hayes as Chief Magistrate, and gold at 1.04½, peace and prosperity, specie payments and good will to all men will be the principal features in the life of the Republic for the next four years.

WILLIAM ALMON WHEELER.

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

William A. Wheeler, like President Hayes, springs from an old Puritan stock, famous for brave deeds and noble works. Both are derived from Vermont parentage. Grandfather Wheeler was in the first Concord fight, and throughout the Revolutionary struggle Mr. Wheeler's maternal grandfather, William Woodward, fought in the ranks of the Patriots.

William A. Wheeler was born June 30, 1819, at Malone, New York. Poverty and hardships was the lot of his boyhood. His father, Almon Wheeler, a lawyer by profession, had died when William was but eight years old. His mother, Eliza Woodward Wheeler, a noble Christian woman, of gentle manners, but "of great force of character," upon the death of her husband, reckoned as her sole wealth an incumbered estate valued at \$300. Her native energy and an abiding faith in Heaven sustained her in her troubles. By her labor in keeping boarders she maintained her little family, and assisted and encouraged William in acquiring an education, first in the district schools, and then at the University of Vermont. Thus encouraged, his own sterling qualities, his energy, perseverance, and endurance, supplied the rest. In winter he taught school and "boarded around:" in summer he labored at farming, pursuing his studies the while. He was in the class of 1842.

Under Mr. Asa Hascall he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and by his abilities and industry soon achieved a high reputation and success as "a keen advocate and wise counselor." As a Whig in politics, he in 1846 was elected district attorney; in 1849 and again in 1850 he was elected to the State Assembly, and in 1859 and 1860 to the State Assembly. When the old Whig party fell under the intrigues of slavery, Mr. Wheeler entered the ranks of freedom: he joined the Republican party. In 1856 he actively and zealously labored for the election of Frémont, and in 1860 for that of Abraham

Lincoln. In 1856, during the "Border Ruffian" raiding in Kansas, his sympathy was with the victims of proslavery tyranny. He, in 1856, while at Chicago, contributed \$100 to the fund "for distributing material aid to our hunted and oppressed brethren" in Kansas, and in 1860, upon the firing upon Fort Sumter, contributed \$1,000 for the relief of soldiers' families. In the Thirty-seventh, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third, and Forty-fourth Congresses, he served as a Representative. He was chairman of the Committees of Commerce and the Pacific Railroad; was a member of the Belknap impeachment committee, a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and as a member of the committee on Southern affairs was the author of the Louisiana adjustment, known as the "Wheeler compromise." As a banker and railroad manager he acquired a handsome reputation for business ability, tact, and integrity, and in every relation, under all circumstances, throughout his useful public career, he has maintained—and deservedly—the character of an able statesman, an inflexible patriot, and a Christian gentleman.

In 1867 he was elected a delegate at large to the Constitutional convention of the State of New York. In that convention were such men as Wm. M. Evarts, G. W. Curtis, H. Greeley, Sanford E. Church, Ira Harris, Samuel J. Tilden, and Edwards Pierrepont, "representatives of the best legal, financial, and administrative talent in the Empire State." Of a body so imposing Mr. Wheeler was chosen chairman almost by acclamation, and presided with such marked ability, dignity, and impartiality, that at its close Mr. Sanford E. Church said: "I have had some experience in deliberative bodies, and I can say without qualification that for impartiality, fairness, and ability, I have never seen a presiding officer excel the presiding officer of this body." Like dignity and ability will distinguish him as President of the Senate.

THE RETIREMENT OF PRESIDENT GRANT.

The retirement of President Grant to private life closes for the present one of the most brilliant and eventful careers in American history. For fifteen years he has been the central figure in the nation, on whom millions have relied for safety and protection. From Belmont to Appomattox, throughout the trying period of reconstruction, and during the eight years of his administration, his life has been one ceaseless round of severe labor, enough to have broken down any one but a Hercules, whose shoulders were broadened by Providence to bear the burdens he was destined to carry. As a soldier he stood unequaled, and whether his victories were the result of his matchless energies or his surpassing skill, they will ever rank among the most brilliant of either ancient or modern times. His most inveterate political enemy cannot fail to accord him the highest praise as a military leader. The armies he wielded, the talent and courage he opposed, the masterly movements he planned and executed, and the results he achieved have won for him a name and fame that will outlive the Republic he served. As a General he never knew such a word as failure. Beaten to-day he became the victor to-morrow. He had faith in the possibilities of organized power, and had the rare faculty of applying it at the very moment when others would fail. He wrested victory from defeat, and more than once plucked success from the very jaws of failure. His genius appeared to be equal to any occasion. While others sat down before difficulties to study out the best way to surmount them, he grappled them in an instant and triumphed over them. His policy was to seek out the enemy, and when he found him to fight him—believing that a thousand killed in battle would save ten thousand from dying in hospital. He was a fighting General in every sense of the term, and his men were infused with his spirit, and felt when the battle opened that they had a leader who could not be beaten. An army believing itself invinci-

ble is like an avalanche in motion, it sweeps over everything in its path. So Grant's army swept over everything it encountered, until there was nothing left to oppose it but shattered regiments and worn-out men, who had reached the end of human endurance. The series of battles fought by the Army of the Potomac from the Rapidan to Richmond were terrible in the extreme, yet they shortened the war and saved tens of thousands of lives that its prolongation would have sacrificed. Lee's magnificent army melted away before Grant's fierce attacks, and the fangs of the rebellion were effectually broken. The rebel power received its death-blow, and its subsequent efforts were simply the dying struggles of a wounded giant. After all, the war was a question of resources, a game of give and take, and the winner was to be the one that could stand the fearful drain of blood and treasure longest. Both sides were equal in point of courage and skill, but the weight of artillery and the force of numbers were on the side of the North. Grant saw this from the first, and by dealing blow after blow, giving the enemy no chance to recover, he finally compelled his worn-out adversary to surrender. When Lee laid down his sword at Appomattox the confederacy was not conquered, it was simply exhausted. Its last man had been drawn, its last shot fired, its provisions consumed, it had no other alternative but submission or annihilation. The fighting policy of Grant had at last forced it into the last ditch and there it died. Under a temporizing policy it could not have been destroyed. It would have grown stronger each year, and finally won recognition. It was a tumor on the body politic. McClellan's soothing sirups and salves might ease the pain, but it required the sharp, decisive cutting of Grant to remove it, and save the nation. He was a thorough believer in the heroic treatment, and the Republic lives to-day because he had the skill and courage to apply it.

With the safety of the nation, or rather

its deliverance from armed rebellion, came new dangers hardly less formidable than the ones from which Grant's sword had rescued the Government. The disbandment of the two opposing armies, the extreme poverty of the Southern States, the complete disorganization of society consequent upon the overthrow of their recognized government, and the lawless element suddenly released from the rebel armies, brought about serious difficulties, which required administrative firmness and statesmanship of a high order. Throughout this period of reorganization, popularly known as the period of reconstruction, General Grant showed rare sagacity, and by his magnanimity and good judgment brought about a healthy condition of affairs, something akin to good will between the two sections. The Southern people saw him in a new light. He was no longer the dashing soldier, trampling Confederate armies under foot, and marking the path of his victorious march by fire and sword, but the true friend to the suffering; quick to help, advise, and protect. He lost the character of a conqueror in the work of the pacificator. He sought to bind up the wounds of the war, and to encourage the people to rebuild their prosperity. He urged a policy of generous treatment toward those who had aided the rebellion, and the nation adopted it. Helping hands were extended; Northern capital was proffered; and an era of good feeling promising the early revival of patriotism throughout the South, and a genuine acceptance of the results of war seemed about to dawn upon the nation.

But it was to be otherwise. The true friend was ignored, and the false one accepted. Grant's policy was to rebuild the South on the basis of a returning love for the Union, but it failed before the treacherous policy of Andrew Johnson. Grant was but a general; Johnson was President, and to his seductive whisperings the Southern people lent a willing ear. Whether he intended it or not, he made treason respectable, and the friends of the Union throughout the South odious. From the date of his interference in Southern affairs the South began to regard its condition as due

to the tyranny of the North. The open rupture of the President with Grant and many of the leaders in the Union cause fanned the flame of discontent. The ex-Confederates no longer felt that they had brought their troubles upon themselves by a causeless rebellion. They forgot the magnanimous treatment which gave them life and property when both were forfeited. Johnson had taken sides with them; lifted them into full fellowship with himself; magnified their wrongs, and made their sins, by contrast, positive virtues. Union men were no longer welcome. Social ostracism followed. Northern men, with muscle and money, who had gone down to help rebuild the waste places, were transformed into carpet-baggers, while the native Southerner, who had surrendered in good faith, and turned his back upon the Bourbon Democracy, was posted as a scallawag and persecuted by his Johnsonized neighbors. Treason was no longer a crime to be repented of, but a virtue to be extolled and rewarded; and from that day to this the badge of distinction that admits its possessor to the highest honors in the Southern States is a clear record of fidelity to the rebel cause. It is humiliating to acknowledge, but nevertheless true, that the most distinguished friend of the Union cause could not, if passed upon by the white vote of the South, be elected to the humblest office within the gift of its people.

It is hard to speak ill of the dead, but the charity that overlooks the individual cannot forget his acts. Through Johnson's treachery reconstruction became a failure. It forced upon the country two great political mistakes: universal amnesty and universal suffrage. Both should have been qualified, yet Johnson's claim to the right to extend the one made absolutely necessary the other. Universal suffrage was the antidote to the poison of disloyalty injected into the body politic. It was the arraying of loyal ignorance against disloyal intelligence. It has fought bravely, heroically, but the gradual loss of the Southern States to the Republican party shows it has struggled in vain. It has failed to receive the support of the nation that gave it, and has been borne down by superior intelligence

and courage. The germ of the good it contained may spring up and bear fruit in an age when justice shall hold its sword between the strong and the weak, but for the present its possession is little better than a mockery. The antidote has been absorbed by the poison it sought to destroy!

The Johnsonian period of reconstruction was one of extreme peril to the Republic, and not until some future historian shall reveal the secret workings of Johnson's ambition, and his efforts to seduce loyalty from the path of duty will the world know how near the nation came to its second betrayal, and what a debt of gratitude it owes to U. S. Grant for his firmness and patriotism in resisting Executive usurpation. There was the true ring to his letter to the President of August 1st, 1867, wherein he protested against the removal of certain officers who had proven distasteful to the rebels:

"I earnestly urge, in the name of a patriotic people who have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of loyal lives, and thousands of millions of treasure to preserve the integrity and union of this country, that this order be not insisted upon. * * * This is a Republic where the will of the people is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard. * * * The order will be interpreted by the unreconstructed element in the South, those who did all they could to break up this Government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order, as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the Executive with them."

The same spirit is shown in his letters of 1868, and in his conduct during that trying period which culminated in the impeachment of the President. He could not be turned from the path of right. He resisted every attempt to use the army for

of Johnson's schemes.
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e the country."

President Grant to the
, by an overwhelming

majority, was but a fitting tribute to his distinguished services to the country. His elevation to the high position closed the work of the soldier, and introduced the work of the statesman. We need no better proof of the appreciation of his first term by the people than the unqualified indorsement given him for the second term. The convention that gave him the nomination paid him the rare compliment of a unanimous vote on the first ballot, and throughout the Union his election was hailed with satisfaction and joy.

To pass correct judgment upon President Grant's administration it is necessary to consider the difficulties which have surrounded him. He came into power amid public dissensions on the Southern questions consequent upon the unfortunate policy of Andrew Johnson. The party that had elected him was not a unit on any of the important questions which had agitated the country from the beginning of Johnson's apostasy. The party had within it too many men anxious to be regarded as leaders with pet policies of their own to impress upon the new administration. Some favored a firm policy, with sufficient military force to maintain it until loyalty throughout the Southern States could protect itself; others, equally honest, favored a liberal, magnanimous course, dependent upon the honor and good faith of the ex-Confederates for its success. Some insisted upon radical measures as best calculated to produce good results; others opposed them, and urged a conservative policy as the only one that could restore a healthy condition of affairs throughout the South. These opposing views led to divisions, and whichever side the Executive favored he was sure to invite the hostility of the other. He was therefore compelled to rely upon his good judgment and be guided by his sense of right and justice as cases requiring his interference were presented. The responsibility which should have been borne by Congress was too often forced upon the Executive, and out of this assumption of power that could not, under his oath of office, be evaded, grew those dissensions which culminated, at the close of his first term, in the alienation of

some of the most respected leaders of the party. Such men as Sumner, Schurz, Trumbull, Greeley, and others, who had sustained his first election, arrayed themselves in deadly hostility to his second. Their personal prejudices had blinded them to justice, and they determined to destroy the party that had given them prominence, in order to defeat the man who had stood in the way of their ambition. But the people, quick to detect the right from the wrong, the guilt from the pure gold, turned their back upon the men who boasted of their influence to control the masses, and responded with enthusiasm to the support of Grant, whose course they approved, and in whose integrity and patriotism they had unbounded confidence. The result was his triumphant election, by a popular majority, greater than had been given to any President since the days of Washington.

The difficulties which were presented at the beginning of his second term were hardly less formidable than those which surrounded his first. Defeat had but increased the activity and vitalized the opposition of those Republicans who had gone over to Democracy. Their alliance was no longer secret, but open. Without any definite policy of government upon which they could agree, they were a unit on the general policy of opposing Grant and his administration. Thus obstacles were placed in his path, and the abuse which became organized during the campaign followed him throughout his second term, gaining strength whenever his positive character stood in the way of corrupt schemes and the bad men who favored them. But their assaults have been in vain. The character they endeavored to destroy was too far above their reach, and to-day it stands as high in the love and confidence of the American people as when it was enthroned in their affections at the close of the rebellion.

No grander tribute can be paid to the retiring President than to say that he seemed unconscious of the presence of his assailants, and never used his high trust to punish or oppose them. He has gone straight forward in the path of duty, neither turn-

ing to the right nor the left to indulge in personalities or to refute slander. Conscious of his own rectitude and of the purity of his motives, he has been content to be misunderstood by many who should have been his friends, leaving the vindication of his labors to the tribunal of public opinion, which seldom errs in its judgment, and to impartial history, which separates the true from the false, and renders justice where justice has been earned.

The administration of President Grant in its entirety has been a decided success. Our foreign relations have been satisfactory, and dangers which at times threatened to disturb the peace have been met and overcome by wisdom and diplomacy. American citizenship has been respected everywhere, except in our own land. Our differences with England were amicably settled by the payment to us of \$15,000,000 in gold. The vexed San Juan boundary question was decided in our favor. The close of the Franco-Prussian war found us on friendly terms with both nations. The Spanish war-cloud, which seemed ready to burst, was rendered harmless by a firm and equitable policy. Every department of our foreign affairs has been managed with good judgment, and has reflected credit upon the nation. Our financial policy has been no less successful. Our credit has been improved, and the value of our currency advanced, while the public debt has steadily decreased in the face of greatly reduced taxation. The burdens of the war have been growing lighter yearly, and will be eventually lifted from the shoulders of the nation, if future administrations follow the prevailing policy of the past eight years. The hard times and the consequent business depression throughout the country have tested our financial policy, and proved it equal to the severest strain. No better indorsement could be given than the fact that our national securities and our currency have remained unimpaired during a period of business embarrassment that has affected all other securities.

Although the civil service under Grant's administration has been assailed by his enemies, and the atmosphere of politics made impure by the pestilential charges of

corruption raised against it, time will prove it, what its friends have claimed it to be, equal to the best civil service in our history.

To claim that it has been faultless would be to claim human perfection. A few rascals have crept into office, but they have been driven out as soon as their true character was found out. They got in in spite of precaution to keep them out. They went out as soon as it was known that they were in. Dishonesty has been the rare exception under Grant's administration, while official integrity has been the rule. The records show this. A comparison of defalcations with those of former Administrations prove it. But the enemies of the service have magnified its few faults. A single failure out of tens of thousands of appointments has been held up as a fair specimen of the whole. A single charge a thousand times repeated has been made to appear a thousand cases of corrupt practice. The flaws in the marble have been exposed to inspection, while the solid and enduring shaft has been carefully concealed from sight. But in spite of the envy, jealousy, prejudice, and partisan hatred which have been actively engaged in the work of misrepresentation, Grant's civil service will ever commend itself to fair-minded citizens, irrespective of party considerations.

His devotion to the Indian peace policy will ever remain a leading feature of his administration. His belief that Indians were susceptible of civilization has not been changed, and the successful results of his policy have long since vindicated its wisdom. In the midst of public excitement urging the extermination of the Indians because of the cruel acts committed by hostile tribes, he has stood firm to the policy of justice and humanity, believing that the acts of the guilty should not bring vengeance upon the heads of the innocent. For his consistent course in his treatment of the Indians he deserves, and will receive, the thanks of the Christian world, and if those who succeed him follow out the policy he inaugurated the Indian question will soon cease to vex the land.

But we are too near the temple to do full justice to its proportions. When party

passion shall give place to reason, and time removes those prejudices which blind men to the truth, the Administration of President Grant will be regarded as one of the most praiseworthy of our history. Its merits will stand the test of time, and its virtues will command the admiration of mankind when its few faults shall have been buried in oblivion. The sense of gratitude is not yet dead among the American people, and Ulysses S. Grant, whether regarded as a soldier or a statesman, will be held in affectionate remembrance as long as patriotism prevails and public virtue upholds the cause of freedom.

A PEN PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT HAYES.—A Columbus, Ohio, correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* describes President Hayes as a very cheerful man, with a full sandy beard, slightly touched with silver streaks; a full face, ruddy and glowing with health; no crows' feet, no furrows, a well-shaped mouth, good teeth; two large, open, blue eyes of kindly expression; a smile on his lips; a high, broad, clear forehead; a voice, deep, strong and sonorous; large, shapely limbs; a full breast, quick but not nervous of movement; moderately quick but not rapid of speech; a good listener, calm, cool, dispassionate, anything but radical; never cross, short, or sharp; always affable, kind and candid, with no secrets to whisper, no plots to promote, no tricks to explain; open as the day, firm as a rock, pure as a woman, with no bad habits, whether of tobacco, whisky, or anything else; pure and plain of speech, popular among all classes, without affectation, mock dignity, or the least suspicion of demagoguery; wearing the same face for all, speaking the same language to all, bearing himself with dignity and modest reserve; regular in his hours, happy in his family relations as man can be, strong in the affections of the people; such is General Hayes, the President-elect of the United States. No man was ever so fortunate. He has not a single personal enemy in Ohio, a fact true perhaps of no other prominent politician in Ohio. In all his long public career as Congressman, General in the army, Governor three times, there is nothing to explain, and no charge has ever been made against him of any kind whatsoever. It is doubtful if any man living is less open to criticism or reproach. Even the Democratic members of the Ohio General Assembly, at the end of this protracted campaign, speak well of him.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

THE NINETEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

ANCESTRY.

"But by your father's worth if yours you rate,
Count me those only who were good and great!

* * * * *
'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great!
Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,
Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.
Who noble ends by noble means obtains,
Or, falling, smiles in exile or in chains—
Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed
Like Socrates—that Man is great indeed!"

—POPE.

Even Samuel J. Tilden's biographer, appreciating the reverence innate in man for a generous ancestry, traces his lineage to a noble stock—to the regicide reformers of Old England. What a caricature! Oliver Cromwell degraded in Ralph Nickleby! A caitiff falling from a hero! A satyr from a god!

But in Rutherford Birchard Hayes, the noble character of the parent stock, a warrior race, patriotic and intrepid, robust and vigorous, physically and intellectually, and extending back into a remote age, is illustrated in the abilities and virtues of the scion. In the early history of old Scotia, in the periods when the shores of Caledonia were ravaged by the old North pirates, the terrible vikings of Scandinavia, "The Hay of Luncarty," an heroic plowman, on a memorable occasion, discovering the approach of the invader, commanded his sons: "Pull your plow and harrow to pieces and fight." He and his sturdy boys fought. In a narrow pass near their humble hamlet they valiantly met and repelled the invader. The deed of "The Hay" will not die. Its intrepidity and patriotism made him famous—a leader—among a people renowned for courage. "The Hay" became a head of one of the most illustrious clans in Scotland. "The blood of Douglas" brooked no superior. Down through the mighty and troublous days of Scotland and England, down through our colonial and revolutionary periods—in all their struggles—and subsequently throughout our history, heroic and patriotic men and women, of high and steadfast courage, of

enlightened religious and moral faith—the Russells, Lees, Smiths, Birchards, and Austins—soldiers, statesmen, authors, and divines—champions of "Liberty and the Word"—illustrate and honor the Hayes genealogy. "The Hay of Luncarty," the intrepid Scot plowman, in heroic virtue, finds a rival in the famous preacher of Weathersfield and Hadley, in the Rev. John Russell, one of our colonial divines, who for several years, in defiance of the Stuart, concealed and protected the famous Regicides at Hadley. In Rutherford B. Hayes, in the soldier, statesman, and patriot of to-day, this generous stock, in ability, courage, and steadfast loyalty to country and faith, has a manly scion.

HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Rutherford B. Hayes was born October 4th, 1822, in the town of Delaware, Ohio. His father, Rutherford Hayes, was born in Vermont, and emigrated to Ohio in 1817. As a business man, the father was intelligent, enterprising, and active. As a citizen he was above reproach, and was distinguished among his neighbors alike for his independence and for his integrity and thrift. He was not wealthy. His death in July, 1822, left the family in comparatively straightened circumstances. But the widow, Mrs. Sophia Hayes, a woman noted for the great energy of her character—industrious, capable, and self-reliant—a sincere Christian—affectionate, and devoted, as only such women are, to her children, ably supplied the loss. The education of her children was her supreme care—the grand aim of her exemplary life: their culture not merely in scholarly lore, in which she was aided by her brother, Mr. Sardis Birchard, but in those higher and nobler attainments of Christian virtue and duty only learned under a pious mother's teaching and example.

HIS EARLY TRAINING—AT SCHOOL, COLLEGE AND IN LAW.

The whole life of Rutherford B. Hayes is the crown of her noble success. He was

early sent to school. With Mrs. Joan Murray young Hayes studied the rudiments of English. With Judge Sherman Finch he studied Greek and Latin, and these studies were extended at the Academy at Norwalk, Ohio, under the scholarly instruction of the Rev. Mr. Chapman. In 1837, at Isaac Webb's noted institution at Middletown, Conn.—a preparatory school for students entering Yale—young Hayes prepared himself for college. In 1838, at the age of sixteen, he entered Kenyon College after passing the usual examination; and in 1842 he graduated with the highest honors, delivering the valedictory of his class. At college, young Hayes' favorite studies were mental and moral philosophy, mathematics and logic, and the languages, particularly the German and French, which he mastered and translates with ease, speaking the French with considerable fluency. He early entertained an inclination for the law, under the influence of Mr. Ebenezer Lane, an eminent jurist of Ohio, and long a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, and while attending the proceedings of the courts. He accordingly, upon leaving college, entered upon the study of law at Columbus in the office of Mr. Sparrow, a gentleman of distinguished merit in the legal profession. In 1843 he entered the law school of Harvard University, then under the charge of the celebrated jurists, Justice Story and Prof. Simon Greenleaf, and finished the course of lectures in 1845. While in Boston he attended the lectures of Prof. Longfellow on foreign literature, and those of the great Agassiz upon physical and natural science. In the courts of the "Hub," the arguments of Webster, profound and learned, and in Faneuil Hall, the magnificent speeches of "God-like Dan" upon the great political questions of the day, at once instructed and delighted the thoughtful young student. He also at this time made the acquaintance of the venerable patriot, ex-President John Quincy Adams, at his home in Quincy.

HIS TRAITS AND CHARACTER AT SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.

Great diligence and proficiency in his studies, and irreproachable morals, was the

portraiture of his character drawn by his several instructors. Everywhere he was the popular favorite: a popularity everywhere won by a manly bearing, a frank and generous spirit, and upright conduct. It was these that early secured for young Hayes, in Judge Finch, an interest so deep that caused the Judge to devote the hours between the labors of his profession to his instruction in Latin and Greek. It was these that challenged "the sincere respect and esteem" of Isaac Webb while awarding him the first prize for proficiency "in Latin, Greek, and arithmetic:" this "conduct" which did "honor to his mother." It was these which won for him the esteem and friendship of Story and Greenleaf—that at Kenyon, as at Cambridge, secured him the attachment and applause of his college mates, many of whom have since been distinguished for their brilliant talents, scholarly attainments, and eloquence—such men as Lorin Andrews, Guy M. Bryan, Stanley Matthews, Christopher Wolcott, Geo. Hoadly, Manning F. Force, R. E. Trowbridge, and J. B. L. Curry—all of whom, although some of them are of opposite politics, have borne manly testimony to the sterling character and talents of their cherished classmate. In the language of one, now an eminent jurist: Hayes, at college, "behaved like a considerate, mature man;" "great common sense" distinguished "his personal conduct:" "he never uttered a profane word!" In the language of another, now also an able lawyer: Hayes, at Kenyon, "was a noble, chivalrous fellow, of great promise;" "he was popular, magnanimous, manly;" "he left a glowing memory—a memory that was a fascination!"

HIS MARRIAGE.

In December, 1852, at Cincinnati, by Prof. L. D. McCabe, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, Mr. Hayes was united in marriage to Miss Lucy Webb, an estimable lady, of rare accomplishments and domestic virtues—a most fortunate union, which has greatly influenced his character and life. Her father, Dr. James Webb, was a popular practicing physician of Chillicothe. He was one of our early anti-slavery heroes.

In 1833 he died, in Lexington, Kentucky, where he had gone to superintend the arrangements preliminary to the departure to Liberia of certain slaves liberated by himself and father. Her grandfather, Lieut. Col. Cook, in 1777, in the army of the Revolution, was attached to the regiment of Col. Andrew Ward. Hence, in the Presidential Mansion for the next four years, both in the person of the General and that of his lady, we shall have worthy representatives of the old revolutionary blood.

AS A JURIST.

Of course we can give but a meager outline of his many triumphs as an advocate. Admitted to practice in the courts of Ohio in 1845, the young lawyer, proud of his profession, and burning with an ambition for distinction in its honored walks, hung out his "shingle" at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Sandusky county, Ohio. In 1846 he formed a law partnership with Gen. Ralph P. Buckland, subsequently a member of the State Senate, and a Union veteran in the war of the Rebellion; but, in 1848-'9 failing health forced him to seek recuperation under the climate of Texas with his friend Guy M. Bryan. Six months of active life on the prairies, boating, fishing, and hunting, restored his constitution to robust health, which since has never failed.

In 1850 he established himself in an office in Cincinnati, and in 1854 united in a law partnership in that city with R. M. Corwine and W. K. Rogers, under the firm name of Corwine, Hayes & Rogers. But his profession, laborious and severe as was his application to its duties, did not wholly engross his busy life. Literature also claimed him as a devotee. He divided his studies with the law. The pages of Shakspeare, Burke, Webster and Emerson were his favorites; and the influence of these, and that of his literary club, a renowned institution of Cincinnati, of which he was eleven years a member, and at the social gatherings of which he enjoyed the society of such men, distinguished alike for their professional abilities and literary culture, as Chief Justice Chase, Tom Corwin, the Ewings, father and son,

Gen. Pope, Gen. Edward F. Noyes, Stanley Matthews, Manning F. Force, R. D. Mussey, and others—the influence of these is illustrated in his speeches, inaugurals, and messages, all as compositions chaste in style, fluent in their diction, and forcible in logic and matter. Such an application and training begat its reward. Success was a natural consequence.

Hence, as in his maiden effort in the United States District Court at Cincinnati, in an important "action to prevent or enjoin the building of a railway bridge across the bay of Sandusky," with the elder Ewing as an opponent; so in the celebrated Nancy Farrar case, in which the insane culprit had poisoned all the members of two families, with an opponent like Geo. E. Pugh for the State, carrying the case to the Supreme Court before Justices Corwin, Thurman, and Ranney, and saving the life of the wretched lunatic after her conviction by the lower court; so in the James Summons murder case; so as city solicitor of Cincinnati—elected by a Democratic vote in the City Councils with Caleb B. Smith, subsequently Secretary of the Interior, as his chief competitor—and throughout his practice, he acquired and maintained the reputation of a jurist, learned, able, conscientious, and faithful. Repeatedly he was opposed by some of the ablest jurists of the State: his high character and abilities were acknowledged by all. As solicitor of the city, in his many important judgments, many of them involving heavy interests, and all marked by ability and a conscientious sense of duty, Mr. Hayes was not merely the legal adviser of the municipality: in many the comprehensive views of the statesman crop out in the opinions of the jurist. In a noted one in 1859, in discussing the power of the Councils to contract a debt for "water-works purposes," he denies the power of the city to do so without further authority from the Legislature: he opposes on principle the creation of new debts, and the consequent entailment of new and heavy burdens upon the people by increased taxation.

AS A SOLDIER.

The Rebellion, in 1861, found Rutherford

B. Hayes among the foremost in the field of perilous duty. As major of the 23d Ohio volunteers, as judge advocate of the department, and as lieutenant colonel of the regiment, in the summer and fall of 1861, Hayes was active with the army of Rosecrans in the gallant work of clearing the mountainous regions of West Virginia of a formidable enemy. In the fall of 1862 he was at South Mountain. Leading the Union advance at the head of his regiment—one of the regiments of the famous "Old Kanawha" brigade—against superior forces, posted advantageously on the crest of the mountain, Lieutenant Colonel Hayes encountered a stubborn resistance. The rebels disputed every foot of ground, but Hayes, charging rapidly and gallantly, again and again, drove the rebels out of the woods, drove them across the fields, and up the mountain. Wounded and fainting from loss of blood, but recovering, he advanced his regiment, which had retired upon his fall; falling again while fighting at the head of his men, he was carried from the field; again he reappeared, with his wounds half dressed, at the head of his regiment, animating his comrades and directing the fight, until, falling again exhausted, he was again carried from the field. The remainder of the brigade arriving, the enemy, by a brilliant bayonet charge, was swept from the crest of the mountain into the woods beyond. It was a gallant fight on a beautiful Sabbath morning in September. It was skillfully fought: it was bravely won. Hayes' gallantry, fortitude, and conduct, his heroism, infecting his little band and sustaining them under tremendous losses—a loss of one-half of their number *hors du combat*—against heavy odds, until re-enforced, secured a handsome victory to the Union forces.

This heroism, the intrepidity, skill, endurance, and dash, displayed at South Mountain, never deserted him: it was conspicuous in his every fight. In 1863 he pursued and captured the sanguinary raider, John Morgan. At Clyde Mountain, in the spring of 1864, in command of a brigade against the enemy fortified upon its summit, charging, at the head of

his men, through the woods, over bogs and creeks, with hundreds falling around him, amid a storm of "iron hail," he swept over the works, and bayoneted their defenders under their barricades.

In July, at Winchester, in command of a brigade, he, with the gallant Mulligan, moved out to meet a supposed reconnoissance by the enemy, but the reconnoissance, developing into a movement in heavy force, Hayes and Mulligan were surrounded—closed in on both flanks. No retreat was proposed. He and Mulligan continued to advance, but an annihilating fire from artillery and infantry, in front and on both flanks, mowed down by scores the devoted band. Mulligan fell. Hayes, with great coolness and judgment, slowly retreated to a hill inaccessible to cavalry, and turning, hurled back the yelling pursuers. His horse had early been killed under him. Hence, from morn till midnight, on foot, always exposed in the position of danger, Hayes, by intrepid daring, endurance, and skill, rescued his little command from annihilation by overwhelming numbers. Again at Berryville, Va., his gallantry and skill illustrated his devotion to the national cause. At the Opequan, or Winchester, in September, 1864, one of Sheridan's master triumphs in the valley, where, defeated at noon and disaster apparently inevitable, at nightfall he was victorious: in the recovery of the day, in the charge of the reserves under Crook, Hayes' brigade again led the advance. Striking for the flanks of the victorious enemy, and charging with a yell amid a storm of death-dealing missiles, over morasses in which his men sank to the chin—over morasses flanked by high banks—up the banks, up the hills, through the woods, carrying the enemy's fortifications, flanking and defeating him, he entered Winchester at the head of his men in hot pursuit of Early. At Fisher's Hill, still in pursuit of Early, after Opequan, again turning the enemy's flank, by pushing his way up mountains, through woods, and down ravines, supposed to be impassable, he, with indomitable perseverance, courage, and admirable skill, carried the enemy's position with a yell, and com-

pleted the rout and dispersion of the panic-stricken foe.

At Cedar Creek, in October, the scene of Sheridan's memorable ride, and ever-glorious victory, again the "Old Kanawha," under Hayes, sustained the early brunt of the fight, exacting all the heroism of its intrepid commander. Overlapped and assaulted impetuously on both flanks and assailed in front, his line rapidly melted away: Hayes was left alone, exposed to a murderous fire. A heavy volley was aimed at him. It killed his horse, riddling it with a score of bullets. Plunging forward in its death throes, it violently threw its rider, dislocating his ankle, and bruising him from head to foot: he, nevertheless, regained his regiment. At the crisis of the battle, Sheridan's arrival, after his spirited ride, changed the whole face of affairs. "Boys, we must go back to camp," was his inspiring cry. Back they went right gallantly. Rapidly reorganizing his broken ranks, and reforming his line, with the "Old Kanawha" in the center, he charged Early impetuously in front and flank, forcing him back upon Cedar Creek, finally breaking his army in utter rout, and pursuing and capturing prisoners, artillery, arms, camps, and baggage. The victory was as complete as glorious. Early was squelched.

It was on this memorable field that Sheridan, clasping the hand of Hayes, exclaimed: "Colonel! from this day forward you will be a brigadier general." Ten days later the commission arrived: a little later that of major general. Wounded four times, and a hundred days under fire, exposed to death in a series of brilliant actions, his promotions were but the well-earned meed of merit in the field.

AS A STATESMAN.

Rutherford B. Hayes at no period of his life was a Democrat. Originally a Whig, a disciple of the national school of Webster and Clay, his maiden vote for President was cast for the gallant Henry Clay. His next was for Harrison; and his last, as a Whig, for Winfield Scott. The Whig party having collapsed under the slavery issue, Gen. Hayes enlisted under the banner of Republicanism, and earnestly labor-

ed, by voice and vote, first for the election of Frémont, and next for that of Abraham Lincoln. In 1864, while in the field, without his knowledge, without his connivance, against his wish, he was nominated for Congress by the Republican convention of the 2d Congressional District of Ohio. In 1866 he was renominated by acclamation. In 1867 he was nominated for Governor, and in 1869 renominated by acclamation and re-elected. In 1872 he declined an election to the United States Senate, refused a federal appointment, and had retired, as he hoped, to private life, but in 1875 was recalled to active politics by an appeal of the Republicans of Ohio, of the country, in their travail, for the prestige of his name: a third time he was elected Governor of Ohio.

Few men, now living, have a record so grand. His every victory, in politics as in the field, was a triumph of the nation. In all, the spirit of the patriot, the inflexible champion of his country and freedom—equal rights for all—ruled and triumphed, and his countrymen were the beneficiaries. In none did private ambition, a thought of self, a mere wish for honors or place, predominate. In all duty was supreme: duty to freedom, to humanity, to country! In 1864, upon his first nomination to Congress while in the field, he endeavored to evade the honor: his duty was in the field—at the front. Springing spontaneously from his friends, from those he esteemed and loved, and recognizing and appreciating it as a testimonial to his worth, his patriotism and gallant services in the field, he no doubt felt greatly honored. He finally accepted the nomination. A seat in Congress, associated with men distinguished for learning, abilities, and eloquence—the lawmakers of the land—is a high and honorable one. It is one ambitiously sought by even the greatest. Under other circumstances, the proffered honor would have greatly pleased the General. As it was it manifestly annoyed him. Having accepted it, however, he, as a high-spirited man, naturally wished to succeed; but, under no circumstances, whether necessary to success or not, would he abandon one duty, or evade one peril, at the front. In a

letter to a friend in Ohio, dated "Sheridan's Camp, August 24th, 1864," he says :

"Your suggestion about getting a furlough to take the stump was certainly made without reflection. An officer fit for duty, who, at this crisis, would abandon his post to electioneer for a seat in Congress ought to be scalped. You may feel perfectly sure I shall do no such thing."

His wish for success was strong, but his sense of duty to his country in the field in the supreme hour of her peril was stronger. Against it he would tolerate no private wish—no selfish ambition. His patriotism was crowned with success. His soldiers, already idolizing him, and glorying at this new manifestation of his self-sacrificing spirit, cried out at the Opequan, at the brunt of the fight: "One more charge, Colonel—Victory and Congress!" He was elected, triumphantly elected, in despite of the lying caricatures and ribald lampoons of the Democracy, by a majority of 2,450 votes, over their strongest man. After the fall of Richmond, after the surrender at the Appomattox, and all armed resistance to the national authority had ceased, Gen. Hayes, in December, 1865, took his seat in the House.

In Congress, before the people, and as Governor, by his votes, speeches, and influence, he maintained the good faith, the honor, and the interests of the nation. His comrades of the "Old Kanawha" never wanted an advocate: his time was ever at their disposal in Congress and before the departments at Washington. As chairman of the Committee on the Library, he was the great enemy of all shoddy or sham in art, but zealously, and with a judgment based upon an enlightened and a liberal culture, encouraged all works of real merit. He was the author's friend. He was chiefly instrumental in adding two wings to the library section of the Capitol, in adding to the volumes of the Congressional Library those of the celebrated "Force Historical Collection," the Smithsonian Library, copies of all books, pamphlets, maps, &c., copyrighted in the United States, and in extending the privileges of the Library to a larger class of public officers.

Both in Congress and as Governor he

earnestly encouraged all measures and means tending to humanize the masses—to elevate or improve their condition, or add to their happiness or comfort. He was thus the zealous champion of our public school system. He advocated the establishment of parks, fountains, galleries of art, libraries, colleges, hospitals, and churches: whatever benefits or elevates mankind; and gave a notable example of his sincerity by inducing his uncle, Mr. Sardis Birchard, in his will, to bequeath \$75,000 to the citizens of Fremont for a public park and free library! He was his uncle's sole heir: the bequest was consequently at his own expense.

He advocated and encouraged all measures for the development of the industrial resources, or productive industry, of Ohio and the nation—of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and of internal improvements by the State and nation. He is the friend of cheap transportation—the zealous champion of civil service, and the enemy of debts and high taxes.

He sustained the great principles underlying "Reconstruction"—freedom, equality, human rights! He demanded irrevocable guarantees of these by amendments to the organic law, basing representation, not upon population, but voters; and secured, in conjunction with Orth, of Indiana, and Cullom, of Illinois, the ratification of the new amendments by Tennessee, which was necessary to render them valid.

Upon all the great questions touching the public debt, or the finances, of the Republic, he was patriotic, inflexible, and sound. He believes that "honesty is the best policy." As the debt of the Revolution was "the price of liberty"—the cost of independence—so the debt of the Rebellion was the price of nationality—of national existence. It was consequently "sacred and inviolable." It ought to be paid, principal and interest: it could only be repudiated or scaled in national dishonor. He denounced all attempts at inflation as expedients only of demagogues or traitors. Inflation was dishonor: inflation was ruin. Its adoption would defeat the pretended purpose for which it

was advocated—a relief of “hard times.” Instead of relieving trade, instead of permanently stimulating traffic or business, or of facilitating their revival upon a permanent or solid basis—instead of relieving the masses by giving them permanent or remunerative employment, or rendering the burdens of taxation more tolerable—its adoption, by depreciating the intrinsic value of the dollar by unsettling all values while nominally advancing them to an artificial standard, would inevitably result in cheapening labor, robbing the laborer, and involve all in one common financial ruin and in national disgrace.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONFLICT — HAYES’ VICTORY A TRIUMPH OF THE NATION.

As in the great campaign of 1875 in Ohio, so in the Presidential conflict of 1876, all these important questions of public policy were involved, as was that of States rights—the grand question, underlying the existence of the Republic, whether, under the Constitution, our Union is a nation, sovereign or supreme within the limits of its powers, with inherent forces capable of maintaining and vindicating its authority and unity, or a confederacy—a simple league of States—liable to disruption at will by any malcontent State. States rights is coeval with the Constitution. It was the invention of those who in 1788 resisted the adoption of our bond of union—our organic law, and developed its mischievous character in the Cabinet of Washington, in the conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton, the founders respectively of our States rights and national schools of politics. Under the teachings of Jefferson’s school, under those of John Taylor, of Caroline, William B. Giles, and John C. Calhoun, and their later satellites, Rhett, Mason, and Jeff. Davis, the early doctrine of States rights was extended through all the forms of nullification into the open doctrine of secession. Only the States were sovereign. They were the judges of their own rights and powers, and of those of the United States. The Union was simply a confederacy, a league of States; the National Government a simple agency created by the States to represent their will, to be dissolved or destroyed whenever, in the judg-

ment of the States, it failed to serve the purposes for which it was created. Originally it was the doctrine of simple malcontents, disappointed theorists, having no reference to slavery; in later years it became the formidable engine of pro-slavery traitors. Again and again it convulsed the nation in perilous contention. Overthrown in argument, in the battle of brains, by Webster and Clay in their conflicts with Hayne and Calhoun, knocked *hors du combat* by Jackson in his suppression of nullification, it assumed all its malignant proportions under Rhett and Jeff Davis, and its traitorous uses culminated in the deviltry of the rebellion. Baffled by the sword, after immense sacrifices, in its attempted destruction of the nation, it, in the campaigns of 1875-’76, was galvanized by the Democracy into new existence.

Those were perilous periods for the nation. Its traitorous foe rejoiced in anticipated success: in imagination they had already throttled the nation. An election tidal wave had swept the Republicans from Congress: the House was Confederate. A financial crisis was upon the nation. “Hard times” cruelly afflicted all ranks and classes; trade languished; productive industry was checked: the farmer had no market for his crops; the merchant had but few customers; and the workingman no demand for his labor; thousands were idle, and destitution and want, all the evils of a general financial revulsion attendant upon reckless over-speculation, stalked over the land. It was the malcontent’s hour of reprisal. The patriot’s misery was the traitor’s jubilee; the travail of the people the demagogue’s harvest. Eagerly they seized the opportunities. Tilden, Hendricks, Allen, Thurman, and Pendleton, re-enforced by lieutenants and allies in all the States, both in 1875 and 1876, took the field with the grandest hopes. They openly exulted in anticipated victory. They exhausted all the expedients, all the slogans and shams of demagogical craft. They raised the cry of “corruption,” stimulated and openly aided the reckless and slanderous abuse of the highest officers of the Government. They shouted “reform,” “hard times,” “more money,” “let us have a

change of rulers," "the people want a change," organized systematic murder, violence, and fraud throughout the States, and, through the House, assessed the national purse for a campaign fund for the collection and circulation of the slanderous perjuries of mercenary informers in the shape of Congressional reports against the highest and purest in the land. All the probabilities were against the nation. In both campaigns the Republicans, at first, were dispirited. The fruits of the victory for which, as the representatives of the nation, they had contended in the rebellion, at such unparalleled sacrifices, were in peril. The most patriotic doubted. Brave men, strong men wavered. All eyes turned to Rutherford B. Hayes. The crises demanded the prestige of his name, a tower of strength. These were calls like that which in 1861 had carried him into the field. That of 1875 he received while at home, unsuspectingly playing base-ball with his children, and rejoicing that he had escaped from the active toils of politics—that he was relegated to the cultivation of his land and the delights of his domestic hearth. It was the call of duty—duty to country, to his party, and the great national principles, upon the success of which depended the salvation of both. His hesitation was brief. He entered the field at once, and under his lead the confidence and enthusiasm of his party soon revived. He boldly raised the national banner. The United States was a nation, not a league—a nation with powers inherent in its organism capable of maintaining its legitimate sovereignty, of enforcing its constitutional authority, and of coercing and punishing all who resisted either or menaced its life; hard money, the earliest possible resumption of specie payments, was the great need of business and the people; the absolute good faith of the Republic demanded the honorable liquidation of all its obligations in the payment of the national debt, principal and interest; the inviolability of our public school system; the development of the wealth and resources of the country; the encouragement of manufactures and commerce by all proper legislation for their protection and support; freedom, justice, and the equality

of all men of all races and colors before the law—all these he ably maintained as the basis of government or the wants of the people for the revival of prosperity. There was no dodging of issues—no resort to miserable subterfuges or makeshifts; but a manly square and unflinching battle against shams and cries and frauds of demagogical craft. It commanded the attention of the great financial centers of Europe. Patriotic men, eloquent and able, rallied to his support. Sherman, Garfield, Tilden, Noyes, Foster, Lawrence, and Danforth, a brilliant array of State strength, aided by Morton, Woodford, Schurz, Grosvenor, Oglesby, Windom, Dawes, and Boutwell from abroad, met and routed the Democratic hosts. As at the Opequan, as at Cedar Creek, when all seemed disaster and ruin, the charge of the intrepid leader of the "Old Kanawha" restored the fight and "snatched victory from the jaws of defeat." In 1875 the stars of Allen and Thurman set forever: in 1876 that of Tilden! The nation had again triumphed in the victory of Hayes.

THE CUBAN SLAVERY QUESTION.—The *Havana Voz de Cuba*, February 24th, referring to President Grant's message, and his statement that Cuba is the only country in which slavery now exists, says while slavery on a large scale exists in Brazil, the Spanish law of gradual abolition will result in ending slavery in Cuba earlier than in Brazil. If foreign government insist that slavery be abolished in Brazil, while it exists in Cuba, then let the Spanish law be exchanged for the Brazilian one, thus doing away with fault-finding and the pretexts of other nations compelling them to blame Brazil, when blaming Cuba. Whether under Spanish or Brazilian law we shall have a pass through a transformation of the greatest importance. Nobody ignores this, yet nobody takes the provisory steps. We cannot understand this indifference on the solution of which the future of the Island largely depends. There is no other country where individual efforts are so strong, and where collective efforts are unknown. * * * Nothing exists outside of war of equal importance to the future of the Island as this labor question.

COUNTING OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRAND COMMISSION.

PASSAGE OF ELECTORAL BILL IN SENATE.

The bill of the joint committee of the Senate and House on the counting of the electoral votes, after a lengthy, able, and eloquent debate in the Senate, was passed by that body January 25th by the following vote :

YEAS.—Alcorn, Allison, Barnum, Bayard, Bogy, Booth, Boutwell, Burnside, Chaffee, Christiancy, Cockrell, Conkling, Cooper, Cragin, Davis, Dawes, Dennis, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Goldthwaite, Gordon, Howe, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Kelly, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, McMillan, Maxey, Merrimon, Morrill, Price, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Saulsbury, Sharon, Stevenson, Teller, Thurman, Wallace, Whyte, Windom, Withers, Wright—Total, 47.

NAYS.—Blaine, Bruce, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Clayton, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Hamilton, Hamlin, Ingalls, Mitchell, Morton, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, West—Total, 17.

HOUSE REPORTS AND BILL ON ELECTORAL VOTE.

In the House, on January 18th, J. Proctor Knott forced the House, by a vote of yeas 141 to nays 81, to a consideration of the resolutions reported by the House Committee on the Powers, Privileges, and Duties of the House in the count of the electoral vote. They are as follows :

Resolved, First, That the Constitution of the United States does not confer upon the President of the Senate the power to examine and ascertain the votes to be counted as the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States.

Second, That the only power which the Constitution of the United States confers upon the President of the Senate in respect to the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States is to receive the sealed lists transmitted to him by the several electoral colleges, to keep the same safely, and to open all the certificates or those purporting to be such in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Third, That the Constitution of the United States does confer upon the Senate and the House of Representatives the power

to examine and ascertain the votes to be counted as the electoral votes.

Fourth, That in the execution of their power in respect to the counting of the electoral vote the House of Representatives is at least equal with the Senate.

Fifth, That in the counting of the electoral votes, no vote can be counted against the judgment and determination of the House of Representatives.

Sixth, That the committee have leave to sit again and report hereafter further matter for the consideration of the House.

The passage of these resolutions Mr. Knott urged in a speech of some power and much acrimony.

Mr. Burchard, of Illinois, on the part of the Republican minority of the committee, made a report concluding with the following resolutions :

Resolved, First, That it is in the power and duty of the House, conjointly with the Senate, to provide by law or other constitutional method a mode for fairly and truly ascertaining and properly counting the electoral vote of each State, so as to give effect to the choice of each State in the election of President and Vice President.

Resolved, Second, That in the absence of legislative provision on the subject, or authoritative direction from the Senate and House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, upon opening the certificates, declares and counts the electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Burchard advocated their adoption in an able speech, in which he denied the right of either house to review the proceedings of a State in the appointment of electors.

PASSAGE OF ELECTORAL BILL IN HOUSE.

On the same day (January 18th) the electoral bill adopted by the joint committee of the two houses was reported to the House, and its passage was supported by Mr. Payne, of Ohio, the chairman of the committee on the part of the House. The debate was continued from day to day up to the 26th. Messrs. Seelye, Tucker, Hoar, Hill, Hewitt, Hunton, Goode, Lamar, Singleton, Springer, and Walker, among

others, advocated its passage. Messrs. Garfield, Hale, Frye, Monroe, and Townsend, among others, opposed its passage as unconstitutional and unwise. On January 26th the bill passed the House by the following vote :

YEAS.—Messrs. Randall (Speaker,) Abbott, Adams, Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bayley, George A. Bagley, John H. Bagley, Banning, Beebe, Belle, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradley, Bright, Brown of Kentucky, Buckner, Burchard of Wisconsin, Burleigh, Cabell, Caldwell of Tennessee, Campbell, Candler, Caulfield, Chapin, Chittenden, Clark of Kentucky, Clark of Missouri, Clymer, Cochrane, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Crapo, Culberson, Cutler, Duvall, Davis, Davy, Debolt, Dibrell, Douglass, Durand, Eden, Ellis, Faulkner, Felton, Field, Finlay, Foster, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Hamilton of Indiana, Hamilton of New Jersey, Hancock, Hardenbergh, Harris of Massachusetts, Harris of Georgia, Harris of Virginia, Harrison, Hartman, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Hathorn, Haymond, Hendee, Hereford, Hewitt of New York, Hewitt of Alabama, Hill, Hoar, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, Hoskins, House, Humphreys, Hunter, Hunton, Jenks, Jones of New Hampshire, Kehr, Kelly, Lamar, Landers of Indiana, Landers of Connecticut, Lane, Leavenworth, Lemoyne, Levy, Lewis, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Marsh, McDougall, McCrary, McDill, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalf, Miller, Morey, Morgan, Morrison, Mitchell, Neal, New, Norton, O'Brien, Oliver, Payne, Phelps, Philips of Missouri, Pierce, Piper, Platt, Potter, Powell, Rea, Reagan, John Reilly, J. B. Reilly, Rice, Riddle, Robbins of North Carolina, Robbins of Pennsylvania, Roberts, Ross of New Jersey, Sampson, Savage, Saylor, Scales, Schleicher, Seelye, Sheadley, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Strait, Stedger, Stevenson, Stone, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thompson, Thomas, Throckmorton, Townsend of Pennsylvania, Tucker, Turner, Vance of North Carolina, Waddell, Walker of New York, Walker of Virginia, Walling, Walsh, Ward, Warner, Warren, Watterson, Wells of Missouri, Wells of Mississippi, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wyke, Willard, A. S. Williams of Michigan, Williams of Delaware, W. B. Williams of Michigan, Wilshire, Wilson of West Virginia, Wilson of Iowa, Wood of New York, Yeates, and Young—Total, 191.

NAYS.—Messrs. Baker of Indiana, Baker of New York, Ballou, Banks, Blackburn, Blair, Bradford, Brown of Kansas, Burchard of Illinois, Buttz, Caldwell of Ala-

bama, Cannon, Carr, Caswell, Cate, Conger, Crounse, Danford, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Durham, Evans, Eames, Flye, Forney, Fort, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, Hendee, Henderson, Hoge, Hubbell, Hurd, Hurlbut, Hyman, Jones of Kentucky, Joyce, Kasson, Kimball, Knott, Lapham, Lawrence, Lynch, Magoon, Milliken, Mills, Monroe, Nash, O'Neill, Packer, Page, Plaisted, Poppleton, Pratt, Purman, Ramey, Robinson, Rush, Singleton, Sinickson, Slemmons, Smalls, Smith of Pennsylvania, Smith of Georgia, Stowell, Thornburgh, Townsend of New York, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Vance of Ohio, Wait, Waldron, Wallace of South Carolina, Wallace of Pennsylvania, White, Whitney, Williams of New York, Williams of Wisconsin, Williams of Alabama, Wood of Pennsylvania, Woodburn, Woodworth—Total, 86.

APPROVED BY PRESIDENT.

On the same day the bill was promptly enrolled, signed by the Speaker, and dispatched to the President, who on the 29th approved it and communicated the following message to the two houses, assigning his reasons for the approval :

To the Senate of the United States:

I follow the example heretofore occasionally permitted of communicating in this mode my approval of the act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877, because of my appreciation of the imminent peril to the institutions of the country from which, in my judgment, the act affords a wise and constitutional means of escape.

For the first time in the history of our country, under the Constitution as it now is, a dispute exists with regard to the result of the election of the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

It is understood that upon the disposition of disputes touching the electoral votes cast at the late election by one or more of the States depends the question whether one or the other of the candidates for the Presidency is to be the lawful Chief Magistrate. The importance of having clearly ascertained by a procedure regulated by law which of the two citizens has been elected and of having the right of this high office recognized and cheerfully agreed in by all the people of the Republic cannot be overestimated, and leads me to express to Congress and to the nation my great satisfaction at the adoption of a measure that affords an orderly means of decision of a gravely exciting question.

While the history of our country in its earlier periods shows that the President of the Senate has counted the votes and declared their standing, our whole history shows that in no instance of doubt or dispute has he exercised the power of deciding, and that the two houses of Congress have disposed of all such doubts and disputes, although in no instance hitherto have they been such that their decision could essentially have affected the result.

For the first time the Government of the United States is now brought to meet the question as one vital to the result, and this under conditions not the best calculated to produce an agreement or to induce calm feeling in the several branches of the Government or among the people of the country. In a case where as now the result is involved, it is the highest duty of the law-making power to provide in advance a constitutional, orderly, and just method of executing the Constitution in this most interesting and critical of its provisions. The doing so, far from being a compromise of right, is an enforcement of right and execution of powers conferred by the Constitution on Congress.

I think that this orderly method has been secured by the bill, which, appealing to the Constitution and the law as the guide in ascertaining rights, provides a means of deciding questions of single returns through the direct action of Congress, and in respect to double returns, by a tribunal of inquiry, whose decisions stand unless both houses of Congress shall concur in determining otherwise; thus securing a definite disposition of all questions of dispute in whatever aspect they may arise. With or without this law, as all of the States have voted, and as a tie vote is impossible, it must be that one of the two candidates has been elected; and it would be deplorable to witness an irregular controversy as to which of the two should receive or which should continue to hold the office. In all periods of history controversies have arisen as to the succession or choice of the chiefs of States; and no party or citizens loving their country and its free institutions can sacrifice too much of mere feeling in preserving through the upright course of law their country from the smallest danger to its peace on such an occasion, and it cannot be impressed too firmly in the heart of all the people that true liberty and real progress can exist only through a cheerful adherence to constitutional law.

The bill purports to provide only for the settlement of questions arising from the recent elections. The fact that such questions can arise demonstrates the necessity, which I cannot doubt will before long

be supplied, of permanent general legislation to meet cases which have not been contemplated in the Constitution or laws of the country.

The bill may not be perfect, and its provisions may not be such as would be best applicable to all future occasions, but it is calculated to meet the present condition of the question and of the country.

The country is agitated. It needs and it desires peace, quiet and harmony between all parties and all sections; its industries are arrested, labor unemployed, capital idle, and enterprise paralyzed by reason of the doubt and anxiety attending the uncertainty of a double claim to the Chief Magistracy of the nation. It wants to be assured that the result of the election will be accepted without resistance from the supporters of the disappointed candidate, and that its highest officer shall not hold his place with a questioned title of right. Relieving that the bill will secure these ends, I give it my signature.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Jan. 29, 1877.

SELECTION OF THE FIFTH JUDGE.

On the 31st the following communication from the Supreme Judges, addressed to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, was received and read in both houses:

Pursuant to the provisions of the second section of the act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877," approved January 29, 1877, the undersigned, associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States assigned to the first, third, eighth, and ninth circuits, respectively, have this day selected Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, the associate justice assigned to the fifth circuit, to be a member of the commission constituted by said act.

Respectfully submitted.

NATHAN CLIFFORD,
SAM. J. MILLER,
STEPHEN J. FIELDS,
W. STRONG,

Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States assigned respectively to the First, Third, Eighth, and Ninth Circuits.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30, 1877.

ORGANIZATION OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

At noon of the same day, (the 31st) the "Tripartite Commission" assembled in the

Supreme Court room and organized. All the members were present. The special oath required by the electoral act was administered by Mr. Middleton, Clerk of the Court, to Justice Clifford, who, under the act, is the presiding officer of the commission. Justice Clifford then administered the same oath to the other fourteen members. It then completed its organization. Its members and officers are :

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

Hon. Nathan Clifford, Associate Justice Supreme Court, First Circuit.

Hon. William Strong, Associate Justice Supreme Court, Third Circuit.

Hon. Samuel F. Miller, Associate Justice Supreme Court, Eighth Circuit.

Hon. Stephen J. Field, Associate Justice Supreme Court, Ninth Circuit.

Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, Associate Justice Supreme Court, Fifth Circuit.

Hon. George F. Edmunds, United States Senator.

Hon. Oliver P. Morton, United States Senator.

Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, United States Senator.

Hon. Allen G. Thurman, United States Senator.

Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, United States Senator.

Hon. Henry B. Payne, United States Representative.

Hon. Eppa Hunton, United States Representative.

Hon. Josiah G. Abbott, United States Representative.

Hon. James A. Garfield, United States Representative.

Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Representative.

OFFICERS OF THE COMMISSION.

Hon. Nathan Clifford, Presiding Justice.
James H. McKenney, Secretary.

B. E. Catlin, } Assistant Secretaries.
G. A. Howard, }

William H. Reardon, Marshal.

A. S. Seely, } Deputy Marshals.
J. C. Taliaferro, }

D. F. Murphy, Stenographer.

COUNSEL FOR THE OBJECTORS TO CERTIFICATE NO. 1.

Hon. Charles O'Connor, of New York.

Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania.

Ashbel Green, Esq., of New Jersey.

William C. Whitney, Esq., of New York,

COUNSEL FOR THE OBJECTORS TO CERTIFICATES NOS. 2 AND 3.

Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York.

Hon. E. W. Stoughton, of New York.

Hon. Stanley Matthews, of Ohio.

Hon. Samuel Shellabarger, of Ohio.

RULES TO GOVERN COMMISSION.

The following are the rules adopted by the commission for the government of its proceedings, under the electoral act :

RULE I. The commission shall appoint a Secretary, two assistant Secretaries, a Marshal and two Deputy Marshals, a Stenographer, and such messengers as shall be needful ; to hold during the pleasure of the commission.

RULE II. On any subject submitted to the commission, a hearing shall be had ; and counsel shall be allowed to conduct the case on each side.

RULE III. Counsel, not exceeding two in number on each side, will be heard by the commission on the merits of any case presented to it, not longer than two hours being allowed to each side, unless a longer time and additional counsel shall be specially authorized by the commission. In the hearing of interlocutory questions, but one counsel shall be heard on each side, and he not longer than fifteen minutes, unless the commission allow further time and additional counsel ; and printed arguments will be received.

RULE IV. The objectors to any certificate or vote may select two of their number to support their objections in oral argument and to advocate the validity of any certificate or vote the validity of which they maintain ; and in like manner the objectors to any other certificate may select two of their number for a like purpose ; but, under this rule, not more than four persons shall speak, and neither side shall occupy more than two hours.

RULE V. Applications for process to compel the attendance of witnesses or the production of written or documentary testimony may be made by counsel on either side. And all process shall be served and executed by the marshal of the commission or his deputies. Depositions hereafter taken for use before the commission shall be sufficiently authenticated if taken before any commissioner of the circuit courts of the United States, or any clerk or deputy clerk of any court of the United States.

RULE VI. Admission to the public sittings of the commission shall be regulated in such manner as the President of the commission shall direct.

RULE VII. The commission will sit, unless otherwise ordered, in the room of the Supreme Court of the United States, and

with open doors, (excepting when in consultation,) unless otherwise directed.

NOTICE TO THE TWO HOUSES OF ITS ORGANIZATION.

On Thursday (February 1st) the following communication, addressed to the Senate and House, was received in the two houses and read :

WASHINGTON, *February 1, 1877.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform the House of Representatives that the commission constituted under the act of Congress approved January 29th, 1877, entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4th, A. D. 1877, has met, and, the members thereof having taken and subscribed the oath prescribed by law, organized, and is now ready to proceed to the performance of its duties."

Very respectfully,

NATHAN CLIFFORD,
President of Commission.

PROCEEDINGS IN HOUSE.

The proceedings of the commission was ordered to be printed in the *Record*.

On the same day, Mr. Payne, in the House, submitted the following resolution, which was read, considered, and adopted :

Resolved, That the Clerk inform the Senate that the House is now ready to receive that body for the purpose of proceeding to open and count the votes of electors of the several States for President and Vice President.

Messrs. Ingalls and Allison were appointed tellers on the part of the Senate, and Messrs. Cook and Stone on that of the House.

PROCEEDINGS IN SENATE.

At two minutes to one o'clock, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, (Mr. Ferry,) announced that one o'clock, under the provisions of the electoral act, was the hour at which the Senate was required to appear in the hall of the House, for the purpose, in conjunction with that body, of opening and counting the votes of the electors for President and Vice President. Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Edmunds, the Senate proceeded to the hall of the House, the Members and officers of the House rising to receive them.

ASSEMBLING AND ORDER OF JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO HOUSES.

In accordance with the law seats had been provided as follows: For the President of the Senate, the Speaker's chair; for the Speaker, immediately upon his left; for the Senators, in the body of the hall upon the right of the presiding officer; for the Representatives, in the body of the hall not provided for the Senators; for the tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the Clerk's desk; for the other officers of the two houses, in front of the Clerk's desk and upon each side of the Speaker's platform.

The President *pro tempore* of the Senate took his seat as presiding officer of the joint convention of the two houses, the Speaker of the House occupying a chair upon his left.

He called the joint meeting to order, and said :

"In obedience to the Constitution, the Senate and House of Representatives have met to be present at the opening of the certificates, the counting, and the declaring of the results of the electoral votes for the President and Vice President of the United States for the term of four years commencing on the 4th day of March next. In compliance with law, the President of the Senate will now proceed, in the presence of the two houses, to open all the certificates of the several States, in alphabetical order, beginning with the State of Alabama."

COUNTING OF THE VOTE.

He opened and handed to the tellers the certificate of the State of Alabama, with the duplicates received by mail, which were read, giving ten votes for Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President, and ten votes for Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice President. No objection being made to the votes, they were counted.

In this manner the certificates of the States of Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, and Delaware were opened and read, and there being no objection the several votes were counted.

FLORIDA.

The President *pro tempore* then handed to the tellers three different sets of certificates from the State of Florida, which were read; the first giving four votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and

four votes to William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice President; the second giving four votes for Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President, and four votes for Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice President; and the third, reciting the action of the present Democratic executive authorities of Florida, under a recent law (approved January 17th, 1877,) of the present Democratic Legislature, and the mandamus of the State court in revising and recounting the votes by which the electors for the State were appointed, and certifying that the Tilden electors were appointed.

OBJECTIONS TO COUNT OF VOTE FOR HAYES.

The counting of the four votes of the State for Hayes and Wheeler was objected to by Charles W. Jones, Henry Cooper, and J. E. McDonald, Senators, and David Dudley Field, J. R. Tucker, G. A. Jenks, and William Springer, members of the House: 1st. Because Charles H. Pearce, Fred. C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long, who cast the four votes for Hayes and Wheeler, were not the legally appointed electors of the State chosen on the 7th of November last; and 2d and 3d. Because Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock were such legally appointed electors and their title was irrevocable; 4th. Because Gov. Stearns' certificate setting forth the appointment of the Republican or Hayes electors was untrue, and was corruptly procured and made in pursuance of a conspiracy between Gov. Stearns and the Hayes electors; 5th. Because the papers certifying the Hayes votes "are fictitious and unreal, and do not truly represent any votes or lawful acts." 6th. Because, if the "pretended certificates" of Governor Stearns, and the "pretended lists of votes" of the Hayes electors "ever had any validity," they "have been annulled and declared void by the subsequent lawful certificate of the present [Democratic] executive" of Florida, made under the act of January 17th, 1877, and the mandamus of the State court, &c.

OBJECTIONS TO COUNT OF VOTE FOR TILDEN.

The counting of the four votes of Florida

for Tilden and Hendricks was objected to by S. B. Conover, A. A. Sargent, John Sherman, and H. M. Teller, Senators; and Wm. Woodburn, Mark H. Dunnell, John A. Kasson, and Geo. McCrary, members of the House: 1st. Because the certificates, or papers purporting to be certificates of the votes cast by Yonge, Call, Hilton, and Bullock, "are not authenticated according to the requirements of the Constitution and laws of the United States." 2d. Because such certificates, or papers, or "list of the names of said electors," are not authenticated by "the certificate of the executive authority of the State of Florida," or "accompanied by any valid or lawful certification or authentication." 3d. Because, "by a certificate" "in all respects regular, valid, and sufficient under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and duly authenticated as such," "it appears that Humphreys, Pearce, Holden, and Long," "were duly appointed electors," (and not Yonge, Call, Hilton, and Bullock,) on November 7th, 1876, to cast the electoral vote of the State for President and Vice President.

OBJECTIONS TO COUNTING HUMPHREYS' VOTES.

The counting of the votes of F. C. Humphreys, one of the Hayes electors, was also objected to by Senator Jones and Mr. C. G. Thompson, a member of the House, upon the ground that being "a shipping commissioner" under the National Government, at the date of his appointment, he was ineligible under the Constitution.

The certificates or papers, with the objections, were referred to the commission, and the two houses separated (at 3 o'clock and 5 minutes P. M.)

SUBSEQUENT SHARP PRACTICE IN HOUSE.

The House then attempted a characteristic piece of sharp practice. On the evening previous the report of the Democratic majority of the Florida Investigating Committee had been read in the House. It ends with a resolve, that "at the election, on November 7th, 1876, in Florida," the Tilden electors "were fairly and duly chosen," and "having on the first Wednesday of December, A. D. 1876, cast their votes for Samuel J. Tilden for President and Thomas

A. Hendricks for Vice President, they are the legal votes for the State of Florida, and must be counted as such." But the report of the Republican minority of the committee, whose conclusions are just the opposite, was not read: the minority were not prepared to report. Hence, as a means of getting the resolution of the majority before the electoral commission, while excluding that of the minority, the House, immediately upon the return of the Senate to its own chamber, voted down a motion to take a recess, and **Mr. Hoskins**, of New Jersey, attempted to force the previous question on the adoption of the resolution. It failed. The Republicans, indignant, fought it determinedly, and compelled them to abandon the attempt.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION—OBJECTIONS RECEIVED.

On Thursday, (February 1st,) at 3 o'clock P. M., the commission met. The following communication was received and read:

HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 1, 1877.
To the President of the Commission:

More than one return or paper purporting to be a return or certificate of electoral votes of the State of Florida having been received and this day opened in the presence of the two houses of Congress and objections thereto having been made, the said returns, with all accompanying papers, and also the objections thereto, are herewith submitted to the judgment and decision of the commission, as provided by law.

T. W. FERRY,
President of the Senate.

The nature or character of the several objections of the respective parties were stated, and the papers ordered to be printed. As the disposition and arrangements of counsel under the rules had not been completed, further public business was postponed until the following morning, and the commission held a private session for consultation.

OPENING OF THE CASE.

At the meeting of the commission on Friday, (February 2d,) at 10 o'clock A. M., the case was fully opened. The presiding justice (Mr. Clifford) said:

"The case before the commission is that of Florida. Inquiries were made yesterday

'what is the case?' to which I beg leave to respond that it consists of three certificates with the accompanying papers, and the objections to the same. Two of the objectors on each side will be allowed to speak in the opening of the case. Those representing the objections to certificate No. 1 will speak first, and I would remind them that the fourth rule allows them two hours in which they will state the case in the opening arguments in support of their objections, and also in support of any other certificate which they claim to be valid. When they have concluded, two objectors on the other side will speak under the same rules and limitations."

For convenience the cases were numbered 1, 2, and 3.

After some preliminary conversation among counsel and the members of the commission, the case was opened for the Democracy by Messrs. Field and Tucker against the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors, followed by Messrs. Kasson and McCrary for the Republicans in support of that count.

THE ARGUMENTS FOR THE DEMOCRACY.

Messrs. Field and Tucker, in their arguments, going behind the certificates of the Governor of Florida, assail the returns upon which the Hayes electors were appointed by alleging fraud in the county and State canvasses, and conspiracy to fraud between the State authorities and parties at Washington, which they support by the *ex parte* statements of Democratic affiliates. They cite "only one county"—Baker county—but urge that it was "decisive of the result," and indulge much in "bunkum" appeals to the commission. They detail the acts of the Supreme Court and Legislature of Florida in authorizing a new canvass of the votes of the State cast in November last, and claim that the new count which gives the electoral vote to Tilden is the only fair and legal one. They deny that the certificate of the Governor excludes all proofs of fraud—that it is conclusive evidence of the legal or rightful appointment of electors—that the canvassing board of Florida was invested with any judicial power or discretion in the count, and maintain at length the power and duty of the commission to go behind the certificate in an inquiry for fraud.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE REPUBLICANS.

Messrs. Kasson and McCrary, in their arguments, repel the allegations of fraud in Baker county. They show the Democratic frauds in Jackson, Alachua, and other counties through the illegal voting of railroad trains of Democratic non-residents, ballot-box stuffing, and the like; they sustain the justice and perfect fairness of the returning board by showing that the exclusion of certain votes from the count was in obedience to the mandate of the Florida law, (in force at the date of the canvass,) which commands the canvassers to exclude all returns "irregular, false, or fraudulent;" they expose the unlawful proceedings of the Supreme Court and Legislature of Florida in their extraordinary efforts to secure the State for Tilden—their usurpation of powers prohibited by the Constitution, absorbing, confounding, and practically destroying the three great divisions of Government, the executive, legislative, and judicial; the granting by the court of a *quo warranto* upon a board *functus officio*, and its decision, from which an appeal had been taken at the date of the writ; the enactment by the Legislature of an *ex post facto* law, which directs a recount of the votes by a new Democratic board created for the purpose, and the attempts by *ex post facto* proceedings to render null and void a duty and acts lawful at the date of their performance—all bearing "*prima facie* presumption of fraud." They show that the Tilden certificates are "wanting in all the elements of constitutional or legal validity," and are supported only by usurpation, the grossest violations of popular rights, intimidation, violence and fraud. The proposition to go behind the returns in any inquiry for fraud, even if the commission possessed the power to adopt it, they show to be impracticable; it could not with justice and fairness be completed by the 4th of March; but they deny and resist such a claim of power in the commission. It involved a usurpation without a precedent. It proposed to transform the commission into a returning board for the re-canvass of the popular vote of the State. Where was the power for that? Where, under the Constitution, or under

the law creating the commission? All the power the commission had in the matter was that devolved by the Constitution upon Congress or upon the President of the Senate, whichever it might be designed by that instrument to "count" the votes. In no view had either any such power. The only duty of either is ministerial, to "count" the votes of the electors, not to scrutinize or re-canvass the popular vote by which they were appointed. Nor can Congress confer upon the commission powers which it does not itself possess. Hence, the only duty of the commission is to ascertain whether the papers before it as certificates are genuine or counterfeit—whether they are duly and truly verified by State authority, as required by the Constitution—whether the electoral college has complied with the law—a simple "ministerial examination;" and when that duty has been completed its functions are exhausted.

WILL THE COMMISSION GO BEHIND THE CERTIFICATES.

At the meeting on Saturday, (February 3d,) at 10.30 o'clock A. M., Mr. O'Connor, under the suggestions of the presiding justice, stated the propositions of his side, when, on motion of Justice Miller, the commission decided that counsel be allowed three hours on each side to discuss the question whether any evidence will be considered by the commission that was not submitted to the two houses by the President of the Senate; and if so, what evidence can properly be considered; and also the question what is the evidence now before the commission.

ARRANGEMENT FOR ARGUMENT.

It was arranged that each side should occupy one-half of its time in a full opening at that meeting, the remainder on Monday, and that three counsel on either side should be heard.

Messrs. Merrick and Black opened for the Democracy, followed by Messrs. Stanley Matthews and Stoughton for the Republicans.

At the meeting on Monday, (February 5th,) at 11 o'clock A. M., Mr. Evarts continued and closed the argument for the Republicans, followed by Mr. Charles O'Connor, who closed the argument for Til-

den. The commission took a recess for three-quarters of an hour; when it re-assembled, it proceeded to deliberate with closed doors, and at 3.15 o'clock P. M. adjourned.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE DEMOCRACY.

Messrs. Merrick, Black, and O'Connor in their arguments maintained that the powers of the commission were those which under the Constitution devolved upon Congress in the counting of the electoral vote. Had Congress the power to go behind the Governor's certificate? The two houses, since the election in November last, had, through their committees, gone behind that certificate—had inquired into the alleged frauds at the election, and into all matters touching the appointment of electors. Congress having such power, and that body having delegated its powers to the commission, its power to go behind the certificates of the State authorities, and require evidence of their authenticity or legality, was clear. It was the duty of the commission to do so. Hence, the testimony taken by the congressional committees having been referred to the commission by the two houses, with the objections and the several certificates in the case, all these were now before it, were properly in the cause, and entitled to all the weight of similar evidence before a court of equity. Of themselves the certificates of the State authorities were conclusive evidence of nothing, not even under the law of 1792. Congress had no authority or power to make the issue of the certificate mandatory upon the Governor—he might issue it or not, as he pleased; nor had it the power to declare that, if issued, it should be conclusive; he might issue a fraudulent certificate, or a certificate based upon fraud, to the injury of the rightful electors, nor to declare that its absence should invalidate the rightful vote. Hence the necessity, and the duty, of the commission to go behind the certificates to determine their character.

The constitutional clause in reference to the Presidential electors made it the duty of Congress to count the votes. Before it can count them Congress must first ascertain which are the votes—"the true votes." How is it to ascertain them? How but by an

inquiry into the facts? If it possesses any power of inquiry into the character of the votes, its character must be full and ample, and it cannot, by any law, curtail its power to go fully into the inquiry by making the certificate of the Governor conclusive. It must scrutinize the facts antecedent to the issue of the certificate. Hence, the duty, as the power, of the commission to go behind the Governor's certificate; to receive as valid evidence the testimony taken by the congressional committees, the *quo warranto* decree of the State court, and the recanvass by the Democratic returning board under a law of the Democratic Legislature, all of which they maintain were lawful and just. Besides, that evidence having been once reported and filed, must be accepted as before the court.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE REPUBLICANS.

Messrs. Matthews, Stoughton and Evarts, in their arguments, ably rebut the propositions of Democratic counsel, and declare that the Republicans do not claim that the Governor's certificate is conclusive. They ask, What is the character of the commission? what are its powers under the law, and what is the subject it was investigating? What, then, was the nature of the evidence it was competent to entertain? Was it a court, entertaining a "judicial investigation upon *quo warranto*?" Where did it derive its authority? Was it a revising canvassing board to determine whether the Governor's certificate is valid, or a "tribunal of special and limited jurisdiction," in determining certain questions relating to the count of the electoral vote, under the Constitution, for President and Vice President of the United States? What, then, is the only evidence it can entertain?

Now, the election of President and Vice President is in no sense a popular election. Nor is the appointment of electors necessarily a popular function. Under the Constitution, under the organic law, their appointment and the method of their appointment are wholly left to the States, and they, by law, may invest their appointment in the people, in the Legislature, in the Governor, or in the sheriff. As a matter of fact, with the exception of Colorado, all the States had invested their appointment

in the people. The Constitution had reserved to Congress "control in certain particulars" over their appointment; that is, it designates the day upon which the appointment shall be made, and the day on which the electors so appointed shall cast their ballots for President and Vice President; but when the day of appointment has passed, and the electors on the designated day have cast their votes, these acts are irrevocable either by Congress or the States. There is no power anywhere to revise or reverse them. Nor are the electors bound to vote for any particular candidates. The electoral colleges, under the Constitution, are independent in all their functions, and, though appointed by the votes of one party, have a perfect legal right to vote for the candidates of another party. Hence, the only duty of the commission, under the inquiry referred to it by Congress, is to determine which of the "two sets of votes," claiming to be the electoral votes of Florida, are "the votes lawfully to be counted"—"to separate the lawful from the unlawful" votes—to determine which of the certificates offered is "the one known to the law or made in conformity with the law." Can it in such an inquiry, in the performance of such a duty, go into an investigation of fraud in the popular vote prior to the appointment of electors? Even if it had such a power, was such an investigation possible? An impartial investigation would only vindicate the justness of the appointment of the Hayes electors. Of that there was little doubt.

Such an investigation, if entered into at all, to be just, must be thorough and complete, and would extend necessarily over a greater space of time than that allotted to the commission; but such an investigation was foreign to the purpose for which it was created, and transcended the limits of its jurisdiction. All the testimony permitted them by the Constitution and the laws was that furnished by the acts of the State. Under all the forms of law, State and national, the appointment of the Hayes electors was complete; in their appointment all the requirements of the Constitution and the laws had been literally and legally fulfilled. That was unassailable. The

reverse was the fact in reference to the Tilden so-called electors. Their pretended appointment fulfilled none of the requirements of the laws. Its fraudulent character was pronounced by the laws of the United States and of Florida. Even the *quo warranto* of the Tilden so-called electors admits the Hayes electors to have been the *de facto* electors on the 6th of December—in the exercise of their functions on the day fixed by law for the vote by the electors for President. As *de facto* electors in possession, they cast their ballots as prescribed by law. But even admitting fraud, it was a mistake to suppose that "fraud vitiates everything," and the learned counsel instanced many things which it did not vitiate. Hence, the votes of the Hayes electors—the *de facto* electors on the day designated by law—whether rightfully or fraudulently appointed—were final and irrevocable.

No power exists which can legally disturb them. The *quo warranto* did not reach or affect them. The appointment of electors is a political, not a judicial act. A *mandamus* may issue compelling an elective officer to act—to perform the functions of his office, but a *mandamus* to impede, retard, or impeach an election was "an absolute novelty" in law. Nor was there in the Legislature of Florida an authority or power, by a retrospective or *ex post facto* law, to review, invalidate or reverse an act legal and final under the laws of the State at the date of its performance. Hence, the only testimony permitted to the commission in the inquiry referred to it, was that furnished by the acts of the State under the Constitution and electoral laws.

DECISION OF THE COMMISSION.

On Tuesday the commission sat with closed doors. At its meeting on Wednesday, (February 7th,) by a vote of 8 yeas to 7 nays, upon the motion of Justice Miller, it ordered that no evidence will be received or considered by the commission which was not submitted to the joint meeting of the two houses by the President of the Senate, except such as relates to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors.

YEAS.—Messrs. Bradley, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Garfield, Hoar, Miller, Morton and Strong.

NAYS.—Messrs. Abbott, Bayard, Clifford, Field, Hunton, Payne, and Thurman.

On the motion of Mr. Abbott it was ordered, by a vote of 8 to 7, that in the case of Florida, the commission will receive evidence relating to the eligibility of Humphreys, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Bayard, Bradley, Clifford, Field, Hunton, Payne, and Thurman.

NAYS.—Messrs. Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Garfield, Hoar, Miller, Morton, and Strong.

QUO WARRANTO AND HUMPHREYS, THE INELIGIBLE ELECTOR.

At the meeting of the commission, (February 8th, at 11 o'clock A. M.) it heard the evidence and arguments respecting the ineligibility of F. C. Humphreys as one of the Republican electors for the State of Florida. An attempt was made by the Democratic counsel to get in evidence as to "the precise time" of serving the *quo warranto* on the Hayes electors; but the evidence was objected to by Mr. Evarts as inadmissible under the previous ruling of the commission. Objection sustained.

Mr. James E. Yonge swore that in August, 1876, Humphreys was acting as shipping commissioner for the port of Pensacola, Florida. It was an appointment under the U. S. Circuit Court for the northern district of Florida. His commission was introduced. His appointment in 1872 was admitted, but the Republican counsel declined to cross-examine the witness, as no evidence had been adduced showing that Humphreys held the commission on November 7th, 1876—the date of his appointment as elector.

Mr. F. C. Humphreys was sworn and stated substantially: I was a candidate on the Republican ticket in November last for elector. I had held the office of shipping commissioner, but on the 24th of September, 1876, I sent in my resignation of the office to Judge Woods, of the Circuit Court. (Copy of resignation was shown.) It was accepted by the Judge October 2d, 1876, (copy of acceptance shown;) and I received from Hiram Potter, Jr., collector of cus-

toms, a notification that he had been assigned by Judge Woods to the duties of shipping commissioner, vacated by the Judge's acceptance of my resignation. (Copy of notification shown.) He also stated that he had not exercised or performed any of the duties of the office since October 5th, 1876, the date of his receiving the Judge's acceptance of his resignation; but that since that date those duties had been performed by Collector Potter.

It also appeared in evidence that Judge Woods was absent at the time in Newark, Ohio, where he received and accepted Humphreys' resignation.

ARGUMENT OF DEMOCRACY.

The presiding justice announced that the whole case was open for argument.

Messrs. Hoadly, Green, and Merrick, in their arguments for the Democracy, maintain "that this office of shipping commissioner, being one to be filled by the court, could only be surrendered up or resigned to the court itself;" that Judge Woods, of the Circuit Court, "acting in chambers," could not, in Ohio, release Humphreys from a trust with which the court, not in chambers, had clothed him in Florida; that Humphreys could not divest himself of the office by his own act—that public policy requires that it should not be at his will and pleasure; that his "paper resignation" and Judge Wood's acceptance of that resignation were not sufficient to divest him of that office—that only the court in session which appointed him could release him from its duties; that on the 7th day of November, 1876, the court had not received or accepted that resignation; that consequently, on that day, Humphreys, in view of the law, still held the office of shipping commissioner, an office of profit and trust under the Federal Government, and was ineligible as an elector for the State. The learned counsel elaborate this position at length, and fortify it with numerous references. They urge that the effect of the disqualification extends to both the State and the elector—that it disqualifies the State from appointing, and the elector from accepting the trust—that it is equivalent to declaring that "the State may appoint from

among the number of qualified persons ;” and cite from the debate in the convention which framed the Constitution, and congressional debates and reports, to show that the purpose of the constitutional clause was to protect the States in the choice of electors from the influence of Federal power. They refer to a “multitude of cases in England” which declare that the choice of an ineligible candidate voids the election, and urge that “the same doctrine is applied in many American cases.” But “American cases have differed widely.” They cite a number, and assert that “no American case treats the election of one who at the time was non-qualified, and who attempted to act, as other than an absolutely null appointment.” In Indiana the next highest candidate was elected. In Pennsylvania, New York, and California, the election went back to the people. In the Rhode Island case the Legislature elected. They argued that, if the four Florida electors had been disqualified, it “would be clearly a case of failure to make choice,” and the people would have again to elect, if, as in Rhode Island, the Democratic Legislature did not elect. They also review the evidence before the commission in the papers handed by the President of the Senate to the two houses. They endeavor to break the force of the Hayes certificates signed by Gov. Stearns, dated 6th of December, 1876, and attested by the Secretary of State under the broad seal of Florida. They argue at length, citing authorities, that the judgment of the State court in *quo warranto* proceedings, determining the law and the facts—that the certificate of the Adjutant General of the State to the appointment of the Tilden electors, that the two sets of certificates of the Tilden electors, (dated respectively December 6th, 1876, and January 26th, 1877,) the certificate of Gov. Drew, reciting the facts of a recanvass of the popular vote, and attesting the choice of the Tilden electors under the acts of the Democratic Legislature of January 17th and 26th, 1877—that these several acts and papers, although most of them were executed subsequent to the casting of the electoral vote of the State in December last, yet were all

legal and in time, and unite in proof that the acts of the returning board in certifying the appointment of the Hayes electors were “unauthorized, illegal, and void.”

ARGUMENTS FOR THE REPUBLICANS.

Messrs. Shellabarger and Evarts, in their arguments, maintain that the record of the proceedings in the *quo warranto* case is not before the commission. It is only alluded to by Gov. Drew, not embraced in his certificates, and there is no evidence in record before the commission that any judgment in *quo warranto* was ever pronounced. Under the ruling of the commission it had all been excluded ; so had certificates Nos. 2 and 3—all these *post election* matters, the *quo warranto*, *mandamus*, January legislation, and the recanvass—all “these posthumous certificates of *post mortem* action”—all acts post-dating the electoral vote ; because, under the Constitution, from the very nature of the power involved—that of appointment—and the necessities of the case, all acts of the State in accomplishing the appointment must antedate the performance of the act for which the elector is appointed. That being sound, all the arguments of counsel on the Democratic side about the effect of decisions of the courts in determining the signification of their own statutes, all the decisions which have been referred to in regard to the obligations of all Federal tribunals to follow the interpretation which the State courts put upon their statutes, loses all significance. When the electoral vote of a State has once been cast by men endowed with every muniment of title to the office of elector at the date of their first and last official act—the day of voting under the law—the jurisdiction of the State over the vote has passed away. No power exists in a State to destroy its electoral vote, when once cast—to unseat a President—neither by pretended interpretations of its laws by partisan courts, nor by the enactment by partisan legislatures of laws acting backward. The proposition that it can, simply reduces the Constitution and the whole debate “to the most intense and unmitigated absurdity.” The design of the Constitution, its express require-

ment, is that every act of the State respecting electors, being all appointment, and appointment only, shall precede the vote. It is not sufficient to start proceedings prior to the vote, but they must be complete and effectual before the act of voting. The power of the State over the electoral votes stops at the moment it puts them under seal, deposits them in "the urn of the nation." If an elector on the voting day is endowed with all the insignia of right, with all the apparent title of office, that can, according to the existing State machinery be held on that day, he is to every possible extent, as against the State, the elector both *de facto* and *de jure*. By his vote he accomplishes in fact and law an act of government; but whether he is an officer *de jure* or *de facto*, still, being on that day so endowed, so *in office*, so acting in the actual occupancy of office with all apparent right, his act constituted an act of government—the act of the State was thereby accomplished in law—it was government, not mere *election*, but government—government inaugurated, accomplished, endowed. It is the last act of the State in exercising its part of the creation of a President; when accomplished, it is irrevocable. If any party after that can try the title it is the nation, not the State. That springs from the very nature of our dual governments, our two sovereignties of States and United States. The boundary of State power is at the point where the vote is sealed and goes to the Capitol. The vote is an accomplished act—the power of the State over it has passed away.

The learned counsel illustrate and enforce these positions in a multitude of forms fortified by numerous authorities, and urge the "monstrous" absurdity of the opposite position. All acts or proceedings, all the machinery for testing or determining the validity of the vote, must precede the casting of the votes. *No post hoc* judgment can affect them. If it were not so, what would be the result? Every election would be at the mercy of partisan intriguers—of suits at *nisi prius*—in partisan courts. Every individual disappointed or unhappy about the result, who is "enterprising," would be able to attack and de-

stroy the greatest office in the world, and precipitate the nation in revolution and unutterable disaster. They cite the celebrated case of Robbins, in 1834, in the United States Senate, in which Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, John M. Clayton, Tom Ewing, Willie P. Mangum, Wm. C. Preston, and others, all illustrious as jurists and statesmen, held the same position. Robbins had been elected Senator by the Legislature of Rhode Island. At a subsequent meeting the Legislature attempted to annul Robbins' election by the election of Potter. But these able jurists in the Senate held to the principle that the election of Senator was an act of the State in its sovereign capacity, and when completed could not be reversed; it was irrevocable. So with the electoral colleges. Their appointment was an act of the States in their sovereign capacity. When once completed and the elector has voted, his acts are final and irreversible. Any other principle would destroy all law, would put it in the power of the States to overthrow the Constitution, to destroy it in this its very citadel, and to end the life of the State. As to the eligibility of Humphreys, they had by proofs *aliunde* established his eligibility—that he had resigned his office of shipping commissioner under the Federal Government long prior to his appointment as elector—that his resignation had been accepted by Judge Woods, of the court appointing him—that he had not since exercised the functions of the office, but that they had been performed by another. They explained in the amplest manner the law of the United States respecting resignations, showing his absolute right to resign at will, and establish his eligibility; but maintain that, whether eligible or not, he having been appointed the elector in law *de facto* and *de jure*, on the day of voting, and having voted, his vote must be counted.

At the meeting on Friday, (February 9th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., it was decided that under the law the body was a commission, not a court; that its members were commissioners, not justices, and that the proper title of the presiding officer was president, not presiding justice. The doors

were closed, and after debate the commission took a recess for half an hour. At 2.07 o'clock P. M. the commission reassembled. It was ordered that general debate close at 6 P. M., and that, after that hour, each commissioner shall be allowed to speak but once, and not longer than five minutes.

Mr. Thurman offered a resolution declaring that "F. C. Humphreys was not a shipping commissioner on the 7th day of November, 1876," but after some debate withdrew the resolution.

Mr. Edmunds moved, as the decision of the commission, a form addressed to the President of the Senate, setting forth the facts and the finding of the commission to the effect that the Hayes electors had been lawfully elected, that consequently neither of the papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes of Florida numbered 2 and 3, that is, the Tilden certificates, is the certificates or votes provided for by the Constitution, and that they ought not to be counted.

Mr. Hunton moved to amend by substituting that the Tilden electors are the persons duly appointed electors on the 7th day of November, 1876, and that their vote ought to be counted.

Mr. Hunton's amendment was negatived by a vote of 8 to 7, and Mr. Edmunds then withdrew his resolution.

Mr. Garfield offered the following :

Resolved, That four persons, to wit, Frederick C. Humphreys, Charles H. Pearce, William A. Holden, and Thomas W. Long were duly appointed electors of President and Vice President for the State of Florida, and that the votes cast by the aforesaid four persons are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Bradley, and Mr. Miller be appointed a committee to draft a report of the action of the commission, as required by law.

The following is the vote by which the first resolution was adopted :

1. Bradley, Edmunds, Fre-
field, Hoar, Miller, Morton,
et al, 8.

2. Abbott, Bayard, Clif-
ton, Payne, and Thur-

sion was then passed,

and the commission took a recess for one hour.

At 7.03 o'clock P. M. the commission reassembled.

Upon the motion of Mr. Edmunds, from the committee appointed to prepare a report of the commission in the matter of the electoral vote of the State of Florida, the following was ordered and signed as "the final decision and report" of the commission :

ELECTORAL COMMISSION,

Washington, D. C., Feb. 9, A. D. 1877.

To the President of the Senate of the United States, presiding in the meeting of the two houses of Congress, under the act of Congress entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877," approved January 29, A. D. 1877 :

The Electoral Commission mentioned in said act, having received certain certificates and papers purporting to be certificates and papers accompanying the same, of the electoral votes from the State of Florida, and the objections thereto submitted to it under said act, now report that it has duly considered the same, pursuant to said act, and has decided, and does hereby decide, that the votes of Frederick C. Humphreys, Charles H. Pearce, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long named in the certificate of M. L. Stearns, Governor of said State, which votes are certified by said persons as appears by the certificate submitted to the commission, as aforesaid, and marked "number one" by said commission, and herewith returned, are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that the same are lawfully to be counted as therein certified, namely : four votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President, and four votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President. The commission also has decided, and hereby decides and reports, that the four persons first before named were duly appointed electors in and by said State of Florida.

The ground of this decision, stated briefly, as required by said act, is as follows :

That it is not competent under the Constitution and the law, as it existed at the date of the passage of said act, to go into evidence *abundant* on the papers opened by the President of the Senate in the presence of the two houses to prove that other per-

sons than those regularly certified to by the Governor of the State of Florida, in and according to the determination and declaration of their appointment by the board of State canvassers of said State prior to the time required for the performance of their duties, had been appointed electors, or by counter-proof to show that they had not, and that all proceedings of the courts or acts of the Legislature, or of the executive of Florida, subsequent to the casting of the votes of the electors on the prescribed day, are inadmissible for any such purpose.

As to the objection made to the eligibility of Mr. Humphreys, the commission is of opinion that, without reference to the question of the effect of the vote of an ineligible elector, the evidence does not show that he held the office of shipping commissioner on the day when the electors were appointed.

The commission has also decided, and does hereby decide and report, that, as a consequence of the foregoing, and upon the grounds before stated, neither of the papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes of said State of Florida numbered two and three by the commission, and herewith returned, are the certificates of the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that they ought not to be counted as such.

Done at Washington, the day and year first above written.

SAM. F. MILLER,
W. STRONG,
JOSEPH P. BRADLEY,
GEO. F. EDMUNDS,
O. P. MORTON,
FRED'K C. FRELINGHUYSEN,
JAMES A. GARFIELD,
GEORGE F. HOAR,
Commissioners.

Letters, addressed to the President of the Senate and Speaker Randall, notifying them of the action of the commission, were also adopted and signed by the President.

In the Senate on Saturday, (February 10th,) the following was received and read :

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 9, 1877.

SIR: I am directed by the Electoral Commission to inform the Senate that it has considered and decided upon the matters submitted to it under the act of Congress concerning the same, touching the electoral votes from the State of Florida, and herewith by direction of said commission I transmit to you the said decision in writing, signed by the members agreeing therein, to be read at the meeting of the two houses according to said act. All the certi-

ficates and papers sent to the commission by the President of the Senate are herewith returned.

NATHAN CLIFFORD,
President of the Commission.
Hon. THOS. W. FERRY,
President of the Senate.

In the House on the same day the following was received and read :

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 9, 1877.

SIR: I am directed by the Electoral Commission to inform the House of Representatives that it has considered and decided upon the matters submitted to it under the act of Congress concerning the same, touching the electoral votes from the State of Florida, and has transmitted said decision to the President of the Senate, to be read at the meeting of the two houses according to said act.

NATHAN CLIFFORD,
President of the Commission.
Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL,
Speaker of the House of Reps.

The following was adopted by the House, and received and read in the Senate :

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House notify the Senate that the House of Representatives will be prepared to meet the Senate in the hall of the House at 1 o'clock P. M. this day, to proceed with the further count of the electoral vote for President and Vice President.

In the Senate, at 12.57 o'clock P. M., the President *pro tempore* said :

"The House of Representatives has given notice to the Senate that it is ready to receive it at 1 o'clock to continue the counting of the electoral vote. It is now 3 minutes to 1. If it be the pleasure of the Senate it will now repair to the hall of the House of Representatives."

The Senate accordingly proceeded to the hall of the House.

The Senate entered the hall, took the seats provided for its members, and the President *pro tempore*, after announcing that "the joint meeting of Congress for counting the electoral vote resumes its session," said :

"The two houses, having separated pending the submission to the commission of objections to the certificates from the State of Florida, have reassembled to hear and to coincide or otherwise with the decision of that tribunal, which, by a majority of the commission, in writing, and signed by the members agreeing therein, will now be

read by the Secretary of the Senate and be entered in the Journal of each house."

The report and decision of the electoral commission was read, when the President *pro tempore* asked: "Are there objections to this decision?"

Objections, which were signed by the following gentlemen: Charles W. Jones of Florida, Henry Cooper of Tennessee, Francis Kernan of New York, Eli Saubury of Delaware, J. E. McDonald of Indiana, W. H. Barnum of Connecticut, on the part of the Senate; J. Proctor Knott, David Dudley Field of New York, W. S. Holman of Indiana, J. R. Tucker, Charles P. Thompson, G. A. Jenks of Pennsylvania, J. J. Finley, Milton Sayler, E. Jno. Ellis, W. R. Morrison, Abram S. Hewitt, and William M. Springer, on the part of the House, were submitted by Mr. Field and read:

An objection is interposed by the undersigned Senators and Representatives to the decision made by the commission constituted by the act entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of the vote for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877," as to the true and lawful electoral vote of Florida, upon the following grounds:

First. For that the decision determines that the vote cast by Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long, as electors of President and Vice President of the United States in and for or on behalf of the State of Florida, is the true and lawful electoral vote of said State, when, in truth and in fact, the vote cast by Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock is the true and lawful vote of said State.

Second. For that said commission refused to receive competent and material evidence tending to prove that Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long were not appointed electors in the manner prescribed by the Legislature of the State of Florida, but were designated as electors by the returning board of said State corruptly and fraudulently, in disregard of law and with the intent to defeat the will of the people expressed in the choice of Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock, who were legally and regularly appointed electors by the State of

Florida, in the manner directed by the Legislature thereof.

Third. For that the decision aforesaid was founded upon the resolution and order of said commission previously made, as follows:

"Ordered, That no evidence will be received or considered by the commission which was not submitted to the joint convention of the two houses by the President of the Senate with the different certificates, except such as relates to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors."

Fourth. For that said decision excludes all the evidence taken by the two houses of Congress and the committees of each house concerning the frauds, errors, and irregularities committed by the persons whose certificates are taken as proof of the due appointment of electors.

Fifth. For that said decision excludes all evidence tending to prove that the certificate of ——— Stearns, Governor, as also that of the board of State canvassers, was procured or given in pursuance of a fraudulent and corrupt conspiracy to cheat the State of Florida out of its rightful choice of electors and to substitute therefor those who had not been chosen or appointed electors by said State in the manner directed by the Legislature thereof.

Sixth. For that said commission refused to recognize the right of the courts of the State of Florida to review and reverse the judgment of the returning board or board of State canvassers rendered through fraud and without jurisdiction, and rejected and refused to consider the action of said courts after their decision that Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long were not entitled to cast the electoral vote of Florida; which said decision was rendered by a court of said State in a case lawfully brought before said court, which court had jurisdiction over the subject-matter thereof, and whose jurisdiction over the said Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long had attached before any act was done by them as electors.

Seventh. For that said decision excludes all evidence tending to prove that the State of Florida, by all the departments of its government—legislative, executive, and judicial, has repudiated as fraudulent and void the certificate of ——— Stearns, Governor, as well as that of the State canvassers, upon which certificate of the said Governor the said commission has acted and by means of which the true electoral votes of Florida have been rejected and false ones substituted in their stead; and

Eighth. For that to count the votes of Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long as electors for President and Vice President would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

There being no further objections, the two houses separated.

In the Senate, after some debate, and after voting down all the attempts of the Democracy to adjourn or to reject the decision of the commission in the Florida case, Mr. Sherman's resolution, "That the decision of the commission on the electoral vote of the State of Florida stand as the judgment of the Senate, the objections made thereto to the contrary notwithstanding," was adopted by the following vote :

YEAS.—Messrs. Alcorn, Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chaffee, Christiancy, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamilton, Hamlin, Harvey, Hitchcock, Howe, Ingalls, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Robertson, Sargent, Sharon, Sherman, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, West, Windom, and Wright—Total, 44.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Bogy, Cockrell, Cooper, Davis, Eaton, Goldthwaite, Hereford, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Merrimon, Norwood, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Stevenson, Wallace, Whyte, and Withers—Total, 25.

In the House, after an earnest effort on the part of Messrs. Hale, Kasson, McCrary, and others to induce that body to proceed at once to the consideration of the objections, and to continue the count as required by the electoral law, that body took a recess (by a vote of 162 to 107) until Monday morning.

During the roll-call a message from the Senate announced that the Senate had agreed to the following resolution :

Resolved, That the decision of the commission upon the electoral vote of the State of Florida stand as the judgment of the Senate, the objections made thereto to the contrary notwithstanding.

The message also notified the House that the Senate was now ready to meet the House to proceed with the counting of the

electoral votes for President and Vice President.

In the House, on Monday, (February 12th,) Mr. Field offered the following :

Ordered, That the counting of the electoral votes from the State of Florida shall not proceed in conformity with the decision of the Electoral Commission, but that the votes of Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock be counted as the votes from the State of Florida for President and Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Knott, as a substitute, offered a long series of whereases, eight in number, arraigning and denouncing the decision of the Electoral Commission, and ending with the following :

Now, therefore, in order that said commission may have an opportunity to correct its manifest inconsistency therein, and to explain how and in what manner it ascertained that the certificate of M. L. Stearns, as Governor of the State of Florida, was on and according to any determination and declaration of any board of canvassers of said State :

Be it resolved, That the decision of said commission, and the grounds thereof, be, and the same are hereby, remanded and recommitted to said commission, with the request that the same be so corrected or explained to this House, and that said commission be further requested to furnish in detail the true reasons of its decision, that this House may be enlightened as to the course it ought to pursue in the discharge of its duties in respect of the vote of the State of Florida under the Constitution of the United States and the act of Congress above referred to, and that in the meantime the votes of Frederick C. Humphreys, Charles H. Pearce, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long shall not be counted.

After some debate they were decided to be out of order under the provisions of the electoral law.

The two hours provided under the law for debate upon Mr. Field's resolution were then occupied by Messrs. McCrary, Banks, Frye, Carr, and Dunnell for the Republicans, and by Messrs. Tucker, Springer, Hurd, Thompson, Walker of Virginia, Robbins, and Field for the Democracy. The efforts of the Democracy against the decision was simply a prolonged cry of "fraud," "fraud"—"the triumph of gigantic fraud"—"the consummation of villainy and fraud" in rob-

bing Tilden of the electoral vote of Florida. All that against the commission of their own creation. The Republicans, while sustaining the decision as eminently just—as the only rightful judgment possible under the Constitution and the laws, and one which vindicated justice and the rights of the people of Florida against the manifold frauds of the Democracy—threw back the charge of fraud. They had courted investigations into all these reckless charges—not merely into the frauds charged in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, but into the notorious frauds in New York city and its surroundings, by which Tilden had stolen its 35 votes; into those of New Haven, Bridgeport, and Hartford, by which the Democracy had robbed Hayes of the electoral votes of Connecticut; into those of Indiana, in which, under its laws, no registration is necessary, and into which voters were imported from Kentucky in such numbers that in one Democratic county Tilden's majority was greater than its whole male voting population. And where were the proofs of Republican frauds in Florida? The charge had not been sustained even by Democratic perjury and forgery. Who was Attorney General Cocke, upon whom the Democracy rely for their proofs? An immaculate Democrat—one of "the pure and undefiled" Democracy of the South! A member of the Florida returning board—a member whose votes and legal opinions had decided the electoral vote of Florida in favor of Hayes, and who only changed his convictions of right and duty, who was only converted to the belief that Tilden had carried the State or was entitled to its electoral vote, through an interview with a lot of New York and other foreign Democratic politicians, with the notorious Manton Marble at their head. So on with the Flemings, Green R. Moores, Floyd Dukes, and others, whose bold perjury had won the applause of Tilden and the Democracy. But under every count and recount the Hayes electors had been chosen. Where, then, were the proofs of Republican fraud? The cry itself was a fraud, an invention of the Democracy for the consummation of the

greatest crime in our history, the foisting of Tilden upon the nation as President by organized violence and fraud!

Mr. Hale proposed to amend Mr. Field's resolution so as to make it read:

Ordered, That the counting of the electoral vote from the State of Florida shall proceed in conformity with the decision of the electoral commission.

The amendment was lost—yeas, 103; nays, 167.

Mr. Field's resolution was then passed by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, John H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, John Young Brown, Samuel D. Burchard, Cabell, John H. Caldwell, William P. Caldwell, Campbell, Candler, Carr, Cate, Caulfield, Chapin, John B. Clarke of Kentucky, John B. Clark, Jr., of Missouri, Clymer, Cochrane, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Faulkner, Felton, Field, Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Andrew H. Hamilton, Robert Hamilton, Hancock, Hardenbergh, Henry R. Harris, John T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Henkle, Abram S. Hewitt, Goldsmith W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Humphreys, Hunton, Hurd, Jenks, Frank Jones, Thomas L. Jones, Kehr, Knott, Lamar, Franklin Landers, George M. Landers, Le Moyne, Levy, Lewis, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalfe, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, Payne, John F. Philips, Piper, Poppleton, Powell, Rea, Reagan, John Reilly, James B. Reilly, Rice, Riddle, John Robbins, William M. Robbins, Roberts, Miles Ross, Savage, Sayler, Scales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemons, William E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, John L. Vance, Robert B. Vance, Waddell, Gilbert C. Walker, Walling, Walsh, Ward, Warner, Warren, Watterson, Erastus Wells, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Alpheus S. Williams, Jere N. Williams, Willis, Wilshire, Benjamin Wilson, Fernando Wood, Yeates, and Young—Total, 168.

NAYS.—Messrs. Adams, George A. Bagley, John H. Baker, William H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Belford, Blair, Bradley, William R. Brown, Horatio C. Burchard,

Burleigh, Buttz, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Evans, Flye, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, Benjamin W. Harris, Hathorn, Hays, Hendee, Henderson, Hoar, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Kimball, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lynch, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, William A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Platt, Potter, Pratt, Rainey, Robinson, Sobieski Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. Herr Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, Washington Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Wait, Waldron, Alexander S. Wallace, John W. Wallace, G. Wiley Wells, Whitehouse, Whiting, Willard, Andrew Williams, Charles G. Williams, William B. Williams, James Wilson, Alan Wood, Jr., Woodburn, and Woodworth—Total, 103.

Mr. Field offered the following, which was read, considered, and adopted:

Ordered, That the Clerk inform the Senate of the action of this House, and that the House is now ready to meet the Senate in this hall.

At 2.25 o'clock P. M. the Senate entered the hall and took the seats allotted to Senators.

The President *pro tempore* then announced that the joint meeting resumes its sessions. The resolution of the Senate concurring in the decision of the Electoral Commission, and that of the House non-concurring were read, and the President declared that the counting will now proceed in conformity with the decision of the commission. The four votes of Florida was accordingly counted for Hayes and Wheeler. The votes of the States of Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas and Kentucky were severally counted without objection. When the certificates of the votes of Louisiana, signed respectively by William P. Kellogg as Governor, and John McEnery as Governor, were opened and read, objections were made to the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors, in a writing signed by Messrs. Saulsbury, McDonald, Stevenson and Bogy, Senators; and Messrs. Field, Jenks, Gibson, Tucker, Levy, Ellis and Morrison, members of the House:

I. Because on the 7th day of November,

1876, there was no law, joint resolution, or other act of the Legislature of Florida in force directing the manner in which electors for said State should be appointed.

II. Because, if any such law existed at that date, it vested the appointment of electors in the people, and the Tilden, not the Hayes, electors had been duly appointed.

III. Because the Hayes electors were not appointed in the manner directed by the constitution and the laws of Louisiana and of the United States, and the list of electors certified by the said Wm. P. Kellogg, claiming to be, but not being, Governor, were false in fact and fraudulently made and certified by said Kellogg.

IV. Because the pretended canvass of the returns of said election by J. Madison Wells, T. C. Anderson, G. Casanave, and Louis Kenner, as returning officers, was without jurisdiction and void: 1st. The statutes of Louisiana gave them no jurisdiction to make such canvass. 2d. Such statutes, if conferring such jurisdiction, are void, because unconstitutional. 3d. Such statutes, in conferring upon returning officers judicial power or discretion to reject returns and determine who were appointed electors, was in conflict with the constitution of the State and of the United States, and anti-republican. 4th. If such statutes are valid, still the returning board was illegal, being constituted of only four persons, all Republicans, when the laws declare it shall consist of five persons, of all political parties. 5th. Said returning board had no legal power to reject returns unless the foundation of such power was first laid as required by the laws, which was not done to an extent to change the result on the face of the returns. 6th. Said returning board had falsely and fraudulently certified the election of the Hayes electors. Said returning board had offered, for a money consideration, to certify a correct count, but failing to find a purchaser, had falsely, corruptly, and fraudulently certified the election of the minority candidates.

V. They especially object to the count of the vote of A. B. Levissee, because ineligible under the Constitution, he holding an office of profit and trust under the National Government at the date of appointment.

VI. They especially object to the count of the vote of O. H. Brewster, because ineligible under the Constitution, he holding an office of profit and trust under the National Government at the date of his appointment.

VII. They object and insist that under no circumstances can more than six electoral votes be counted, as Levissee and Brewster

are intelligible, and whose meaning is in the course of the long time, was the long certifying him with certain as a certain and certain, which certification are not, as he is disqualified by law from holding both offices.

VIII. *Vername*. Kellogg's certification to the Hayes election were falsely, fraudulently, and corruptly made, and issued as a part of a conspiracy between Kellogg and the returning board to cheat and defraud the rightful Tilden electors of their lawful appointment and the State of its vote for President and Vice President, and are utterly void. In support of all which they invoke the Constitution and the reports of the investigating committees of the House.

Further objections to the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors were made in a writing signed by Messrs. Haulsbury, McDonald, and Kernan, Senators; and Messrs. Jenks, Tucker, Gilman, Field, Levy, and Ellis, Representatives, because at the date of their appointment as electors - November 7th, 1876 - the government of Louisiana was not republican in form, or if republican in form, there had been no lawful canvass of the votes at said election, and any alleged canvass was an act of usurpation, fraudulent and void. They object further to the votes of Kellogg, Johnson, Burch, and Marks, Hayes electors, because at the time of their appointment they were ineligible under the laws of the State, being officers of the State government.

Further objections to the counting of the votes of the Hayen electors were made in a writing signed by Messrs. Stevenson and Whyte, Senators; and Messrs. Hooker, De Bolt, Bland, Wood, Wells and Egbert, Representatives, because the said Hayen electors were not appointed by the State in the manner directed by its Legislature.

Objections to the counting of the votes of the Tilden electors were made and signed by Messrs. Howe, Oglesby, Sherman, West, Harburt, Townsend, Joyce, Danford, Crapo, Hale and Lawrence, as follows:

respectfully object to
to for President and
United States given
been given by John
ckliff, or of either of
that there is no evi-
either of said persons

has been appointed an elector of said State in such manner as the Legislature thereof has directed; and for the further reason that there is evidence conclusive in law that neither of said persons has been appointed to be an elector for the State of Louisiana in such manner as the Legislature thereof has directed).

They respectfully object to the reading, the recording, or the acknowledging of any commission or license or certificate of appointment or of authentication signed or purporting to be signed by John McEnery as Governor of the State of Louisiana, for the reason that there is no evidence that John McEnery is now or ever was at any time during the year 1876 Governor of the State of Louisiana, and for the further reason that there is conclusive evidence that W. P. Kellogg was during the whole of the year 1876 and for several years prior thereto Governor of that State; was recognized as such by the judicial and legislative departments of the government of that State and by every department of the government of the United States.

There being no further objections the certificates and objections were referred to the Electoral Commission for its judgment and decision, and the Senate returned to its chamber.

At the meeting of the Electoral Commission on Monday, February 12th, the following communication was received (at 4.40 o'clock P. M.) and read:

HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 12, 1877.

To the President of the Commission:

More than one return or paper purporting to be a return or certificate of electoral votes of the State of Louisiana having been received and this day opened in the presence of the two houses of Congress and read, and objections thereto having been made, the said returns, with all accompanying papers, and also the objections thereto, are herewith submitted to the judgment and decision of the commission, as provided by law.

T. W. FERRY,
President of the Senate.

At the meeting of the commission on Tuesday, (February 18th,) at 11 o'clock A. M., Senator McDonald and Representative Jenks urged the objections of the Democracy to the count of Louisiana for Hayes, followed by Senator Howe and Representative Hurlbut for the Republicans in favor of that count. The argument of counsel

was opened at the evening session for the Democracy by ex-Senator Carpenter.

At the meeting of the commission on Wednesday, (February 14th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., Mr. Carpenter concluded his argument. The evidence which the Democracy proposed to submit, and asked the commission to admit, was then offered by ex-Senator Trumbull. After considerable discussion by the commissioners upon various points raised, Mr. Trumbull opened the argument for the Democracy upon the question of the admissibility of testimony, and in favor of its admission. He was followed by Messrs. Stoughton and Shellabarger for the Republicans against its admission.

At the meeting of the commission on Thursday, (February 15th,) at 10.15 o'clock A. M., Mr. Evarts continued the argument for the Republicans, and Judge Campbell closed the argument for the Democracy. The arguments on both sides were a repetition in substance of the principles and points involved in the Florida case.

At the meeting of the commission on Friday, (February 16th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., it was—

Ordered, That the evidence offered be not received.

An extension of time for further argument was declined by both sides, and the commission went into secret session, in which it adopted the following by a vote of yeas 8, nays 7 :

The Electoral Commission mentioned in said act, having received certain certificates and papers purporting to be certificates, and papers accompanying the same, of the electoral votes from the State of Louisiana, and the objections thereto submitted to it under said act, now report that it has duly considered the same pursuant to said act, and has by a majority of votes decided and does hereby decide that the votes of William P. Kellogg, J. Henri Burch, Peter Joseph, Lionel A. Sheldon, Morris Marks, Aaron B. Levissee, Orlando H. Brewster, and Oscar Joffrion, named in the certificate of William P. Kellogg, Governor of said State, which votes are certified by said persons, as appears by the certificate submitted to the commission as aforesaid, and marked numbers one (1) and three (3) by said commission, and herewith returned, are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that the

same are lawfully to be counted as therein certified, namely :

Eight votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President ; and

Eight votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President.

The commission has by a majority of votes also decided, and does hereby decide and report, that the eight persons first before named were duly appointed electors in and by the State of Louisiana.

The brief ground of this decision is that it appears, upon such evidence as by the Constitution and the law named in said act of Congress is competent and pertinent to the consideration of the subject, that the before-mentioned electors appear to have been lawfully appointed such electors of President and Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4th, A. D. 1877, of the State of Louisiana, and that they voted as such at the time and in the manner provided for by the Constitution of the United States and the law.

And the commission has by a majority of votes decided and does hereby decide that it is not competent under the Constitution and the law as it existed at the date of the passage of said act to go into evidence *aliunde* the papers opened by the President of the Senate in the presence of the two houses to prove that other persons than those regularly certified to by the Governor of the State of Louisiana on and according to the determination and declaration of their appointment by the returning officers for elections in the said State prior to the time required for the performance of their duties had been appointed electors, or by counter-proof to show that they had not ; or that the determination of the said returning officers was not in accordance with the truth and the fact ; the commission by a majority of votes being of opinion that it is not within the jurisdiction of the two houses of Congress assembled to count the votes for President and Vice President to enter upon a trial of such questions.

The commission by a majority of votes is also of opinion that it is not competent to prove that any of said persons so appointed electors as aforesaid held an office of trust or profit under the United States at the time when they were appointed or that they were ineligible under the laws of the State, or any other matter offered to be proved *aliunde* the said certificates and papers.

The commission is also of opinion by a majority of votes that the returning officers of elections who canvassed the votes at the election for electors in Louisiana were a legally constituted body by virtue of a constitutional law and that a vaca

in said body did not vitiate its proceedings.

The commission has also decided and does hereby decide by a majority of votes, and report that as a consequence of the foregoing and upon the grounds before stated that the paper purporting to be a certificate of the electoral votes of said State of Louisiana, objected to by Timothy O. Howe and others, marked "N. C. No. 2" by the commission and herewith returned, is not the certificate of the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that they ought not to be counted as such.

It was subsequently certified and signed by Samuel F. Miller, W. Strong, Joseph P. Bradley, George F. Edmunds, O. P. Morton, Fred'k T. Frelinghuysen, James A. Garfield, George F. Hoar.

On Monday, (the 19th.) the joint meeting of the two houses reassembled, and the Secretary of the Senate read the decision of the commission. The Democracy offered as objections to the decision the proceedings of the commission refusing to admit testimony and the proffered evidence, signed by all the Democratic Senators and Members. Further objections were offered by Messrs. Johnston, Wallace, Dennis, Bailey, Kernan, Kelly, and Saulsbury, Senators; and by Messrs. Hopkins, Boone, Roberts, Ashe, Money, and Clymer, Members, to the effect that the decision was in violation of law, an act of bad faith in the commission, and in disregard of truth, justice, and law, &c. Similar objections were filed by other Senators and Members. The houses then separated.

In the House, a motion for a recess was immediately made and carried.

In the Senate, after debate, the following resolution was adopted by a vote of yeas, 41; nays, 28:

Resolved, That the decision of the commission upon the electoral vote of the State of Louisiana stand as the judgment of the Senate, the objections made thereto to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the House on Tuesday, (February 20th,) after debate, a resolution was adopted, dissenting from the decision of the commission.

On the same day the joint meeting reassembled. The action of the Senate and

House was stated, and the count proceeded. The votes of Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, and Massachusetts were counted. Objection was made to the count of the vote of Daniel S. Crossman, a Michigan elector, on the ground of ineligibility, &c. The two houses separated, and both decided to count the vote of Crossman, both agreeing that he was eligible.

The joint meeting reassembled. The votes of Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, and Nebraska were counted. Objection was made to the vote of R. M. Daggett, a Nevada elector, on the ground of ineligibility, &c. The two houses separated.

The House immediately voted to take a recess until the following morning.

In the Senate, a resolution was adopted deciding to count Daggett's vote.

On the 21st, the House also adopted a resolution, deciding to count Daggett's vote. The joint meeting reassembled, and the count proceeded. The votes of Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, and Ohio were counted. Objections to the counting of the Oregon Hayes electoral votes were made by Messrs. Kelly, Cooper, Bogy, McDonald, and Stevenson, Senators; and Messrs. Field, Tucker, Lane, Jenks, Walling, Clymer, Wigginton, Poppleton, Vance, Hurd, and Luttrell, Members, to the effect that their votes have not the certificate of the Governor of Oregon, with the seal of the State, attached; that Watts, claiming to be an elector, was ineligible on the 7th day of November, 1876, he being a postmaster on that day; that the certificate of the Governor of Oregon does not contain the name of Watts; that it was lawful and right for the Governor to appoint Cronin, instead of Watts, and that Cartwright and Odell had no lawful right to appoint Watts on the 6th day of December, as on that day Watts was a postmaster and ineligible.

Objections to the count of the so-called Tilden electors were made by Messrs. Mitchell and Sargent, Senators, and Messrs. Lawrence, Hale, McCrary, and Banks, Members, to the effect that Miller, Parker, and Cronin, the said so-called Tilden electors, were never lawfully appointed as

said electors; that the lawfully appointed Hayes electors, at the time and in the manner prescribed by law, cast their votes for Hayes and Wheeler; that their votes are "the only true and lawful votes" of the State, and were duly transmitted to the President of the Senate; that they received the highest number of votes cast at the election on November 7th, 1876; that the Secretary of State, the canvassing officer under the laws of Oregon, canvassed the votes cast at said election, and certifies, under his hand and great seal of the State, that the Hayes electors were duly appointed by the qualified voters of Oregon.

These objections were referred to the electoral commission.

At the meeting of the Electoral Commission on Wednesday, (February 21st,) at 11 o'clock A. M., the order of the joint meeting of the two houses, referring the certificates with the several objections in the Oregon case to the commission, was read. Senator Kelly, followed by Representative Jenks, sustained the objections against counting the Hayes college, and Senator Mitchell, followed by Representative Lawrence, rebutted those objections. At the evening session Mr. Hoadly, as counsel, opened the argument for the Democracy.

At the meeting of the commission on Thursday, (February 22d,) at 10 o'clock A. M., Mr. Matthews opened the argument for the Republicans. Here the testimony of Messrs. Postmaster General Tyner, J. M. McGrew, and John W. Watts was taken as to the date of Watts' resignation as postmaster, establishing the fact that he resigned on the 14th of November, 1876, and had not since exercised any of the functions of the office. Then Mr. Evarts closed the argument for the Republicans, and Mr. Merrick that for the Democracy. The arguments on both sides were a repetition, in substance, of those in the Florida case on the question of the eligibility of Humphreys. The commission went into secret session.

At the meeting of the commission on Friday, (February 23d,) at 10 o'clock A. M., it proceeded to a discussion of the merits of the case. At a few minutes to 4 o'clock P.

M. the commission adjourned to Mr. Thurman's house, who was sick, for the purpose of voting on the propositions submitted by members. The motion of Commissioner Fields, that Watts was ineligible on the 7th of November, 1876, was lost by a vote of yeas 7, nays 8. The motion of Mr. Fields that, Watts being ineligible, Cartwright and Odell were the only persons duly elected, and that there was a failure to elect a third, was also lost—yeas 7, nays 8. The motion of Mr. Fields that, as the laws of Oregon make no provision for the appointment of an elector in the case of a failure by the people to choose, the attempted election of a third in Oregon was inoperative and void, was lost by a vote of yeas 7, nays 8. Mr. Bayard's motion of a like purport was also lost by the same vote. Mr. Edmunds' motion declaring the Cronin college illegal was adopted unanimously—yeas 15; and the motion of Mr. Morton, declaring Odell, Cartwright, and Watts the lawful electors of Oregon, and that their vote should be counted, was then adopted—yeas 8, nays 7. The following report was signed by Messrs. Samuel F. Miller, W. Strong, Joseph P. Bradley, George F. Edmunds, O. P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, James A. Garfield, and George F. Hoar, and addressed to the President of the Senate:

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

The Electoral Commission in said act having received certain certificates and papers, purporting to be certificates and papers accompanying the same of the electoral vote from the State of Oregon, and the objections thereto, submitted to it under said act, now reports that it has duly considered the same pursuant to said act, and has by a majority of votes decided, and does hereby decide, that the votes of W. H. Odell, J. C. Cartwright and J. W. Watts, named in the certificate of said persons, and in the papers accompanying the same, which votes are certified by said persons, as appears by the certificates submitted to the commission as aforesaid, and marked No. 1, N. C., by said commission, and herewith returned, are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United

States, and that the same are lawfully to be counted as therein certified, namely : Three votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President, and three votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President.

The commission has, by a majority of votes, also decided, and does hereby decide and report that the three persons first above-named were duly appointed electors in and by the State of Oregon.

The brief ground of this decision is that it appears upon such evidence as by the Constitution and the law named in the said act of Congress is competent and pertinent to the consideration of the subject ; that the before-mentioned electors appear to have lawfully appointed such electors of President and Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, A. D. 1877, of the State of Oregon, and that they voted as such at the time and in the manner provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and the law.

And they are further of opinion that by the laws of the State of Oregon the duty of canvassing the returns of all the votes given at an election of President and Vice President was imposed upon the Secretary of State and upon no one else.

That the Secretary of State did canvass these returns in the case before us, and thereby ascertained that J. C. Cartwright, W. H. Odell, and J. W. Watts had a majority of all the votes given for electors, and had the highest number of votes for that office, and by the express language of the statutes those persons are deemed elected.

That in obedience to his duty, the Secretary made a canvass and tabulated statement of the votes showing this result, which, according to law, he placed on file in his office on the 4th day of December, 1876. All this appears by an official certificate under the seal of the State, and signed by him, and delivered by him to the electors,

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That the act of the Governor of Oregon in giving to E. A. Cronin a certificate of his election, though he received a thousand votes less than Watts, on the ground that the latter was ineligible, was without authority of law, and is therefore void.

That although the evidence shows that Watts was a postmaster at the time of his election, that fact is rendered immaterial by his resignation both as postmaster and elector, his subsequent appointment to fill the vacancy so made by the electoral college.

The commission has also decided, and does hereby decide by a majority of votes, and reports that as a consequence of the foregoing, and upon the grounds before stated, the paper purporting to be a certificate of the electoral vote of said State of Oregon, signed by E. A. Cronin, J. N. T. Miller, and John Parker, marked No. 2, N. C., by the commission, and herewith returned, is not the certificate of the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that they ought not to be counted as such.

REASSEMBLING OF THE JOINT MEETING.

On Saturday (February 24th) the joint meeting reassembled. The decision of the commission in the Oregon case was read, and Senators Wallace, Ransom, and Whyte, and Representatives Stenger, Tucker, Roberts, Collins, Turney, Slemons, Mutchler, Cochrane, Vance, and Jenks, objected to the decision on the grounds urged by the Democratic counsel before the commission. The houses separated. The Senate affirmed the decision. The House, after the Democracy had failed in a filibustering attempt to adjourn, voted to reverse the decision.

The joint meeting reassembled. The action of the two houses was stated by the President of the Senate, and the count continued. The three votes of Oregon were counted for Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler. Objections were made to a vote of Pennsylvania, because Daniel J. Morrell, being a Centennial Commissioner on the 7th of November, 1876, was ineligible, and not meeting with the college, the appointment of Henry A. Boggs by the electors to fill the vacancy thus

created was in violation of the law of Pennsylvania, and that his vote ought not to be counted. The houses separated. In the Senate it was decided that the vote was legal, and should be counted, but in the House the Democracy forced a recess until Monday.

In the House on Monday, (the 26th,) after the Democracy had exhausted every filibustering expedient, in which Messrs. Stenger, of Pennsylvania; Hewitt, of New York; Tucker, of Virginia; Jones, of Kentucky; Davis, Beebe, Caulfield, Poppleton, Hardenbergh, Buckner, and Springer were distinguished, a resolution was adopted declaring that Boggs had not been legally appointed an elector, and that his vote should not be counted.

The joint meeting reassembled, and the twenty-nine votes of Pennsylvania were counted for Hayes and Wheeler. Objections were made to counting the vote of Wm. S. Slater, an elector for Rhode Island. The two houses separated. In the Senate, a resolution affirming the legality of Slater's vote, and that it ought to be counted, was unanimously adopted. In the House, the Democratic filibusters—its political Captain Kidds and Lafittes—were routed by a vote of yeas one hundred and eighty-two to sixty-seven nays. The House then declared that Slater's vote be counted.

The joint meeting reassembled, and the votes of Rhode Island were counted. Objections were made to the count of South Carolina for Hayes and Wheeler, by Senators Johnson and Barnum, and Representatives S. S. Cox, J. Proctor Knott, John Randolph Tucker, G. A. Jenks, W. S. Stenger, and thirty others, on the ground: first, that at the Presidential election there was no legal election held in South Carolina; second, that at the date of the election the government of the State was not republican in form; third and fourth, that the stationing of troops and the employment of deputy marshals, illegally, by the Federal Government, in the State, during the election, intimidated Democratic voters; and fifth, that there was at the date of the election no government in the State but the one sustained by Federal troops. Objections were made to the counting of

the votes of the so-called Tilden electors of South Carolina by Senators Patterson, Angus Cameron, and Christiancy, and Representatives Lawrence, Lapham, Banks, Smalls, Hoge and Rainey, on the ground that the said so-called electors were not appointed electors by South Carolina; that their list of pretended votes have not the certificate of the Governor and the seal of the State attached; that the Hayes electors were duly appointed by the State; that the proper canvassing officer of the State, after a careful canvass of all of the votes cast at the Presidential election, had duly certified their appointment; that their votes had been duly cast on the day designated by law, and the list of said votes were transmitted to the President of the Senate, with the certificate of the Governor and the great seal of the State attached.

The certificates and objections were referred to the commission.

At the meeting of the Electoral Commission on Monday, (February 26th.) at 10 o'clock A. M., the resignation of Senator Thurman, because of continued ill-health, as a member of the commission, was received. The Senate was promptly notified of the resignation, and Mr. Kernan, of New York, was unanimously elected in the place of Mr. Thurman. At its evening session the order of the joint meeting of the two houses referring the certificates and objections in the South Carolina case was read.

At the meeting of the commission on Tuesday, (February 27th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., Representatives Hurd and Cochrane, for the Democracy, sustained the objections against the Hayes electors, followed by Representative Lawrence in their support. Senator Christiancy, for the Republicans, waived his right to be heard. Messrs. Montgomery Blair and Jere. S. Black were heard as counsel, in argument, for the Democracy; but Mr. Shellabarger for the Republicans submitted their side of the case without argument.

At the evening session Mr. Morton offered resolutions declaring—

That it is not competent for the two houses, assembled to count the vote for President and Vice President, to in-

read by the Secretary of the Senate and be entered in the Journal of each house."

The report and decision of the electoral commission was read, when the President *pro tempore* asked: "Are there objections to this decision?"

Objections, which were signed by the following gentlemen: Charles W. Jones of Florida, Henry Cooper of Tennessee, Francis Kernan of New York, Eli Saulsbury of Delaware, J. E. McDonald of Indiana, W. H. Barnum of Connecticut, on the part of the Senate; J. Proctor Knott, David Dudley Field of New York, W. S. Holman of Indiana, J. R. Tucker, Charles P. Thompson, G. A. Jenks of Pennsylvania, J. J. Finley, Milton Sayler, E. Jno. Ellis, W. R. Morrison, Abram S. Hewitt, and William M. Springer, on the part of the House, were submitted by Mr. Field and read:

An objection is interposed by the undersigned Senators and Representatives to the decision made by the commission constituted by the act entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of the vote for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877," as to the true and lawful electoral vote of Florida, upon the following grounds:

First. For that the decision determines that the vote cast by Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long, as electors of President and Vice President of the United States in and for or on behalf of the State of Florida, is the true and lawful electoral vote of said State, when, in truth and in fact, the vote cast by Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock is the true and lawful vote of said State.

Second. For that said commission refused to receive competent and material evidence tending to prove that Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long were not appointed electors in the manner prescribed by the Legislature of the State of Florida, but were designated as electors by the returning board of said State corruptly and fraudulently, in disregard of law and with the intent to defeat the will of the people expressed in the choice of Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock, who were legally and regularly appointed electors by the State of

Florida, in the manner directed by the Legislature thereof.

Third. For that the decision aforesaid was founded upon the resolution and order of said commission previously made, as follows:

"Ordered, That no evidence will be received or considered by the commission which was not submitted to the joint convention of the two houses by the President of the Senate with the different certificates, except such as relates to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors."

Fourth. For that said decision excludes all the evidence taken by the two houses of Congress and the committees of each house concerning the frauds, errors, and irregularities committed by the persons whose certificates are taken as proof of the due appointment of electors.

Fifth. For that said decision excludes all evidence tending to prove that the certificate of ——— Stearns, Governor, as also that of the board of State canvassers, was procured or given in pursuance of a fraudulent and corrupt conspiracy to cheat the State of Florida out of its rightful choice of electors and to substitute therefor those who had not been chosen or appointed electors by said State in the manner directed by the Legislature thereof.

Sixth. For that said commission refused to recognize the right of the courts of the State of Florida to review and reverse the judgment of the returning board or board of State canvassers rendered through fraud and without jurisdiction, and rejected and refused to consider the action of said courts after their decision that Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long were not entitled to cast the electoral vote of Florida; which said decision was rendered by a court of said State in a case lawfully brought before said court, which court had jurisdiction over the subject-matter thereof, and whose jurisdiction over the said Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long had attached before any act was done by them as electors.

Seventh. For that said decision excludes all evidence tending to prove that the State of Florida, by all the departments of its government—legislative, executive, and judicial, has repudiated as fraudulent and void the certificate of ——— Stearns, Governor, as well as that of the State canvassers, upon which certificate of the said Governor the said commission has acted and by means of which the true electoral votes of Florida have been rejected and false ones substituted in their stead; and

Eighth. For that to count the votes of Charles H. Pearce, Frederick C. Humphreys, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long as electors for President and Vice President would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

There being no further objections, the two houses separated.

In the Senate, after some debate, and after voting down all the attempts of the Democracy to adjourn or to reject the decision of the commission in the Florida case, Mr. Sherman's resolution, "That the decision of the commission on the electoral vote of the State of Florida stand as the judgment of the Senate, the objections made thereto to the contrary notwithstanding," was adopted by the following vote :

YEAS.—Messrs. Alcorn, Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chaffee, Christiancy, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamilton, Hamlin, Harvey, Hitchcock, Howe, Ingalls, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Robertson, Sargent, Sharon, Sherman, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, West, Windom, and Wright—Total, 44.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Bogy, Cockrell, Cooper, Davis, Eaton, Goldthwaite, Hereford, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Merrimon, Norwood, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Stevenson, Wallace, Whyte, and Withers—Total, 25.

In the House, after an earnest effort on the part of Messrs. Hale, Kasson, McCrary, and others to induce that body to proceed at once to the consideration of the objections, and to continue the count as required by the electoral law, that body took a recess (by a vote of 162 to 107) until Monday morning.

During the roll-call a message from the Senate announced that the Senate had agreed to the following resolution :

Resolved, That the decision of the commission upon the electoral vote of the State of Florida stand as the judgment of the Senate, the objections made thereto to the contrary notwithstanding.

The message also notified the House that the Senate was now ready to meet the House to proceed with the counting of the

electoral votes for President and Vice President.

In the House, on Monday, (February 12th,) Mr. Field offered the following :

Ordered, That the counting of the electoral votes from the State of Florida shall not proceed in conformity with the decision of the Electoral Commission, but that the votes of Wilkinson Call, James E. Yonge, Robert B. Hilton, and Robert Bullock be counted as the votes from the State of Florida for President and Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Knott, as a substitute, offered a long series of whereases, eight in number, arraigning and denouncing the decision of the Electoral Commission, and ending with the following :

Now, therefore, in order that said commission may have an opportunity to correct its manifest inconsistency therein, and to explain how and in what manner it ascertained that the certificate of M. L. Stearns, as Governor of the State of Florida, was on and according to any determination and declaration of any board of canvassers of said State :

Be it resolved, That the decision of said commission, and the grounds thereof, be, and the same are hereby, remanded and recommitted to said commission, with the request that the same be so corrected or explained to this House, and that said commission be further requested to furnish in detail the true reasons of its decision, that this House may be enlightened as to the course it ought to pursue in the discharge of its duties in respect of the vote of the State of Florida under the Constitution of the United States and the act of Congress above referred to, and that in the meantime the votes of Frederick C. Humphreys, Charles H. Pearce, William H. Holden, and Thomas W. Long shall not be counted.

After some debate they were decided to be out of order under the provisions of the electoral law.

The two hours provided under the law for debate upon Mr. Field's resolution were then occupied by Messrs. McCrary, Banks, Frye, Carr, and Dunnell for the Republicans, and by Messrs. Tucker, Springer, Hurd, Thompson, Walker of Virginia, Robbins, and Field for the Democracy. The efforts of the Democracy against the decision was simply a prolonged cry of "fraud," "fraud"—"the triumph of gigantic fraud"—"the consummation of villainy and fraud" in rob-

bing Tilden of the electoral vote of Florida. All that against the commission of their own creation. The Republicans, while sustaining the decision as eminently just—as the only rightful judgment possible under the Constitution and the laws, and one which vindicated justice and the rights of the people of Florida against the manifold frauds of the Democracy—threw back the charge of fraud. They had courted investigations into all these reckless charges—not merely into the frauds charged in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, but into the notorious frauds in New York city and its surroundings, by which Tilden had stolen its 35 votes; into those of New Haven, Bridgeport, and Hartford, by which the Democracy had robbed Hayes of the electoral votes of Connecticut; into those of Indiana, in which, under its laws, no registration is necessary, and into which voters were imported from Kentucky in such numbers that in one Democratic county Tilden's majority was greater than its whole male voting population. And where were the proofs of Republican frauds in Florida? The charge had not been sustained even by Democratic perjury and forgery. Who was Attorney General Cocke, upon whom the Democracy rely for their proofs? An immaculate Democrat—one of "the pure and undefiled" Democracy of the South! A member of the Florida returning board—a member whose votes and legal opinions had decided the electoral vote of Florida in favor of Hayes, and who only changed his convictions of right and duty, who was only converted to the belief that Tilden had carried the State or was entitled to its electoral vote, through an interview with a lot of New York and other foreign Democratic politicians, with the notorious Manton Marble at their head. So on with the Flemings, Green R. Moores, Floyd Dukes, and others, whose bold perjury had won the applause of Tilden and the Democracy. But under every count and recount the Hayes electors had been chosen. Where, then, were the proofs of Republican fraud? The cry itself was a fraud, an invention of the Democracy for the consummation of the

greatest crime in our history, the foisting of Tilden upon the nation as President by organized violence and fraud!

Mr. Hale proposed to amend Mr. Field's resolution so as to make it read:

Ordered, That the counting of the electoral vote from the State of Florida shall proceed in conformity with the decision of the electoral commission.

The amendment was lost—yeas, 103; nays, 167.

Mr. Field's resolution was then passed by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, John H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, John Young Brown, Samuel D. Burchard, Cabell, John H. Caldwell, William P. Caldwell, Campbell, Candler, Carr, Cate, Caulfield, Chapin, John B. Clarke of Kentucky, John B. Clark, Jr., of Missouri, Clymer, Cochrane, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Faulkner, Felton, Field, Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Andrew H. Hamilton, Robert Hamilton, Hancock, Hardenbergh, Henry R. Harris, John T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Henkle, Abram S. Hewitt, Goldsmith W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Humphreys, Hunton, Hurd, Jenks, Frank Jones, Thomas L. Jones, Kehr, Knott, Lamar, Franklin Landers, George M. Landers, Le Moyne, Levy, Lewis, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalfe, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, Payne, John F. Philips, Piper, Poppleton, Powell, Rea, Reagan, John Reilly, James B. Reilly, Rice, Riddle, John Robbins, William M. Robbins, Roberts, Miles Ross, Savage, Sayler, Scales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemons, William E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, John L. Vance, Robert B. Vance, Waddell, Gilbert C. Walker, Walling, Walsh, Ward, Warner, Warren, Watterson, Erastus Wells, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Alpheus S. Williams, Jere N. Williams, Willis, Wilshire, Benjamin Wilson, Fernando Wood, Yeates, and Young—Total, 168.

NAYS.—Messrs. Adams, George A. Bagley, John H. Baker, William H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Belford, Blair, Bradley, William R. Brown, Horatio C. Burchard,

Burleigh, Buttz, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Evans, Flye, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, Benjamin W. Harris, Hathorn, Hays, Hendee, Henderson, Hoar, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Kimball, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lynch, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, William A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Platt, Potter, Pratt, Rainey, Robinson, Sobieski Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. Herr Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, Washington Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Wait, Waldron, Alexander S. Wallace, John W. Wallace, G. Wiley Wells, Whitehouse, Whiting, Willard, Andrew Williams, Charles G. Williams, William B. Williams, James Wilson, Alan Wood, Jr., Woodburn, and Woodworth—Total, 103.

Mr. Field offered the following, which was read, considered, and adopted :

Ordered, That the Clerk inform the Senate of the action of this House, and that the House is now ready to meet the Senate in this hall.

At 2.25 o'clock P. M. the Senate entered the hall and took the seats allotted to Senators.

The President *pro tempore* then announced that the joint meeting resumes its sessions. The resolution of the Senate concurring in the decision of the Electoral Commission, and that of the House non-concurring were read, and the President declared that the counting will now proceed in conformity with the decision of the commission. The four votes of Florida was accordingly counted for Hayes and Wheeler. The votes of the States of Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas and Kentucky were severally counted without objection. When the certificates of the votes of Louisiana, signed respectively by William P. Kellogg as Governor, and John McEnery as Governor, were opened and read, objections were made to the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors, in a writing signed by Messrs. Saulsbury, McDonald, Stevenson and Boggy, Senators; and Messrs. Field, Jenks, Gibson, Tucker, Levy, Ellis and Morrison, members of the House :

I. Because on the 7th day of November,

1876, there was no law, joint resolution, or other act of the Legislature of Florida in force directing the manner in which electors for said State should be appointed.

II. Because, if any such law existed at that date, it vested the appointment of electors in the people, and the Tilden, not the Hayes, electors had been duly appointed.

III. Because the Hayes electors were not appointed in the manner directed by the constitution and the laws of Louisiana and of the United States, and the list of electors certified by the said Wm. P. Kellogg, claiming to be, but not being, Governor, were false in fact and fraudulently made and certified by said Kellogg.

IV. Because the pretended canvass of the returns of said election by J. Madison Wells, T. C. Anderson, G. Casanave, and Louis Kenner, as returning officers, was without jurisdiction and void: 1st. The statutes of Louisiana gave them no jurisdiction to make such canvass. 2d. Such statutes, if conferring such jurisdiction, are void, because unconstitutional. 3d. Such statutes, in conferring upon returning officers judicial power or discretion to reject returns and determine who were appointed electors, was in conflict with the constitution of the State and of the United States, and anti-republican. 4th. If such statutes are valid, still the returning board was illegal, being constituted of only four persons, all Republicans, when the laws declare it shall consist of five persons, of all political parties. 5th. Said returning board had no legal power to reject returns unless the foundation of such power was first laid as required by the laws, which was not done to an extent to change the result on the face of the returns. 6th. Said returning board had falsely and fraudulently certified the election of the Hayes electors. Said returning board had offered, for a money consideration, to certify a correct count, but failing to find a purchaser, had falsely, corruptly, and fraudulently certified the election of the minority candidates.

V. They especially object to the count of the vote of A. B. Levissee, because ineligible under the Constitution, he holding an office of profit and trust under the National Government at the date of appointment.

VI. They especially object to the count of the vote of O. H. Brewster, because ineligible under the Constitution, he holding an office of profit and trust under the National Government at the date of his appointment.

VII. They object and insist that under no circumstances can more than six electoral votes be counted, as Levissee and Brewster

are ineligible, and object especially to the count of Kellogg's vote, said Kellogg certifying his own election as Governor and elector, which certificates are void, as he is disqualified by law from holding both offices.

VIII. Because Kellogg's certificates to the Hayes electors were falsely, fraudulently, and corruptly made and issued as a part of a conspiracy between Kellogg and the returning board to cheat and defraud the rightful Tilden electors of their lawful appointment and the State of its vote for President and Vice President, and are utterly void. In support of all which they invoke the Constitution and the reports of the investigating committees of the House.

Further objections to the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors were made in a writing signed by Messrs. Saulsbury, McDonald, and Kernan, Senators; and Messrs. Jenks, Tucker, Gibson, Field, Levy, and Ellis, Representatives, because at the date of their appointment as electors—November 7th, 1876—the government of Louisiana was not republican in form, or if republican in form, there had been no lawful canvass of the votes at said election, and any alleged canvass was an act of usurpation, fraudulent and void. They object further to the votes of Kellogg, Joffrion, Burch, and Marks, Hayes electors, because at the time of their appointment they were ineligible under the laws of the State, being officers of the State government.

Further objections to the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors were made in a writing signed by Messrs. Stevenson and Whyte, Senators; and Messrs. Hooker, De Bolt, Bland, Wood, Wells and Egbert, Representatives, because the said Hayes electors were not appointed by the State in the manner directed by its Legislature.

Objections to the counting of the votes of the Tilden electors were made and signed by Messrs. Howe, Oglesby, Sherman, West, Hurburt, Townsend, Joyce, Danford, Crapo, Hale and Lawrence, as follows:

The undersigned respectfully object to the counting of any vote for President and Vice President of the United States given or purporting to have been given by John McEnery or R. C. Wickliff, or of either of them, for the reason that there is no evidence whatever that either of said persons

has been appointed an elector of said State in such manner as the Legislature thereof has directed; and for the further reason that there is evidence conclusive in law that neither of said persons has been appointed to be an elector for the State of Louisiana in such manner as the Legislature thereof has directed.

They respectfully object to the reading, the recording, or the acknowledging of any commission or license or certificate of appointment or of authentication signed or purporting to be signed by John McEnery as Governor of the State of Louisiana, for the reason that there is no evidence that John McEnery is now or ever was at any time during the year 1876 Governor of the State of Louisiana, and for the further reason that there is conclusive evidence that W. P. Kellogg was during the whole of the year 1876 and for several years prior thereto Governor of that State; was recognized as such by the judicial and legislative departments of the government of that State and by every department of the government of the United States.

There being no further objections the certificates and objections were referred to the Electoral Commission for its judgment and decision, and the Senate returned to its chamber.

At the meeting of the Electoral Commission on Monday, February 12th, the following communication was received (at 4.40 o'clock P. M.) and read:

HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
February 12, 1877.

To the President of the Commission:

More than one return or paper purporting to be a return or certificate of electoral votes of the State of Louisiana having been received and this day opened in the presence of the two houses of Congress and read, and objections thereto having been made, the said returns, with all accompanying papers, and also the objections thereto, are herewith submitted to the judgment and decision of the commission, as provided by law.

T. W. FERRY,
President of the Senate.

At the meeting of the commission on Tuesday, (February 13th,) at 11 o'clock A. M., Senator McDonald and Representative Jenks urged the objections of the Democracy to the count of Louisiana for Hayes, followed by Senator Howe and Representative Hurlbut for the Republicans in favor of that count. The argument of counsel

was opened at the evening session for the Democracy by ex-Senator Carpenter.

At the meeting of the commission on Wednesday, (February 14th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., Mr. Carpenter concluded his argument. The evidence which the Democracy proposed to submit, and asked the commission to admit, was then offered by ex-Senator Trumbull. After considerable discussion by the commissioners upon various points raised, Mr. Trumbull opened the argument for the Democracy upon the question of the admissibility of testimony, and in favor of its admission. He was followed by Messrs. Stoughton and Shellabarger for the Republicans against its admission.

At the meeting of the commission on Thursday, (February 15th,) at 10.15 o'clock A. M., Mr. Evarts continued the argument for the Republicans, and Judge Campbell closed the argument for the Democracy. The arguments on both sides were a repetition in substance of the principles and points involved in the Florida case.

At the meeting of the commission on Friday, (February 16th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., it was—

Ordered, That the evidence offered be not received.

An extension of time for further argument was declined by both sides, and the commission went into secret session, in which it adopted the following by a vote of yeas 8, nays 7 :

The Electoral Commission mentioned in said act, having received certain certificates and papers purporting to be certificates, and papers accompanying the same, of the electoral votes from the State of Louisiana, and the objections thereto submitted to it under said act, now report that it has duly considered the same pursuant to said act, and has by a majority of votes decided and does hereby decide that the votes of William P. Kellogg, J. Henri Burch, Peter Joseph, Lionel A. Sheldon, Morris Marks, Aaron B. Levissee, Orlando H. Brewster, and Oscar Joffrion, named in the certificate of William P. Kellogg, Governor of said State, which votes are certified by said persons, as appears by the certificate submitted to the commission as aforesaid, and marked numbers one (1) and three (3) by said commission, and herewith returned, are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that the

same are lawfully to be counted as therein certified, namely :

Eight votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President; and

Eight votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President.

The commission has by a majority of votes also decided, and does hereby decide and report, that the eight persons first before named were duly appointed electors in and by the State of Louisiana.

The brief ground of this decision is that it appears, upon such evidence as by the Constitution and the law named in said act of Congress is competent and pertinent to the consideration of the subject, that the before-mentioned electors appear to have been lawfully appointed such electors of President and Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4th, A. D. 1877, of the State of Louisiana, and that they voted as such at the time and in the manner provided for by the Constitution of the United States and the law.

And the commission has by a majority of votes decided and does hereby decide that it is not competent under the Constitution and the law as it existed at the date of the passage of said act to go into evidence *aliunde* the papers opened by the President of the Senate in the presence of the two houses to prove that other persons than those regularly certified to by the Governor of the State of Louisiana on and according to the determination and declaration of their appointment by the returning officers for elections in the said State prior to the time required for the performance of their duties had been appointed electors, or by counter-proof to show that they had not; or that the determination of the said returning officers was not in accordance with the truth and the fact; the commission by a majority of votes being of opinion that it is not within the jurisdiction of the two houses of Congress assembled to count the votes for President and Vice President to enter upon a trial of such questions.

The commission by a majority of votes is also of opinion that it is not competent to prove that any of said persons so appointed electors as aforesaid held an office of trust or profit under the United States at the time when they were appointed or that they were ineligible under the laws of the State, or any other matter offered to be proved *aliunde* the said certificates and papers.

The commission is also of opinion by a majority of votes that the returning officers of elections who canvassed the votes at the election for electors in Louisiana were a legally constituted body by virtue of a constitutional law and that a vacancy

in said body did not vitiate its proceedings.

The commission has also decided and does hereby decide by a majority of votes, and report that as a consequence of the foregoing and upon the grounds before stated that the paper purporting to be a certificate of the electoral votes of said State of Louisiana, objected to by Timothy O. Howe and others, marked "N. C. No. 2" by the commission and herewith returned, is not the certificate of the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that they ought not to be counted as such.

It was subsequently certified and signed by Samuel F. Miller, W. Strong, Joseph P. Bradley, George F. Edmunds, O. P. Morton, Fred'k T. Frelinghuysen, James A. Garfield, George F. Hoar.

On Monday, (the 19th.) the joint meeting of the two houses reassembled, and the Secretary of the Senate read the decision of the commission. The Democracy offered as objections to the decision the proceedings of the commission refusing to admit testimony and the proffered evidence, signed by all the Democratic Senators and Members. Further objections were offered by Messrs. Johnston, Wallace, Dennis, Bailey, Kernan, Kelly, and Saulsbury, Senators; and by Messrs. Hopkins, Boone, Roberts, Ashe, Money, and Clymer, Members, to the effect that the decision was in violation of law, an act of bad faith in the commission, and in disregard of truth, justice, and law, &c. Similar objections were filed by other Senators and Members. The houses then separated.

In the House, a motion for a recess was immediately made and carried.

In the Senate, after debate, the following resolution was adopted by a vote of yeas, 41; nays, 28:

Resolved, That the decision of the commission upon the electoral vote of the State of Louisiana stand as the judgment of the Senate, the objections made thereto to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the House on Tuesday, (February 20th,) after debate, a resolution was adopted, dissenting from the decision of the commission.

On the same day the joint meeting reassembled. The action of the Senate and

House was stated, and the count proceeded. The votes of Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, and Massachusetts were counted. Objection was made to the count of the vote of Daniel S. Crossman, a Michigan elector, on the ground of ineligibility, &c. The two houses separated, and both decided to count the vote of Crossman, both agreeing that he was eligible.

The joint meeting reassembled. The votes of Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, and Nebraska were counted. Objection was made to the vote of R. M. Daggett, a Nevada elector, on the ground of ineligibility, &c. The two houses separated.

The House immediately voted to take a recess until the following morning.

In the Senate, a resolution was adopted deciding to count Daggett's vote.

On the 21st, the House also adopted a resolution, deciding to count Daggett's vote. The joint meeting reassembled, and the count proceeded. The votes of Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, and Ohio were counted. Objections to the counting of the Oregon Hayes electoral votes were made by Messrs. Kelly, Cooper, Bogy, McDonald, and Stevenson, Senators; and Messrs. Field, Tucker, Lane, Jenks, Walling, Clymer, Wigginton, Poppleton, Vance, Hurd, and Luttrell, Members, to the effect that their votes have not the certificate of the Governor of Oregon, with the seal of the State, attached; that Watts, claiming to be an elector, was ineligible on the 7th day of November, 1876, he being a postmaster on that day; that the certificate of the Governor of Oregon does not contain the name of Watts; that it was lawful and right for the Governor to appoint Cronin, instead of Watts, and that Cartwright and Odell had no lawful right to appoint Watts on the 6th day of December, as on that day Watts was a postmaster and ineligible.

Objections to the count of the so-called Tilden electors were made by Messrs. Mitchell and Sargent, Senators, and Messrs. Lawrence, Hale, McCrary, and Banks, Members, to the effect that Miller, Parker, and Cronin, the said so-called Tilden electors, were never lawfully appointed as

said electors; that the lawfully appointed Hayes electors, at the time and in the manner prescribed by law, cast their votes for Hayes and Wheeler; that their votes are "the only true and lawful votes" of the State, and were duly transmitted to the President of the Senate; that they received the highest number of votes cast at the election on November 7th, 1876; that the Secretary of State, the canvassing officer under the laws of Oregon, canvassed the votes cast at said election, and certifies, under his hand and great seal of the State, that the Hayes electors were duly appointed by the qualified voters of Oregon.

These objections were referred to the electoral commission.

At the meeting of the Electoral Commission on Wednesday, (February 21st,) at 11 o'clock A. M., the order of the joint meeting of the two houses, referring the certificates with the several objections in the Oregon case to the commission, was read. Senator Kelly, followed by Representative Jenks, sustained the objections against counting the Hayes college, and Senator Mitchell, followed by Representative Lawrence, rebutted those objections. At the evening session Mr. Hoadly, as counsel, opened the argument for the Democracy.

At the meeting of the commission on Thursday, (February 22d,) at 10 o'clock A. M., Mr. Matthews opened the argument for the Republicans. Here the testimony of Messrs. Postmaster General Tyner, J. M. McGrew, and John W. Watts was taken as to the date of Watts' resignation as postmaster, establishing the fact that he resigned on the 14th of November, 1876, and had not since exercised any of the functions of the office. Then Mr. Evarts closed the argument for the Republicans, and Mr. Merrick that for the Democracy. The arguments on both sides were a repetition, in substance, of those in the Florida case on the question of the eligibility of Humphreys. The commission went into secret session.

At the meeting of the commission on Friday, (February 23d,) at 10 o'clock A. M., it proceeded to a discussion of the merits of the case. At a few minutes to 4 o'clock P.

M. the commission adjourned to Mr. Thurman's house, who was sick, for the purpose of voting on the propositions submitted by members. The motion of Commissioner Fields, that Watts was ineligible on the 7th of November, 1876, was lost by a vote of yeas 7, nays 8. The motion of Mr. Fields that, Watts being ineligible, Cartwright and Odell were the only persons duly elected, and that there was a failure to elect a third, was also lost—yeas 7, nays 8. The motion of Mr. Fields that, as the laws of Oregon make no provision for the appointment of an elector in the case of a failure by the people to choose, the attempted election of a third in Oregon was inoperative and void, was lost by a vote of yeas 7, nays 8. Mr. Bayard's motion of a like purport was also lost by the same vote. Mr. Edmunds' motion declaring the Cronin college illegal was adopted unanimously—yeas 15; and the motion of Mr. Morton, declaring Odell, Cartwright, and Watts the lawful electors of Oregon, and that their vote should be counted, was then adopted—yeas 8, nays 7. The following report was signed by Messrs. Samuel F. Miller, W. Strong, Joseph P. Bradley, George F. Edmunds, O. P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, James A. Garfield, and George F. Hoar, and addressed to the President of the Senate:

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

The Electoral Commission in said act having received certain certificates and papers, purporting to be certificates and papers accompanying the same of the electoral vote from the State of Oregon, and the objections thereto, submitted to it under said act, now reports that it has duly considered the same pursuant to said act, and has by a majority of votes decided, and does hereby decide, that the votes of W. H. Odell, J. C. Cartwright and J. W. Watts, named in the certificate of said persons, and in the papers accompanying the same, which votes are certified by said persons, as appears by the certificates submitted to the commission as aforesaid, and marked No. 1, N. C., by said commission, and herewith returned, are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United

States, and that the same are lawfully to be counted as therein certified, namely : Three votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President, and three votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President.

The commission has, by a majority of votes, also decided, and does hereby decide and report that the three persons first above-named were duly appointed electors in and by the State of Oregon.

The brief ground of this decision is that it appears upon such evidence as by the Constitution and the law named in the said act of Congress is competent and pertinent to the consideration of the subject ; that the before-mentioned electors appear to have lawfully appointed such electors of President and Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, A. D. 1877, of the State of Oregon, and that they voted as such at the time and in the manner provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and the law.

And they are further of opinion that by the laws of the State of Oregon the duty of canvassing the returns of all the votes given at an election of President and Vice President was imposed upon the Secretary of

on no one else.
 ecretary of State did canvass
 in the case before us, and
 rtained that J. C. Cartwright,
 and J. W. Watts had a major-
 votes given for electors, and
 est number of votes for that
 the express language of the
 persons are deemed elected.
 idience to his duty, the Secre-
 canvass and tabulated state-
 tes showing this result, which,
 law, he placed on file in his
 4th day of December, 1876.
 ars by an official certificate
 l of the State, and signed by
 vered by him to the electors,
 d by them to the President of
 ith their votes.

fusal or failure of the Gover-
 1 to sign the certificate of the
 e persons so elected does not
 t of defeating their appoint-
 electors.

That the act of the Governor of Oregon in giving to E. A. Cronin a certificate of his election, though he received a thousand votes less than Watts, on the ground that the latter was ineligible, was without authority of law, and is therefore void.

That although the evidence shows that Watts was a postmaster at the time of his election, that fact is rendered immaterial by his resignation both as postmaster and elector, his subsequent appointment to fill the vacancy so made by the electoral college.

The commission has also decided, and does hereby decide by a majority of votes, and reports that as a consequence of the foregoing, and upon the grounds before stated, the paper purporting to be a certificate of the electoral vote of said State of Oregon, signed by E. A. Cronin, J. N. T. Miller, and John Parker, marked No. 2, N. C., by the commission, and herewith returned, is not the certificate of the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that they ought not to be counted as such.

REASSEMBLING OF THE JOINT MEETING.

On Saturday (February 24th) the joint meeting reassembled. The decision of the commission in the Oregon case was read, and Senators Wallace, Ransom, and Whyte, and Representatives Stenger, Tucker, Roberts, Collins, Turney, Slemons, Mutchler, Cochrane, Vance, and Jenks, objected to the decision on the grounds urged by the Democratic counsel before the commission. The houses separated. The Senate affirmed the decision. The House, after the Democracy had failed in a filibustering attempt to adjourn, voted to reverse the decision.

The joint meeting reassembled. The action of the two houses was stated by the President of the Senate, and the count continued. The three votes of Oregon were counted for Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler. Objections were made to a vote of Pennsylvania, because Daniel J. Morrell, being a Centennial Commissioner on the 7th of November, 1876, was ineligible, and not meeting with the college, the appointment of Henry A. Boggs by the electors to fill the vacancy thus

created was in violation of the law of Pennsylvania, and that his vote ought not to be counted. The houses separated. In the Senate it was decided that the vote was legal, and should be counted, but in the House the Democracy forced a recess until Monday.

In the House on Monday, (the 26th,) after the Democracy had exhausted every filibustering expedient, in which Messrs. Stenger, of Pennsylvania; Hewitt, of New York; Tucker, of Virginia; Jones, of Kentucky; Davis, Beebe, Caulfield, Poppleton, Hardenbergh, Buckner, and Springer were distinguished, a resolution was adopted declaring that Boggs had not been legally appointed an elector, and that his vote should not be counted.

The joint meeting reassembled, and the twenty-nine votes of Pennsylvania were counted for Hayes and Wheeler. Objections were made to counting the vote of Wm. S. Slater, an elector for Rhode Island. The two houses separated. In the Senate, a resolution affirming the legality of Slater's vote, and that it ought to be counted, was unanimously adopted. In the House, the Democratic filibusters—its political Captain Kidds and Lafittes—were routed by a vote of yeas one hundred and eighty-two to sixty-seven nays. The House then declared that Slater's vote be counted.

The joint meeting reassembled, and the votes of Rhode Island were counted. Objections were made to the count of South Carolina for Hayes and Wheeler, by Senators Johnson and Barnum, and Representatives S. S. Cox, J. Proctor Knott, John Randolph Tucker, G. A. Jenks, W. S. Stenger, and thirty others, on the ground: first, that at the Presidential election there was no legal election held in South Carolina; second, that at the date of the election the government of the State was not republican in form; third and fourth, that the stationing of troops and the employment of deputy marshals, illegally, by the Federal Government, in the State, during the election, intimidated Democratic voters; and fifth, that there was at the date of the election no government in the State but the one sustained by Federal troops. Objections were made to the counting of

the votes of the so-called Tilden electors of South Carolina by Senators Patterson, Angus Cameron, and Christiancy, and Representatives Lawrence, Lapham, Banks, Smalls, Hoge and Rainey, on the ground that the said so-called electors were not appointed electors by South Carolina; that their list of pretended votes have not the certificate of the Governor and the seal of the State attached; that the Hayes electors were duly appointed by the State; that the proper canvassing officer of the State, after a careful canvass of all of the votes cast at the Presidential election, had duly certified their appointment; that their votes had been duly cast on the day designated by law, and the list of said votes were transmitted to the President of the Senate, with the certificate of the Governor and the great seal of the State attached.

The certificates and objections were referred to the commission.

At the meeting of the Electoral Commission on Monday, (February 26th.) at 10 o'clock A. M., the resignation of Senator Thurman, because of continued ill-health, as a member of the commission, was received. The Senate was promptly notified of the resignation, and Mr. Kernan, of New York, was unanimously elected in the place of Mr. Thurman. At its evening session the order of the joint meeting of the two houses referring the certificates and objections in the South Carolina case was read.

At the meeting of the commission on Tuesday, (February 27th,) at 10 o'clock A. M., Representatives Hurd and Cochrane, for the Democracy, sustained the objections against the Hayes electors, followed by Representative Lawrence in their support. Senator Christiancy, for the Republicans, waived his right to be heard. Messrs. Montgomery Blair and Jere. S. Black were heard as counsel, in argument, for the Democracy; but Mr. Shellabarger for the Republicans submitted their side of the case without argument.

At the evening session Mr. Morton offered resolutions declaring—

That it is not competent for the houses, assembled to count the votes for President and Vice President, to

by evidence whether a State, regularly represented in the two houses of Congress, and recognized as a State of the United States by the other departments of the Government, has a government Republican in form; that while public disturbance and anarchy in any State may make it impossible for the State to appoint electors of President and Vice President, and is sufficient cause for rejecting any electoral votes purporting to be the votes of electors appointed thereby, yet, that where a State is regularly represented as a State in Congress, and is recognized as a State by the other departments of the Government, and has a government republican in form, and does appoint electors in the manner prescribed by the Legislature thereof, evidence cannot be received by the two houses of Congress assembled to count the votes, to show that disturbance existed at the time of election, which may have interfered to a greater or less extent with the freedom of election at the polls in said State; nor to inquire into the regularity of the action of the President of the United States in sending a military force into any State for the preservation of order or the suppression of insurrection and domestic violence, in order by such proof to lay a ground for rejecting the electoral vote of said State; that, consequently, the electoral votes of the State of South Carolina ought to be received and counted, if not objectionable on other grounds; and that the other objections show no valid cause for rejecting the same.

Mr. Field offered as substitutes resolutions declaring—

That evidence is admissible to show that prior to or during the election on the 7th day of November, 1876, in the State of South Carolina, there were unlawfully stationed in various parts of the State, at or near the polling places, detachments of United States troops and over one thousand United States deputy marshals, by whose presence and influence qualified voters of the State were deprived of the right of suffrage, and a free choice by the people of Presidential electors was prevented.

Mr. Field's resolutions were rejected, and Mr. Morton's adopted by a vote of eight to seven.

On motion of Mr. Frelinghuysen, the so-called Tilden electors were declared "not the lawful electors for the State of South Carolina." Yeas 8, nays 7.

On motion of Mr. Morton, it was declared that C. C. Bowen, J. Winsmith,

Thomas B. Johnston, Timothy Hurley, W. B. Nash, Wilson Cook, and W. F. Myers, the Hayes electors, were the lawfully-appointed electors for the State, and that their votes should be counted. Yeas 8, nays 7.

The following report was signed by Messrs. Samuel F. Miller, W. Strong, Joseph P. Bradley, George F. Edmunds, O. P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, James A. Garfield, and George F. Hoar, and addressed to the President of the Senate:

The Electoral Commission, mentioned in said act, having received certain subpoenas and papers purporting to be certificates, and papers accompanying the same, of the electoral votes from the State of South Carolina, and the objections thereto submitted to it under said act, now report that it has duly considered the same pursuant to said act, and has, by a majority of votes decided, and does hereby decide, that the votes of C. C. Bowen, J. Winsmith, Thomas B. Johnson, Timothy Hurley, W. B. Nash, Wilson Cook, and W. F. Myers, named in the certificate of D. H. Chamberlain, Governor of said State, which votes are certified by said persons, as appears by the certificates submitted to the commission as aforesaid, and marked "No. 1, S. C.," by said committee, and herewith returned, are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and that the same are lawfully to be counted as herein certified, namely: Seven (7) votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of the State of Ohio, for President, and seven (7) votes for William A. Wheeler, of the State of New York, for Vice President.

The commission has, by a majority of votes, also decided, and does hereby decide and report, that the seven persons just above named were duly appointed electors in and by the State of South Carolina.

The brief ground of this decision is, that it appears upon such evidence as by the Constitution and the law named in said act of Congress, is competent and pertinent to the consideration of the subject, that the before mentioned electors appear to have been lawfully appointed such electors of President and Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, A. D. 1877, of the State of South Carolina, and that they voted as such at the time and in the manner provided for by the Constitution of the United States and the law.

And the commission, as further grounds for their decision, are of opinion that the failure of the Legislature to provide a sys-

tem for the registration of persons entitled to vote, does not render nugatory all elections held under said laws, otherwise sufficient, though it may be the duty of the Legislature to enact such a law. If it were otherwise all government in that State is a usurpation, its officers without authority, and the social compact in that State is at an end.

That this commission must take notice that there is a government in South Carolina republican in form, since its constitution provides for such a government, and it is, and was on the day of appointing electors, so recognized by the Executive, and by both branches of the legislative departments of the Government of the United States.

That so far as the commission can take notice of the presence of the soldiers of the United States in the State of South Carolina during the election, it appears that they were placed there by the President of the United States, to suppress insurrection, at the request of the proper authorities of the State.

But we are also of opinion that under the papers before us it appears that the Governor and Secretary of State having certified under the seal of the State that the electors whose votes we have decided to be the lawful electoral votes of the State were duly appointed electors, which certificates, both by presumption of law and by the certificate of the rival claimants of the electoral office, was based upon the action of the State canvassers, there exists no power in this commission, as there exists none in the two houses of Congress, in counting the electoral vote, to inquire into the circumstances under which the primary vote for electors was given.

The power of the Congress of the United States, in its legislative capacity, to inquire into the matters alleged and to act upon the information so obtained, is a very different one from its power in the matter of counting the electoral votes. The votes to be counted are those presented by the States, and when ascertained and presented by the proper authorities of the States they must be counted.

The commission has also decided, by a majority of votes, and does hereby direct and report, that as a cause of the foregoing and upon the grounds before stated, the paper purporting to be the electoral vote of said State of South Carolina, signed by Theodore R. Barker, S. McGowan, John W. Harrington, John Isaac Ingram, William Wallace, John B. Erwin, Robert Aldrich, marked "No. 2, S. C.," by the commission, and herewith returned, is not the certificate of the votes provided for by the Constitu-

tion of the United States, and that they ought not to be counted as such.

When the following resolution, offered by Mr. Morton, was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of the commission are due to Commissioner Clifford for the ability, impartiality, and urbanity with which he has presided over its deliberations.

The members of the commission were authorized to file, and have printed with its proceedings, the remarks made by them during its consultations, and removed from its private sessions the injunction of secrecy.

In the House the squad of Democratic filibusters attempted delay through their discreditable tactics, but were signally defeated. Mr. Springer's motion for a recess was rejected by a vote of yeas 92 to nays 170. Under the rulings of Speaker Randall their points of order and appeals—all for the purpose of delay—were soon disposed of. The Clerk read the decision of the Electoral Commission and the objections in the joint meeting of the two houses respecting the votes of South Carolina. When Mr. Philips, of Missouri, asked that the testimony in the case be read, Mr. Wood, of New York, objected, because the evidence comprised twelve hundred pages, and the reading, at the rate of ten pages per hour, would consume over five days; hence the object of calling for the reading was to defeat the count. The Speaker submitted the question to the House, and it refused, by a vote of 87 yeas to 175 nays, to have the testimony read. After the two hours debate under the electoral law had been exhausted, upon a resolution sustaining the objections, a call was made for the question, but an amendment of Mr. Walling, of Ohio, and the tactics of the filibusters were interposed, and they succeeded in forcing the following agreement :

"The amendment to be withdrawn, and the House to come to a direct vote upon the original resolution as amended by Mr. Walling, of Ohio; the Senate then to be invited to meet the House for the purpose of continuing the count; and when the State of Vermont shall be reached, and the two houses shall separate, then the House to take a recess until to-morrow at 10 o'clock."

The resolution sustaining the objections was then adopted.

In the Senate a resolution sustaining the decision of the commission was adopted.

The two houses reassembled in joint meeting. The separate action of the two houses was read and the count continued. The votes of South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas were counted; when objection was made to the count of the votes of Vermont by Senator Merrimon and Representatives Springer and Hamilton on the ground that dual returns had been sent to the President of the Senate from the State. President Ferry stated that he had received but one return from the State. Mr. Hewitt offered a duplicate of the second return. The President declined to receive it. The law forbade his receiving any such paper after the first Thursday in February. Mr. Springer, of Illinois, produced an indecent scene by his violent and unparliamentary conduct, and President Ferry was compelled, again and again, to direct him to take his seat. Other objections, signed by Senator Barnum and Representatives Poppleton, McMahon, and others were filed, to the effect that Henry S. Sollace, a Hayes elector of the State of Vermont at the date of the last Presidential election, was ineligible as an elector, &c., but that the vote of Amos Aldrich, (Cronin, No. 2,) the Democratic elector who received the highest vote at the election, should be counted.

Here Mr. Springer attempted a renewal of his indecent conduct by demanding that the case of Vermont—it having dual returns—be referred to the Electoral Commission. The President of the Senate stated that he had received but the one set of returns, which had been read, and as there were no further objections he and the Senate withdrew.

The House then took a recess, as per agreement. In the Senate, after a brief debate, a resolution was unanimously adopted declaring that the vote of Sollace should be counted, when the Senate took a recess until the following morning.

In the House on Thursday, (March 1st,) the recess having expired, an attempt was made to consider and dispose of the objec-

tions in joint meeting to the count of Sollace's vote in the electoral college of Vermont. That the filibusters at once opposed by all manner of motions. They demanded that the bogus electoral certificate from Vermont presented by Mr. Hewitt be returned to the House by the President of the Senate, who they insisted had carried it away, and retained it in his custody; that it be opened by him in the joint meeting, and that if it contain a dual certificate of votes that the case of Vermont be referred to the Electoral Commission. All these demands were successively voted down by a decisive majority of the House. Then calls of the House by divisions, by tellers, and by yeas and nays, motions to reconsider these and to lay them on the table by yeas and nays, and motions to take recesses and the like; rising to frivolous points of orders without point, of questions of privilege, of "higher" privilege than the "highest" privilege—all amid the wildest confusion and indecent uproar; members rising and standing, some garrulously attempting spread-eagle bombast, others shouting in the effort to make themselves heard, and others gesticulating furiously, in all of which the galleries and lobby participated. Again and again were the lobbies and cloak-rooms cleared. All attempts and appeals of the Speaker and orderly members of the body to preserve the decorum of the House were openly defied. The scene baffles description. Engaged in it most prominently were Poppleton and Walling, of Ohio; Caulfield and Springer, of Illinois; Beebe, of New York; O'Brien, of Maryland; and Mills, of Texas—Beebe actually mounting a desk and ranting like a crazy harlequin in a mountebank show. At length the House reached the main question. The Senate had on the previous evening unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that the vote of Sollace should be counted. The House now voted that it should not be counted.

The joint meeting reassembled. The count was resumed. The votes of Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia were counted. Objections were made to the count of Daniel L. Downs, a Hayes elector

for Wisconsin, on the ground of ineligibility, he having been, it was alleged, at the date of his appointment, an examining surgeon for the Pension Office. The two houses separated. The Senate promptly decided that Downs' vote ought to be counted. In the House filibustering, indecent confusion and uproar again long prevailed. Mr. Mills, of Texas, moved a long series of "whereases," declaring that Tilden had been elected by the people, and denouncing the canvassing officers and Governors of Louisiana and Florida as guilty of corruption and fraud, and the Electoral Commission of duplicity and bad faith, declaring that Hayes had not been duly and legally elected, and ending with the following :

Resolved by the House of Representatives,
That said House will proceed immediately, in obedience to the Constitution, to choose a President.

Manifestly, a majority of the House was in favor of its adoption, but after a struggle it was beaten by the point that it was not in order, or germane to the objections under consideration, and the question upon Downs' vote was reached, and the House resolved that it should not be counted.

The joint meeting reassembled. The separate resolutions of the two houses were read and the count concluded. The five votes of Wisconsin were counted for Hayes and Wheeler, and the President of

the Senate, after receiving the result from the tellers, announced that Rutherford B. Hayes having received 185 votes, a majority of all the votes cast, is duly elected President of the United States, and William A. Wheeler, having received 185 votes, a majority of all the votes cast, is duly elected Vice President of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March, 1877.

So the mighty struggle ended, and fortunately for the country, in the triumph of justice and right. During the later scenes of the disgraceful proceedings in the House, on Friday morning, Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky, in his ill-suppressed malice, called its attention "to the fact that Friday had been ushered in—Friday, 'hangman's day'—a fit day to witness the consummation of the villainy of this procedure." Mr. Williams, of Wisconsin, responded. He said: "This is not only Friday, but hangman's day; and there could be no more fitting time than just past the hour of midnight—

'When churchyards yawn, and Hell itself
breathes out
Contagion to this world'—

that this bogus, pretentious, bastard brat of political reform, which for the last twelve months has affronted the eyes of God and men, should be strangled to death, gibbeted higher than Haman!" And so it was.

THE INAUGURATION OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

By proclamation President Grant summoned, as is usual in such cases, an extra meeting of the Senate, to convene on Monday, March 5th, at 12 noon, to attend the inauguration of President elect R. B. Hayes, and of Vice President elect William A. Wheeler. The arrangements for this occasion have been made known to the country through the public press. Attended by an immense concourse of the most distinguished and prominent persons in official life, with a large number of ladies, and of visitors from all parts of the country, the members of the diplomatic corps, the judges of the Supreme Court, the outgoing

Cabinet, and many other notables, the Senate convened at the hour designated. It was then organized by administering the oath to Vice President Wheeler and to the incoming Senators in the presence of the august assembly. The body then repaired to the stand prepared, in the usual place, on the east front of the Capitol, where, after all was arranged, the President elect received the oath of office at the hands of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and there, before a surging sea of upturned faces, delivered his inaugural address. This done, he was subsequently conveyed in the midst of a mighty

procession back to the Executive Mansion, to enter on the duties of his term.

The time for preparation was exceedingly short. The city was thronged with strangers, and in the midst of the strongest and most bitter current of party and political excitement that ever swayed the nation, the proceedings of the day were accomplished without disorder, and as becomes the dignity of a great people and the fame of the great Republic—*esto perpetua*.

The inaugural address of President Hayes is a plain, manly statement of the condition of the country, and of what is required in order to secure the desired end. It is in harmony with what was said in his letter of acceptance. He gives the Southern question great prominence as a subject "of su-

preme importance," as it certainly is, and defines it as "the permanent pacification of the country upon such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights." This view of the case will be heartily indorsed by every good citizen throughout the country, as will also the declaration that "the evils which afflict the Southern States can only be removed or remedied by the united and harmonious efforts of both races, actuated by motives of mutual sympathy and regard." He points to the necessity of the material development of the South, urges reform in the civil service, and closes with an earnest appeal in a united effort "to secure to our country the blessings of justice, peace, and union."

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

THE ELECTORAL COUNT.

The matter of President-making has pretty thoroughly absorbed the time and attention of Congress during the present session. The history of this most marvelous and unprecedented state of things is so thoroughly and accurately given in this number as to preclude the necessity of further notice in this place. One very singular result may, however, be mentioned. In the Senate Hon. T. W. Ferry, President of the Senate, ruled that the electoral-count day begun on Thursday, February 1st, and that it continues until the completion of the count, which must be before the 4th of March; and, further, that the legislative day can only transpire during the time that the Electoral Commission is sitting upon a case which has been referred to it under the recent law. At all other times no business has been in order but proceeding with the electoral count. As the Electoral Commission has been in session a considerable portion of the time since February 1st, this ruling, which is undoubtedly correct, has permitted the business of the Senate to proceed with less delay than at first might be supposed. In the House Mr. Speaker Randall started out

upon a different theory, which was that nothing could be done after the count begun, aside from the proceedings of the count itself, except by unanimous consent. After a week or ten days of obstruction to the ordinary and necessary business of Congress, produced by this ruling, it was found necessary to change it and take the theory adopted by the President of the Senate.

THE APPROPRIATIONS.

The regular appropriation bills have this year been allowed to pass without much scrutiny or contest, the Democrats in the House having pretty much their own way of fixing them, as there has been no time for long discussions over these bills.

REPORTS OF INVESTIGATIONS.

The various committees constituted at the commencement of the session to examine into the existence and extent of fraud and intimidation in the late Presidential election, have either fully or nearly completed their labors, and some of the reports have been already made or made in part. An immense mass of evidence has been taken, and the want of time and the general confusion will prevent this

Congress from ever being able in any proper manner to digest it, and it must be turned over to the archives of the Capitol, to furnish food for the curious and the philosophical, or to aid the future historian in his researches in regard to the actual condition of these eventful times.

CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

An interesting memorial touching the provision for a suitable place for the deposit of the relics of the Centennial Exposition, which have been accumulating in large quantities from our own and foreign countries, has been made in the House. The list of countries presenting these materials, besides our own, is as follows: Argentine Republic, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Chili, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Hawaii, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Orange Free States, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Siam, Switzerland, Turkey, Tunis, Great Britain, Bermuda, Canada, New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Venezuela. It is likely that a building will be furnished by the Government for these materials.

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

In the Senate a long discussion has been in progress on a bill reported to amend the former legislation in regard to the Pacific railroad companies and the matters necessary to be adjusted between them and the Government of the United States. But no conclusion has been reached thereon.

THE RECUSANT WITNESSES.

Governor Wells and General Anderson, members of the Returning Board of the State of Louisiana, have been held in contempt by the Democratic House and placed in close confinement in the basement of the Capitol for not producing papers and documents over which they have now no control, and which they have no right to produce if they possessed them. The oppression of the House has been in this instance arbitrary and severe, and has called forth an indignant protest from a large portion of the press of the country. It is an evil, however, which will, in a few days, come to an end; and if there is any redress

for such treatment under the laws and in the courts of the country, these gentlemen ought to prosecute it to the end.

MR. JAMES B. EADS.

This gentleman, having succeeded with his jetties in making the contemplated improvement in the south pass of the mouth of the Mississippi river, comes now before Congress, claiming, under former legislation, half a million of dollars. Much discussion has followed this application, but Congress has finally awarded it to him, and the money has been paid from the United States Treasury.

THE DISTRICT TAX BILL.

This bill has been pending some time in the Senate, but was finally passed by that body. Its provisions are rather onerous upon the tax-payers of the District, but on the whole may be accepted as the fairest that Congress is disposed to concede. The rate of taxation on real estate in the cities of Washington and Georgetown is \$1 50 to the \$100, and in other parts of the District \$1 to the \$100. Church edifices and school buildings are exempt. The bill, in substance, will doubtless become a law, and stand for the present as the legislation controlling this important subject.

COMPLETION OF THE COUNT.

On the morning of March 2d, at about 4 o'clock, Congress having been in session all night, and that on the heel of one of the most exciting days ever known in the Capitol, the two houses having met for the last time in joint convention, the vote of Wisconsin, the last of the thirty-eight States of the Union, was counted for Hayes and Wheeler. The tellers summed up the count, and Mr. Allison, one of the Senate tellers, announced the vote to stand as follows: Whole number of votes of the electoral college, 369; for Hayes and Wheeler, 185; for Tilden and Hendricks, 184.

Then, in the presence of a large concourse of people and of the two houses of Congress, and in the midst of circumstances that were truly dramatic, the President of the Senate, Hon. T. W. Ferry, in the usual form declared the result of the election. He then dissolved the joint convention, and

the two houses separated and soon after adjourned to meet for legislation at 12 o'clock noon.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

This tribunal met in the room of the Supreme Court on Friday, March 2d, and after the settlement of some routine business, the salaries of reporters, clerks, and officers, adjourned *sine die*. Much has been said of this commission *pro* and *con*. It has had one of the most difficult, arduous, and delicate tasks to accomplish that was ever assigned to the judgment of men. But it has settled the controversy which menaced anarchy to the nation; and when the smoke of the contest has cleared away it is believed that its decisions will be accepted by all reasonable and fair-minded men as the only proper and legal conclusions which could have been reached, and its judgment will be honored in time to come as the only means of safety to the Republic in a time of imminent peril.

THE APPROPRIATION BILLS.

As noted above the regular appropriations have been kept far behind, not only from want of time and attention, but from various grave points of difference between the Senate and the House, such as the President's salary, the number of the standing army, the questions of internal improvement, and many others. The last two days of the session have found Congress under an unusual pressure, straining every nerve to complete the necessary legislation before its expiration. Frequent committees of conference have been raised, and every hour has been appropriated, even up to the last moment at 12 o'clock noon on Sunday, a necessity which many of the better portion of the people will regret. In the afternoon of Saturday the army bill was under consideration in the Senate. The legislative bill was in the hands of a second conference committee, the chief difference being the item of the President's salary. The navy, post office, and sundry civil service bills were in first conference. The river and harbor bill was yet in the hands of the appropriation committee. The Indian, West Point, deficiency, pension, consular and diplomatic, and fortification bills had all become laws. The postal

bill was hanging fire on the Pacific mail subsidy. Later the Senate receded from its demand, and the subsidy was stricken out. To work these bills through before the expiration of Congress was an exhausting task, especially with men who by so long a strain upon them were already worn out with fatigue. President Grant was in his room awaiting the bills for signature. So the night wore away. The struggle over the army bill was intense. No agreement could be effected. Slowly the two houses came to an agreement amid an indescribable confusion which transcended any other former closing of Congress known for many years.

THE CLOSING SCENES.

The Sabbath morning dawned upon the flags still floating above the Capitol. Men, tired and haggard, looking after some interest which engrossed them, still traversed the corridors and hung about the doors. In the Senate the business went on with comparative order and dispatch. In the House nearly three hundred members were at times struggling for the floor to make a speech or raise some point of order, and the gavel of the Speaker was in constant requisition. But one after another the bills were passed—all save the army bill, which, owing to the stubborn resistance of each house, was finally left behind, and will necessitate an early session of the new Congress. The closing moments at last arrived. Mr. Speaker Randall offered a few parting words, the gavel fell, and the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress was no more, and many will say they do not wish to see its like again.

In the Senate, President T. W. Ferry, who has so ably presided over that body since the death of Vice President Wilson, pronounced a brief and most appropriate address, and with feeling words, to which Senators without party distinction gave most cordial assent, announced the conclusion of the session of the Senate in the Congress which then expired.

In some respects this Congress has been without a parallel in the history of the country. Its course has been stormy from the beginning, and the echoes of the tumult yet resound.

EARLY'S RAID ON WASHINGTON.

A LEAF FROM HISTORY.

The beginning of July, 1864, found Grant with his powerful army of tried veterans in front of Petersburg, the key of the rebel capital. Daily he was tightening the grasp that was to end in the capture of the doomed city. In vain General Lee exerted his consummate skill to break the steel chain that the Federal army was drawing around him. The men that had swept from the Rapidan to the James river in the face of death and fought their way inch by inch to the very heart of the Confederacy, could not be turned aside from their purpose. They had come to take Richmond, and nothing but some unforeseen disaster could prevent them. The rebel commander, ever fruitful in resources, and desperate as a lion at bay, determined on a bold stroke to raise the siege and, if possible, escape from his indomitable adversary. He knew that Grant had drawn every available man from the defenses of Washington; that but a small force stood between Richmond and the Federal capital, and that a rapid movement up the valley of the Shenandoah would, in all probability, result in the capture of Washington, or the quick release of Grant's iron grasp upon the throat of the Confederacy.

The movement was planned in secret, and its execution was the first intimation of Lee's design. General Jubal Early was put in command of about twenty-five thousand men—the best in the rebel army. Breckinridge and Rhodes were among his corps commanders. On the 3d of July the rebel army had reached Martinsburg without encountering any opposition. Sigel, with his small command, beat a hasty retreat across the Potomac. Weber, at Harper's Ferry, heard of the advance just in time to withdraw his command from that point, and took up his position on the Maryland Heights opposite. Early had thus driven, without a shot, the slight obstacles from his path. The gates of the North were found open and unguarded, and the flushed enemy swept through them to achieve, what was thought at the time,

an easy victory ahead. Without any effort to prevent them they crossed the Potomac at Williamsport and Point of Rocks, and on the 6th of July had penetrated to Hagerstown. From this point strong detachments were sent out to occupy Frederick and neighboring towns, and to destroy the railroads and canals leading to Baltimore and Washington. Thus far the movement had been a grand success. The Federal authorities had been taken by surprise, and for the time being, it looked as if the superb strategy of Lee was to achieve all that he had hoped for.

General Grant, however, was not idle. As soon as he divined Lee's purpose he adopted measures to defeat it. It was a grand game on the chess board of war, and though Lee had the advantage of a move, Grant's masterly activity and sagacity won in the end. Never in his brilliant career did his genius show to better advantage. Quick as a flash his forces were in motion. Hardly had Early's columns left Richmond before Grant's troops were in motion to intercept them. It was, in reality, a race for the Federal capital; Early moving by land, Grant's forces by water.

General Lew Wallace, commanding the department of Annapolis, was quickly apprised of the rebel movement, and took measures to defeat it. He had about eight thousand men, the larger portion of which were one hundred days' men, and artillery men from the defenses of Baltimore. Rickett's division of the old sixth corps was the only tried fighting material under his command.

The best point of defense was thought to be on the Monocacy, near the railroad crossing. Here Wallace hoped to keep the enemy at bay until General Wright, with the remainder of the sixth corps and part of the nineteenth, could reach Washington.

Early knew the value of time. He knew that Grant was not asleep, and he felt that a single hour's delay might snatch from him the golden prize. He ran against the columns of Wallace, and without stopping to determine their strength, precipi-

tated his fighting force of 16,000 men against them. The contest was like to a fight between a full-grown man and a plucky boy. The boy stood his ground, fought like a hero, checked the progress of the man, and retreated from the field only when forced by unequal odds to do so.

Wallace fell back upon Baltimore, leaving the road to Washington open to the victorious enemy.

Early had been crippled by the desperate fight, and for the first time since leaving Richmond was checked in his rapid movements. But he took in the situation at a glance, and with almost superhuman efforts pushed on toward the defenseless capital. The battle of the Monocacy was fought on the 8th of July, yet by forced marches, Early's advance had reached Rockville on the morning of the 10th, and by the 11th his entire force was in front of the empty defenses of the Federal capital. The sixth and nineteenth corps had not yet arrived. A handful of old soldiers held Fort Stevens, at the head of the Seventh street road, while the rifle pits were poorly defended by raw recruits, and as many of the convalescents as the hospitals of the city could turn out for the emergency. Surely, nothing but an act of Providence could save the city; for, at the word of command, the men that had charged our blazing batteries at Malvern Hill and Gettysburg would rush over the weak defenses of Washington as easy as a column of flame over the dry grass of the prairie.

The writer of this sketch was in Washington on the 10th of July, 1864. News of Wallace's defeat had been received, and swift couriers had heralded the rapid approach of Early. The occupation of the city was hourly expected, and temporary defenses were erected at several points. The clerks of the several departments were formed into companies and regiments, and arms and uniforms hastily distributed among them. The most exposed public buildings were quickly barricaded, and at the head of Pennsylvania and New York avenues, near the Treasury Department, batteries of artillery were planted.

Sunday night, the 10th, the enemy was expected. It was known that their ad-

vance had reached Rockville in the morning, and a forced march would have brought them in front of the city before night. The streets and avenues were deserted. From the principal streets every vehicle and other obstructions had been removed, while thousands passed a sleepless night, expecting the enemy's entrance before morning. But they did not come, and the morning of the 11th dawned upon the capital—still safe, and upon the advance of the rebel army within gunshot of its defenses.

That Washington could have been captured on the night of the 10th and at any time before the evening of the 11th has been claimed by rebel authorities and generally conceded by the best informed of the Union army. Why was it not taken? Various reasons have been assigned, but the true one must be found in the subsequent admissions of Early himself. They clearly indicate that at the critical moment when orders had been given for an advance both Early and Rhodes were deceived into the belief that the re-enforcements sent by Grant had reached the city and were in strong position in their front.

As this portion of the history of the rebel movement upon Washington is but little known, we deem it proper to bring the rebel commander on the stand as a witness against himself. He had been severely blamed for his failure to grasp the prize which, for a whole day, lay within reach of his grasp, and to defend himself he was forced to explain why it was that he held his army in check at the very moment when its advance must have secured the Federal capital. In his report Early says:

"A short time after noon (July 11th,) riding some distance ahead of my infantry I got in sight of the fortifications of Washington, into which a force of the enemy's cavalry had retired before mine. The works were apparently feebly manned, though they appeared to be strong in themselves. My whole column was moving by the flank along the road from a necessity of the case, as the character of the country would not permit a movement in any other way, and the trains were interspersed in the column for protection. I sent word for the leading division (Rhodes') to be brought up as rapidly as possible, and for the other divisions except one to be left as a guard to the trains, to move out of the column to the

front. This was the work of time. General Rhodes was ordered to have his division brought into line as it came up and to move at once against the works. While his brigade was coming up he and I were in front examining the works, and before his first brigade could be formed into line we saw a cloud of dust from the direction of Washington and a column of infantry had filed into the trenches on the right and left and a regiment was sent to the front as skirmishers. We saw the men deploy with precision, and Rhodes remarked, 'they are not hundred days' men; they are old soldiers!'"

This was the movement that deceived Early into the belief that a portion of Grant's army had arrived and that caused him to hesitate about throwing himself upon an unknown force. His hesitation was the salvation of the city, for not until after 3 o'clock in the afternoon did a soldier from either the sixth or nineteenth corps disembark at the wharf at Washington—nearly five miles from the scene of action.

The regiment—or rather the skeleton regiment, for it numbered less than four hundred men—that had advanced as skirmishers, and deployed with such precision as to deceive both Early and Rhodes, was the twenty-fifth New York, dismounted cavalry, under the command of Captain S. E. Chamberlain. It had been ordered to Camp Stoneman to be remounted, for it had seen active service, and by the casualties of battle had lost, not only in numbers, but in everything save courage and endurance. It left City Point on the 7th of July, arrived at Baltimore on the 8th, and Camp Stoneman on the 9th. It was destined to have no rest, for at midnight of the 10th it was ordered to move as quickly as possible into the defenses of Washington. At daybreak it had reached Fort Stevens, and during the morning it kept up an active exchange of shots with the advance posts of the rebel army. Early's sharpshooters had taken possession of the houses within rifle range of Fort Stevens, and to dislodge them and destroy the houses became a necessity. The work might well test the courage of the oldest veterans, but Captain (afterward Colonel) Chamberlain and his gallant men were equal to the occasion. At two o'clock he received the order

to advance as skirmishers. 'The men sprang into line as if about to go on parade instead of into the face of an army of fifteen thousand strong. To make the attempt with an army at their back to support them would have been gallant work, but to charge upon the rebel outposts with only a defenseless city to fall back upon, was an act of valor unsurpassed in the history of the war. Its very boldness deceived the enemy. The sixth corps was deemed invincible. Its presence on the field was equal to an additional corps. Early had heard of its detachment from Grant's forces; he had been advised of its approach, and when he saw this skeleton regiment deploying with precision under a severe fire, and sweeping his sharpshooters from their hiding places, no wonder he was deceived into the belief that this was the van of an army that had come to the relief of Washington.

We have been permitted to examine the diary of Captain Chamberlain, and the entries made at the time tell the whole story. We append the record of four days.

July 10th, 1864. Received orders to move into the defenses of Washington. Marched from camp at midnight. Arrived at Fort Stevens on the morning of the 11th.

July 11th. Ordered out as skirmishers at 2 P. M. Rebs within rifle shot of Fort Stevens. Advanced and drove the enemy from houses. Sharp fighting. Burned several houses by order. Was relieved by the sixth corps. Loss, five killed and thirteen wounded. Maloney of my company killed.

July 12th. Went out on a skirmish line and relieved regiment of invalids. Exchanged shots with enemy until evening, when enemy advanced strong line of skirmishers. Sharp fighting by the sixth corps; enemy driven back.

July 13th. Rebs all left. Sixth and nineteenth corps in pursuit.

How well the statement of General Early confirms the belief that to the providential movement of the twenty-fifth New York cavalry, dismounted, we owe the preservation of the nation's capital on the 11th day of July. Early says he came in sight of the defenses "a short time after noon." He ordered the attacking columns to be brought up. He says: "This was the work of time." The work of preparation

must have taken at least an hour and a half, which would have made it near two o'clock when he and Rhodes saw a regiment advance on skirmish line, and with such precision as to force the latter to say: "They are not hundred days' men; they are old soldiers."

The diary of the gallant Chamberlain says, "ordered out as skirmishers at 2 P. M." Here we have the secret of that unaccountable delay which gave us the few hours that were needed to bring to the front the sixth and nineteenth corps. The statement of Early and the diary of Chamberlain show conclusively that to the brave men who advanced in the face of the rebel army at two o'clock on the 11th day of July, belong the credit of saving the capital from rebel invasion. Without a knowledge of their own weakness, they stood in the breach at the very moment of supreme danger, and under Providence became the humble instruments of diverting a national calamity, the result of which might have changed the whole subsequent history of our struggle for national existence.

If the prompt obedience of a soldier at the critical moment ever saved an army or wrested victory from defeat, the prompt execution of the order to advance by Captain Chamberlain saved the capital, for if Early had known that this handful of men had nothing but empty or poorly-manned trenches behind them, he could have entered the city without firing a shot. Before he knew the truth the golden opportunity had been lost forever, for at sun-down the tramp of the old sixth corps resounded through the streets of Washington, and the morning of the 12th found the defenses of Washington once more impregnable.

The rest of the story is soon told. Early, chagrined at his failure, determined to make an attempt to force a passage into the city. He advanced in force, but was met by veterans who had faced him before on many a hard-fought field. The struggle was short, sharp, and decisive, and under cover of the night he withdrew his forces baffled and defeated. General Wright was placed in command of our forces and on the morning of the 13th began a hot pursuit of the rebel army. He struck the

rear guard of Early at Snicker's Ferry, on the Shenandoah. A sharp battle was fought and the enemy was again worsted. Our cavalry, under Averill, caught a portion of the rebel army at Winchester and captured four guns and five hundred prisoners; but our forces were too weak to follow Early down the valley, and not until Sheridan was placed in command and our army re-enforced, did we succeed in driving Early out of the valley of the Shenandoah. From its rich grain fields he had been drawing supplies for Lee's army, and he was loth to leave. He contested the ground with desperate energy and consummate skill, and not until Sheridan's brilliant victory at Cedar Creek had taught him that he was dealing with a master hand, did he relinquish his idea of another and more successful move upon the nation's capital. How far the galling recollection of his lost opportunity went to spur him on to another effort will never be known. That it must have remained a thorn in his memory is shown by his subsequent statements justifying his action by claiming that he was governed by those prudential motives which should actuate a commander when far removed from his base of operations.

On the old battle-field in front of Fort Stevens is a national cemetery in which lie buried the brave men who fell in defense of the capital. The few head-boards bearing the inscription "killed July 11th" mark the graves of the gallant fellows who stood in the track of a victorious army, and, by their valor, held it in check until the long expected relief arrived. They died without a knowledge of the priceless value of the services rendered, and although their sacrifices were no greater than those who fell on the 12th, a grateful nation should inscribe their names upon granite that posterity might know the men who plucked the precious hours from the grasp of time and held them until the moment of supreme danger was passed.

The gallant officer who led this forlorn hope still lives to enjoy the fruits of his heroic service. For bravery in the field he rose to the rank of Colonel, and until the close of the war rounded out on other

fields the fame he earned in the defense of Washington. Marrying into a Quaker family, well-known throughout Loudon county for their loyalty during the war, the Colonel resigned from the regular army, into which he had been commissioned, and devoted his time and energies to the more peaceful and congenial pursuits of civil life. Though a Vermonter by birth he has made Virginia his home, and if the better quali-

ties of manhood combined with a chivalric love for the Republican party can find their proper appreciation in the Old Dominion, he is sure to take rank among her most honored citizens. Modest, brave, upright, he is a good type of the American gentleman—distinguished alike in peace or war for his high sense of honor and his ready response to the call of duty.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

If it were possible to photograph the minds of Southern Democrats as Shakespeare caught folly in his time, and drew it at full length for the world's instruction, the blindest and most chaotic confusion would be the subject of representation. Virginia, the Old Dominion, the Mother of Presidents, the slave-breeding State, which, when under Republican rule, had a school fund, but of which the Democracy robbed it when it passed under Democratic control—the State which feels disposed to repudiate its public debt and has already defaulted in its payment of the interest—Virginia, Democratic and disloyal, synonymous words everywhere in the South, is in the throes of something concerning the education of its youth. Slavery, with the rebellion of the Democratic party in the old slave States, has managed to exhibit human nature in the worst phase of its depravity. And, indeed, the influence and operation of those two crimes upon the human mind seem to obliterate every sense of manhood in the parties interested, who evidently take delight in kicking away every instrumentality that might improve them, in order that they may revel unrestrained in ignorance and pronounce aloud their refusal to be better informed.

Education in the South has never reached a very high standard. On the one side, the owner of slaves did not wish to take more trouble than he could help to become scholarly, so he stopped short at a considerable distance from the temple of knowledge. On the other, the densest ignorance on the part of the slave was the favored condition selected for him by his master,

who, when he could sell him with the certainty that he could not read and could guarantee that he had not an idea in his head, took his money with ecstasy, and thanked God that the soul of that black man ought to have burst with gratitude for the training it had received in Southern Christianity. No slaves are alleged to be in Virginia now, as the freedmen are citizens, whatever may be the conduct of Democrats. But there are colored and white children growing up into man and womanhood who must be educated, and the trouble is, what books shall be used? Alas, the old leaven has crept in. Surviving rebel Democrats want the rebellion spoken well of in the lessons of children in such schools as are not shut. They want the young mind taught that the rebellion was not wrong; that the attempted destruction of the Union was no crime; that hatred of the Old Flag and contempt of the National Government should be cherished as a duty, and that a high-spirited Southern citizen should always call the citizens of the North, East and West, Yankees, because they love work and are industrious, and because they know the epithet is offensive. Southern books of history only are suitable for Southern schools, never mind the truth or the facts, which are sometimes inconvenient, and when so, should always be concealed. Such military chieftains as Robt. E. Lee and Mosby, Stonewall Jackson and Major General Bishop Polk were Southern Napoleons, who never lost a battle, if they did not always win, because they cut up the Yankees, hip and thigh; while Generals Grant and Sherman and

the Union military commanders would stand looking at the retreating forms of the warm-hearted chivalry as they hastily left the battle-fields and did not know how much they were despised, as they ought to have done. The impudence of the Yankee soldiers was intolerable. They belonged to every class and trade under the sun, and left their respective vocations to save the country. They would have been slaves in the South, for they actually loved labor, and said they kept their families in comfort and respectability by it, which showed at once the evils of freedom and the superior civilization of the South. And then the horrid and blasphemous blunders of the Yankees must be proved in the books used in schools. The South was not beaten; oh, no! The rebellion was not put down; the South wouldn't have slaves if it could, although the "nigger" was once a slave and has no right to wages when he works for white men, who would be degraded by labor, and slavery is the rightful position of the inferior race. A convulsion must have occurred in April, 1865, on Southern soil, which made it more sacred and more endeared to us. The South, which had not been used to industry, grew tired of the war, stacked arms and went home to live in doubt of what would come next. But when it learned that the Republican party passed amnesty laws, of which the most chivalrous Southerner took advantage, every rebel Democrat could afford to laugh at the Yankee North when it talked of putting down the rebellion and resolve to carry it on at their leisure. The rebellion triumphed. The South beat the Yankee North at their own game. The weakness of the Republican party was appalling, and the war was a failure.

Away with the Yankee trash of the history of the United States from Virginia schools! Away with all the false histories that say the Union and its cause succeeded. The South has its own views of the Union and its value, and will please itself in spite of the North, and the vast public debt the rebellion cost, and the enormous bloodshed of the struggle. "Goodrich's Pictorial History of the United States" may do

very well in Yankee schools; but for the youth of Virginia, never! So, at least, says the Rev. Dr. W. H. Ruffner, as will be seen by the following letter:

RICHMOND, TUESDAY NIGHT,
January 16, 1877.

To the Editor of The State:

DEAR SIR: I am acquainted with the school history you object to in your paper of this afternoon, and with you consider it, as well as Northern histories of the United States generally, as unfit for use in Virginia public schools. Only Virginia-written histories are allowed by the regulations of the Board of Education. Unfortunately this board, although required by law to provide for uniformity of textbooks, does not possess power sufficient to enforce its regulations in the face of resolute opposition on the part of the local authorities. But as respects this "Goodrich's History," I have no knowledge of its being used in even one single public school in the State, although I do not affirm that it is not. It was used in some of the Richmond public schools when the city system came under State control, in 1871, but I strenuously objected to it at that time and thought that its use was entirely discontinued. The City Superintendent of Schools tells me now that he does not know of any case in which it is used in the city schools.

It has been objected also that "Swinton's History of the United States" is used in some of our public schools. I can only say that it is done contrary to the regulations of the State Board.

Very respectfully,

W. H. RUFFNER,
Superintendent Public Schools.

Mark!—Only Virginia-written histories are allowed in Virginia by the regulation of the Board of Education. Only histories which represent the cause of the rebellion as holy, and every battle a rebel conquest over freedom and its cause—over Yankee mudsills! In such case, the rebellion, indeed, has not ended. Let the country note the present training of the Southern youth now growing up to manhood. The rising generation are taught to venerate the crimes and falsehoods of their Democratic rebel fathers, pardoned by the unheard-of weakness of the Republican party, and are trained under the very eyes of that party to vindicate them and the most Godless and bloodiest rebellion in which the hand of man was ever engaged.

MR. FIELD BEFORE THE COMMISSION.

Putting aside the question of the propriety of raising a commission to decide whether Mr. Hayes or Mr. Tilden has been elected President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1877, it may be said that its action thus far (February 10th) has been wisely controlled. But the action of the Democratic counsel, or counsel for Mr. Tilden, has been just the reverse. The awkwardness of the position of Mr. David Dudley Field has been felt most acutely by his friends. He was Mr. Tweed's counsel, eminent in the law; he was concerned in some kind of international arbitration scheme which would transfer the battle-field to a court, and change the sword for the fluent tongue of a lawyer with all the happy plausibility of a Chinese gong. Suddenly the face of Mr. D. D. Field vanished from the courts of New York, where he was gathering money swiftly; but as suddenly it appeared in the Capitol at Washington, where his earnings would be limited, however great his labors. One might imagine that an ambitious man would have made political capital out of the position. But Mr. Field was not satisfied with politics. He had not scope and verge enough. He came with a "single eye" to duty; such an eye as Fernando Wood claimed to have in his employ, but which conferred no honor on him under any circumstances. Mr. Field's single eye soon wandered from political generalities, though faithful to Democratic doctrine and interests, and a seat having been provided for its owner in Proctor Knott's Committee on Privileges and Elections, it settled itself firmly on Mr. Tilden's countenance, from which it took its cue. The grim visage of Mr. David Dudley Field, with his eye vacant to all sublunary things, but resting in the direction of the defeated Democratic candidate for the Presidency, soon extinguished Proctor Knott, and the disappearance of that gentleman by reason of his extinction, induced the New York *Times* to remark with subdued jocularly that Mr. Field had become the committee

itself, and that his single eye resting on a witness, either coached a Democrat to lie lovingly against Republicans, or caused instant annihilation to a Republican who was capable of testifying ugly facts—facts of foul assassination, perjury, and fraud against Democrats who had sold themselves to Mr. Tilden.

Strange surmises every now and then float in the air. What could induce a lawyer like Mr. David Dudley Field, in large practice before the courts, with a large income derived therefrom, suddenly to leave his clients and sit as a substitute for a member of the House of Representatives at the fag end of the last session of an expiring Congress? Mr. Field could not have been moved by a love of fame, for the fame of having been Tweed's chief counsel will never leave him, although some persons call it infamous. Then again, the pay of a Congressman was infinitely less than that he received as a lawyer. Was it friendship? Friendship for Mr. Tilden, who was defeated, that he might help the Democratic party to defeat the people who elected Mr. Hayes? Mr. Tilden would hardly call upon Mr. David Dudley Field, even for friendship's sake, to help him in such a case, at so great a pecuniary sacrifice. It is good, solid doctrine that the laborer is worthy of his hire. And if the mist could be penetrated, and the truth laid bare, it might be seen that the "single eye" of Mr. Field is fixed distinctly on that "bar'l" of money owned by Mr. Tilden, which has so debauched and bedeviled the Democrats, but to a share of which Mr. Field's extraordinary labors may possibly entitle him.

Now, Mr. Field's legal ability is unquestioned. But if his advent in the House threw the Democratic intellect into a state of gross fermentation, what shall be said of the consternation of the commission as it beheld this doughty champion of Mr. Tilden stalk into court? There he was with his eye pealed and ready to fix itself, with the tenacity of a leech, on any political atrocity that would remove "defeat" from

the name of Mr. Tilden, as the Democratic friends of a "deserter in the presence of the enemy" labor to have "deserted" erased from his name on the rolls of the Federal army. The commission was indeed moved. Its members had heard of his appeals on behalf of Mr. Tilden—grand, impulsive, melting! If he did not call Jove to his aid, he spoke of the virtues of the Democratic party and the love of the gentle Democratic rebel to Southern Republicans, who were only asked to vote the Democratic ticket, or be shot if they didn't; or the sly trick of the gentle, rebel Democratic bulldozer, full of fun, who cast whole handfuls of Democratic ballots in the box, and swore that they had been voted by Republicans, who dearly loved Mr. Tilden! He held up the Democratic truth of violence and murder, with all the evidence of death produced, and asked the world to disbelieve it, and look on Mr. Tilden, whom the country had defeated because the people did not want him—and would not trust him! Then with that sparkling eye and glib tongue, Mr. Field appealed to the national honor in favor of Mr. Tilden's cause, but he did not say that both Mr. Tilden and his cause have dishonored the American name, which the people felt, and felt, too, the strongest determination to prevent the Democratic party from profiting by its wrongs and crimes!

The great commission then was startled when Mr. Field appeared with his eye "single" and fixed in the direction of Mr. Tilden, as his legal help. The subject was the Democratic rascality in Florida, in the perpetration of which certain Democrats said they were Democratic electors, and cast their vote for Mr. Tilden. They might as well have said that they were Dragons of Wantley, who had been engaged to perform a farce for the benefit of a stuffed alligator, as the decision of the commission has since shown. But they were Democrats, and that was enough for Mr. Field. He was ready to wrestle against the Republican case, and rose to his feet with an objection which he was about to launch at the commission. But the presiding justice interposed with a queer inquiry, involving whether he appeared as counsel in the

Democratic case or as a member of Congress. Mr. Field did not appear as counsel, so he said. But that he should be called upon to define his position must have arisen from his superserviceable performances, which smacked more of the paid advocate for Mr. Tilden, with a single eye to a monster fee, rather than of the modest labor of a member of Congress serving his country for his country's good, at a small compensation. Why, the compensation would hardly pay for the services of his head clerk in watching the interests of Mr. Field's clients, who expected the work of the master himself to be given instead of that of an underling, who simply stopped a gap to enable his master to lose money after the manner of patriots. There is a mystery about it, however, to be unraveled. Looking straight into the eye of Mr. Tweed, who has not yet made restitution, and then at the single eye of Mr. Field, anybody may say that he is not the man to lose money when money is to be made.

THERE are some sixty-four thousand book agents in the United States, of whom nearly one thousand committed suicide last year—failed to learn a trade, and forced at a later period to labor and suffer for a miserable pittance. The percentage of mortality among the traveling insurance, sewing machine, and lightning rod agents is even greater. This is the result of a natural law. Five-sixths of these men should have been mechanics or cultivators of the soil.

DESPITE the severity with which the depression in trade has been felt in Canada, the finances are in a satisfactory condition. This results from judicious economy, the Government expenses, including the debt interest, being about one-fourth less than the annual disbursements of our civic Treasury. With this light taxation, the Dominion needs only a wider market to attain greater prosperity.

A GREAT FALL FOR DEMOCRACY.—Shades of Webster! To what base uses has Democracy returned when it falls back upon Fernando Wood as the great expounder of the Constitution!

SPECIE RESUMPTION.

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT GRANT.

On Saturday, February 3d, the following message from the President was received and read in the House of Representatives:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

By the act of Congress approved January 14, 1875, "to provide for the resumption of specie payments," the 1st of January, 1879, is fixed as the date when such resumption is to begin. It may not be desirable to fix an earlier date when it shall actually become obligatory upon the Government to redeem its outstanding legal-tender notes in coin on presentation, but it is certainly most desirable and will prove most beneficial to every pecuniary interest of the country to hasten the day when the paper circulation of the country and the gold coin shall have equal values.

At a later day if currency and coin should retain equal values it might become advisable to authorize or direct resumption. I believe the time has come when by a simple act of the legislative branch of the Government this most desirable result can be attained. I am strengthened in this view by the course trade has taken in the last two years, and by the strength of the credit of the United States at home and abroad.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, the exports of the United States exceeded the imports by \$120,213,102; but our exports include \$40,569,621 of specie and bullion in excess of imports of the same commodities. For the six months of the present fiscal year, from July 1, 1876, to January 1, 1877, the excess of exports over imports amounted to \$107,544,869, and the import of specie and bullion exceeded the export of the precious metals by \$6,192,147 in the same time. The actual excess of exports over imports for the six months, exclusive of specie and bullion, amounted to \$113,737,040, showing for the time being the accumulation of specie and bullion in the country amounting to more than \$6,000,000 in addition to the national product of these metals for the same period, a total increase of gold and silver for the six months not far short of \$60,000,000. It is very evident that unless this great increase of the precious metals can be utilized at home in such a way as to make it in some manner remunerative to the holders, it must seek a foreign market as surely as would any other product of the soil or the manufactory. Any legislation which will keep coin and bullion at home will, in my judg-

ment, soon bring about practical resumption and will add the coin of the country to the circulating medium, thus securing a healthy "inflation" of a sound currency to the great advantage of every legitimate business interest.

The act to provide for the resumption of specie payments authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds of either of the descriptions named in the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," for not less than par in gold. With the present value of the 4½ per cent. bonds in the markets of the world, they could be exchanged at par for gold, thus strengthening the Treasury to meet final resumption and to keep the excess of coin over demand, pending its permanent use as a circulating medium, at home. All that would be further required would be to reduce the volume of legal-tender notes in circulation. To accomplish this I would suggest an act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue 4 per cent. bonds, with forty years to run before maturity, to be exchanged for legal-tender notes whenever presented in sums of \$50, or any multiple thereof, the whole amount of such bonds, however, not to exceed \$150,000,000. To increase the home demand for such bonds I would recommend that they be available for deposit in the United States Treasury for banking purposes under the various provisions of law relating to national banks.

I would suggest further, that national banks be required to retain a certain percentage of the coin interest received by them from the bonds deposited with the Treasury to secure their circulation.

I would also recommend the repeal of the third section of the joint resolution "for the issue of silver coin," approved July 22, 1876, limiting the subsidiary coin and fractional currency to \$50,000,000.

I am satisfied that if Congress will enact some such law as will accomplish the end suggested, they will give a relief to the country instant in its effects, and for which they will receive the gratitude of the whole people.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Feb. 3, 1877.

SENATOR SARGENT made a powerful speech against the electoral bill, and placed himself in the ranks of the defenders of the Constitution.

RUSSIA.

REGULATIONS RELATIVE TO PAYMENT IN GOLD OF CUSTOMS DUTIES.

[Translated from the "Official Gazette," November 25, (13,) 1876. No. 254.]

The Committee on Finance, in their official journal, publish the following regulations, approved by his Imperial Majesty on the 10th day of November, 1876, based on the report of the Minister of Finance :

1. From and after January 1st, 1877, customs duties will be payable in gold coin.

NOTE.—In sales of merchandise at auction by the customs authorities the amount of commission to be paid will be computed at gold rates.

2. It is left to the discretion of the Minister of Finance to permit such of the customs offices as he may deem expedient to receive, besides the Russian gold coin, the following representatives of value :

a. Coupons of the current and of the last preceding term, pertaining to the notes of the Russian "metallique" State loan ; to the 4 per cent. metal notes of the Imperial Bank ; to the bonds of the Nicolai railroad, and to the consolidated bonds of Russian railroads.

b. Such notes and bonds of the above description as have been drawn for redemption.

c. Foreign gold coins, and

d. Foreign bank notes redeemable in gold.

Regulations approved by the Minister of Finance will be published, relative to the acceptance of such representatives of value, with instructions as to what foreign coins and what foreign bank notes may be received, and at what rates they are receivable.

3. The Imperial Bank will receive from the public all of the representatives of value enumerated in Art. 2, as well as the following :

a. Gold in bars.

b. Gold orders of the administrators of the mines.

c. Gold drafts on foreign countries.

Said bank will issue in place of such securities certificates of deposit for amounts computed in "Half Imperials."

These certificates will be received in payment at their nominal value, by the customs authorities and by private parties, after mutual agreement.

The Imperial Bank will pay on sight the nominal value of these certificates in "Half Imperials."

The Minister of Finance will prescribe the form and the value of said certificates, and will issue to the Imperial Bank all instructions required for carrying these regulations into operation.

4. Customs duties payable in metallic money not exceeding in amount 5 roubles and 15 copecks, may be paid in silver roubles at their nominal value. Credit-rouble notes, however, can only be accepted for such payments, if paid in double the amount.

NOTE.—Duties payable in coin and not exceeding in amount 100 roubles may, as a temporary exception up to January 1, 1878, be paid in credit notes, under the condition, however, that in such case payment is to be made in double the amount.

5. For the copecks left over, (up to a rouble,) any Russian silver coins, subsidiary coins not excepted, will be received at their nominal value ; and in payments less than 20 copecks, Russian copper coins, also at their nominal value.

6. Customs duties which remain unpaid on the 1st of January, 1877, will be paid at the gold valuation.

7. Securities deposited at customs offices previous to the publication of these regulations can be redeemed as heretofore, viz : for credit notes. In all other cases, such deposits made or remaining with the customs officers after January 1, 1877, can only be redeemed for gold.

8. The acceptance of securities, in interest-bearing paper and bonds, for the

payment of customs duties, will take place as heretofore, but at new rates of value, to be fixed by the Minister of Finance.

9. The Minister of Finance and the Comptroller of the Empire together regulate such changes in the rendering of the customs accounts as the introduction of the payment in gold of customs duties necessitates.

10. Such doubts as may arise as to the

execution of the details of the above regulations will be decided by the Minister of Finance.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—A "Half Imperial" is a Russian gold coin containing 5.9987 grammes of fine metal, and consequently is of very nearly the intrinsic value of *four* dollars in the gold coin of the United States. It is reckoned at 5 roubles, gold; or 5 roubles, 15 copecks, silver.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

FOR THE YEAR 1876.

The counting of the books, just completed, shows an aggregate of 311,097 volumes of bound books, together with about 100,000 pamphlets. The last enumeration, January 1, 1876, showed a total of 293,507 volumes. The books added during the year thus amount to 17,590 volumes, besides 8,636 pamphlets.

The additions to the Library have been—

	Books.	Pam- phlets.
By purchase.....	5,495	745
By copyright.....	8,020	5,295
By deposit of the Smithsonian Institution.....	1,417	1,878
By donation, (including State documents).....	1,828	345
By exchanges.....	830	373
Total.....	17,590	8,636

To this are to be added maps and charts acquired during the year to the number of 2,445.

The acquisitions to the Library by purchase during the last year, though not so large numerically as in some previous ones, have been more than usually important.

The business of the copyright department during the year shows a considerable increase of entries, notwithstanding the depressed condition of the book-publishing trade and connected interests. The whole number of entries of copyrights for the twelve months of 1876 was 14,882 against 14,197 for the preceding calendar year. The cash receipts paid into the Treasury amounted to \$12,500.50, while for the year preceding the aggregate was \$11,780.50, showing an increase in fees of \$720. It was anticipated, when the transfer of all

prints and labels used in connection with manufactured articles was made from the copyright office to that of the Commissioner of Patents, that there would be a large and permanent decrease in the number of copyright entries. But the result during the past year as well as in that preceding indicates that the general increase in the entry of articles that are still legitimate subjects of copyright is such as, taken in connection with the growth of the country, will keep this department fully up to its present average of business.

Under the law which requires the deposit in the Library of two copies of each book or other publication protected by copyright, the following articles have been received in 1876, under each designation of copyright matter:

Books.....	8,020
Periodicals.....	7,027
Musical compositions.....	5,767
Dramatic compositions.....	262
Photographs.....	1,347
Engravings and chromos.....	1,483
Maps, charts and drawings.....	2,070
Prints.....	224
Total.....	26,200

As two copies of each publication are deposited, it will be seen that the net additions to the collections have amounted to 13,100 articles, 4,010 of which are books.

The materials for the new general catalogue of the Library, referred to in my last report, have been completed during the year, and all the titles, exceeding 260,000 in number, are ready for the press. But no appropriation has been made for the expense of printing; the small sum devoted

to the printing and binding of the Library at the last session of Congress being hardly adequate to the necessities for the binding of books and the necessary blanks and records for the copyright department. The importance of making early provision for publishing this new general catalogue, which will represent the entire contents of the Library up to date, is earnestly commended to the attention of the committee and of Congress.

The preparation of the complete index to the documents, debates, and laws of Congress has very considerably advanced during the past year. The whole number of reference-titles already written amounts to an aggregate of forty thousand.

Since my last report, the publication of the first volume of original historical documents relating to the French discoveries and explorations in the northwestern portion of the United States and on the Mississippi has taken place. The whole work will be embraced in six octavo volumes, with an atlas of maps in quarto, and will cover a vast collection of letters, official papers, and other documents, in the original French, relating to the discoveries and settlements under Cavelier de la Salle and other explorers in territory now belonging to the United States, from A. D. 1614 to 1752. The edition of these historical volumes being small, (only five hundred copies,) it is recommended that, instead of a gratuitous distribution, the Librarian be authorized to exchange copies of the work with historical societies and other libraries for any books deemed equivalent in value, to enrich the collection of Congress.

The question of most pressing importance connected with the interests of the Library of Congress, which has become, by liberal legislation and extensive growth, the library of the nation, is the provision of a suitable building to contain its rapidly accumulating stores. In four previous reports, the undersigned has pressed this subject upon the attention of the committee in all its phases, and no repetition is here necessary of the cogent reasons, becoming continually more pressing, for prompt action in supplying so manifest a public necessity. In a report made by the Chair-

man of the Joint Committee on the Library, June 8, 1876, (Senate Report No. 387, 1st session, 44th Congress,) a succinct statement may be found of the reasons which impelled the committee to recommend a bill for the construction of a new fire-proof building for the Library. The bill accompanying that report (S. 910) proposed to appropriate the sum of \$150,000 "for preparing the ground, laying the foundation, and commencing the construction of a new fire-proof building for the use of the Library of the United States."* The site proposed in the bill was the public reservation lying on the west side of the Capitol, now occupied by the Botanic Garden. A subsequent examination of the ground, however, developed weighty objections to the location proposed; and, in the curtailment of all appropriations which governed the action of Congress at the last session, no step was taken toward providing for the wants of its overcrowded Library.

The whole subject is again earnestly commended to the early attention of the committee, with the single remark that the injury to the books, bound newspapers, and objects of art which are piled up unprovided with shelves or room, is constantly increasing with every addition, while the difficulties and embarrassments attending the administration of the Library and the large copyright business of the country within such narrow quarters are such as would not be tolerated for a single season in any first-class business house in any city of the country. The undersigned cannot doubt that the committee will agree with him in the belief that the people of the country stand ready to sanction any wise expenditure necessary to protect and preserve these great collections of a nation's literature and art, which are intrusted to the immediate care and responsibility of the representatives of the people.

A. R. SPOFFORD,
Librarian of Congress.

* The fair capacity of the present rooms is 240,000 volumes. Over 311,000 are already in the Library.

TRUE statesmanship is needed more to-day than at any other period during the history of the Republic.

BONDED SECURITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREPARED BY E. B. ELLIOTT, OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

The following is a statement with respect to the several classes of bonded securities of the United States, of their average values respectively in the New York market, and also with the calculated rates of interest realized to investors, for the months of October, November, and December, 1876:

CLASSES OF SECURITIES.		PRICES, EXCLUDING ACCRUED INTEREST, REDUCED TO GOLD VALUE.			
		Average for month of			Three months ended December.
		October.	November.	December.	
Ten-forties of 1904, M. & S., 5 p. c.....		104.22	103.68	103.46	103.78
Sixes of 1881, J. & J., 6 p. c.....		105.60	105.10	105.74	105.48
Five-twenties of 1865, (old,) M. & N., 6 p. c.....		100.06	100.13	100.66	100.28
Five-twenties of 1865, (new,) J. & J., 6 p. c.....		100.82	100.76	101.86	101.14
Five-twenties of 1867, J. & J., 6 p. c.....		103.48	103.46	104.57	103.83
Five-twenties of 1868, J. & J., 6 p. c.....		104.57	104.38	105.87	104.94
New Fives of 1881, F. M. A. & N., 5 p. c.....		103.14	102.60	102.78	102.64
Funded Loan of 1891, M. J. S. & D., 4½ p. c.....		.....	.....	*100.82	.....
Currency Sixes, J. & J., 6 p. c. (currency prices).....		121.82	121.25	121.01	121.36
Average currency price of gold.....		109.63	109.69	107.77	109.05
Average gold price of currency.....		91.18	91.16	92.80	91.71

CLASSES OF SECURITIES.		Assumed Periods to Payment.	CALCULATED RATE OF INTEREST REALIZED TO INVESTORS.			
			Average for month of			Three months ended Decem'r.
			October.	Novembe	December.	
	Years.		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per ct.
Ten-forties of 1904, M. & S., 5 p. c.....	28		4.73	4.76	4.78	4.76
" " " "	20		4.67	4.71	4.73	4.70
" " " "	10		4.47	4.54	4.56	4.52
" " " "	5		4.06	4.18	4.23	4.15
Sixes of 1881, J. & J., 6 p. c.....	5		4.73	4.84	4.70	4.76
" " " "	4		4.46	4.59	4.42	4.49
Five-twenties of 1865, (O.) M. & N., 6 p. c.....	9		5.99	5.98	5.91	5.96
" " " " " "	3		5.98	5.95	5.74	5.89
" " " " " "	2		5.97	5.93	5.65	5.85
" " " " " "	1		5.94	5.86	5.32	5.71
Five-twenties of 1865, (N.) J. & J., 6 p. c.....	9		5.88	5.89	5.73	5.83
" " " " " "	3		5.70	5.72	5.32	5.58
" " " " " "	2		5.56	5.59	5.01	5.38
" " " " " "	1		5.15	5.21	4.09	4.82
Five-twenties of 1867, J. & J., 6 p. c.....	11		5.57	5.57	5.45	5.53
" " " " " "	5		5.20	5.20	4.96	5.12
" " " " " "	4		5.03	5.04	4.73	4.93
Five-twenties of 1868, J. & J., 6 p. c.....	12		5.48	5.49	5.33	5.43
" " " " " "	6		5.11	5.14	4.86	5.03
" " " " " "	5		4.96	5.00	4.67	4.87
" " " " " "	4		4.73	4.79	4.38	4.63
New Fives of 1881, F. M. A. & N., 5 p. c.....	5		4.29	4.41	4.37	4.36
" " " " " "	10		4.60	4.67	4.65	4.64
" " " " " "	20		4.75	4.79	4.78	4.77
" " " " " "	Perpetuity		4.84	4.87	4.87	4.86
Funded Loan of 1891, M. J. S. & D., 4½ p. c.....	15		.....	.....	*4.43	.....
" " " " " "	20		.....	.....	*4.44	.....
" " " " " "	Perpetuity		.....	.....	*4.46	.....
Currency Sixes, J. & J., 6 p. c.....						
Assuming non-resumption specie payments	21		4.40	4.43	4.45	4.43
Assuming resumption January 1, 1879.....	21		5.08	5.11	5.00	5.06

* From quotations for six days ended December 30th only.

For example, it will be seen from the above table that the prices of the five per cent. securities known as the "Ten-for-ties,"—as being redeemable after ten years and payable after forty years from the date of issue, (1864,)—averaged for the last

three months of 1876, when reduced to a gold value, and accrued interest excluded, \$103.78 on every \$100 of face value; also, that the indicated annual rate of interest realized to investors was, if ten years be assumed as the probable period which the securities will remain outstanding before being called in for redemption, $4\frac{1}{2}$ (more exactly 4.52) per cent. Assuming five years, ten years, and twenty-eight years respectively to payment, will give as the annual rates of interest to be realized 4.15, 4.70, and 4.75 per cent.

The realized rate of interest indicated by the prices of the "Sixes of 1881," known as the "long sixes," (interest payable in January and July,) taking four years as the period to elapse before payment, is also $4\frac{1}{2}$ (4.49) per cent.

The price of the "New Fives," those lately placed upon the market, indicates the realized rate to be, on the assumption of a probable ten-year period to payment, $4\frac{1}{2}$ (more exactly 4.64) per cent.

The price at which the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. securities which are now being placed on the market are quoted, indicates a rate of interest to be realized of about 4.44 per cent.

The prices of "Currency Sixes," having twenty-one years to payment, indicate a rate of interest realized to investors ranging from 4.43 to 5.06 per cent.; the former on the assumption that the currency price of gold continues indefinitely at the existing current rate, and the latter on the assumption that the prices of gold and greenbacks will reach permanent equality from and after January 1, 1879—two years from now.

The $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 per cents. and the Sixes of 1881, judging from the computed rates of interest realized to investors, are the most popular of the Government securities. The 5-20's of 1867 and 1868 come next in order; the Currency Sixes next; and the 5-20's of 1865 last in the order of popularity.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS DURING THE CALENDAR YEARS 1875 AND 1876 COMPARED.

The following corrected statement, showing the value of merchandise and of specie and bullion imported and exported the calendar year 1876, compared with like data for the year 1875, is furnished by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics:

[ALL SPECIE VALUES.]

	Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Foreign Exports.
MERCHANDISE.			
Twelve months ended—			
December 31, 1876.....	\$426,612,706	\$575,698,040	\$14,923,743
December 31, 1875.....	503,152,936	497,263,737	13,683,685
SPECIE AND BULLION.			
Twelve months ended—			
December 31, 1876.....	34,479,397	47,973,752	8,380,713
December 31, 1875.....	22,896,148	70,108,852	9,194,662
TOTAL—MERCHANDISE, AND SPECIE AND BULLION.			
Twelve months ended—			
December 31, 1876.....	461,092,103	623,671,792	23,304,456
December 31, 1875.....	526,049,084	567,372,589	22,878,347

VALUES IN UNITED STATES MONEY OF STANDARD COINS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1877.
 The first section of the act of March 3, 1873, Statutes at Large, volume 17, page 602, reproduced in section 3564 of the Revised Statutes, provides "that the value of foreign coin, as expressed in the money of account of the United States, shall be that of the pure metal of such coin of standard value," and that "the values of the standard coins in circulation of the various nations of the world shall be estimated annually by the Director of the Mint, and be proclaimed on the first day of January by the Secretary of the Treasury."
 The estimate of values contained in the following table has been made by the Director of the Mint, and is hereby proclaimed in compliance with the above-stated provisions of law:

Country.	Monetary unit.	Standard.	Value in U. S. money.	Standard coin.
Austria.....	Florin.....	Silver	\$.45.3	Florin.
Belgium.....	Franc.....	Gold and silver .....	.19.3	5, 10, and 20 francs.
Bolivia.....	Dollar.....	Gold and silver .....	.96.5	Escudo, $\frac{1}{2}$ bolivar and bolivar.
Brazil.....	Milreis of 1,000 reis.....	Gold.....	.64.6	None.
British Possessions in North America.....	Dollar.....	Gold.....	1.00	
Bogota.....	Peso.....	Gold.....	.96.6	Dollar.
Central America.....	Dollar.....	Silver .....	.91.8	Condor, doubloon, and escudo.
Chili.....	Peso.....	Gold.....	.91.2	10 and 20 crowns.
Denmark.....	Crown.....	Gold.....	.26.6	Dollar.
Ecuador.....	Dollar.....	Silver .....	.91.8	5, 10, 25, and 50 piasters.
Egypt.....	Pound of 100 piasters.....	Gold.....	4.97.4	5, 10, and 20 francs.
France.....	Franc.....	Gold and silver .....	.19.3	$\frac{1}{2}$ sovereign and sovereign.
Great Britain.....	Pound sterling.....	Gold.....	4.86.6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 drachmas.
Greece.....	Drachma.....	Gold and silver .....	.19.3	5, 10, and 20 marks.
German Empire.....	Mark.....	Gold.....	.23.8	1, 2, 5, 10, and 20 yen.
Japan.....	Yen.....	Gold.....	.99.7	
India.....	Rupee of 16 annas.....	Silver .....	.43.6	5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 lire.
Italy.....	Lira.....	Gold and silver .....	.19.3	
Liberia.....	Dollar.....	Gold.....	1.00	Peso or dollar, 5, 10, 25, and 50 centavo.
Mexico.....	Dollar.....	Silver .....	.99.8	Florin; ten guldens, gold, (\$4.01, 9.)
Netherlands.....	Florin.....	Gold and silver .....	.38.5	10 and 20 crowns.
Norway.....	Crown.....	Gold.....	.26.8	
Peru.....	Dollar.....	Silver .....	.91.8	2, 5, and 10 milreis.
Portugal.....	Milreis of 1,000 reis.....	Gold.....	1.08	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and 1 rouble.
Russia.....	Rouble of 100 copecks.....	Silver .....	.73.4	
Sandwich Islands.....	Dollar.....	Gold.....	1.00	5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 pesetas.
Spain.....	Peseta of 100 centimes.....	Gold and silver .....	.19.3	10 and 20 crowns.
Sweden.....	Crown.....	Gold.....	.26.8	5, 10, and 20 francs.
Switzerland.....	Franc.....	Gold and silver .....	.19.3	
Tripoli.....	Mahbub of 20 piasters.....	Silver .....	.82.9	
Tunis.....	Piaster of 16 caroubes.....	Silver .....	.11.8	
Turkey.....	Piaster.....	Gold.....	.04.3	25, 50, 100, 250, and 500 piasters.
United States of Colombia.....	Peso.....	Silver .....	.91.8	

The above rates will be taken in estimating the values of all foreign merchandise made out in any of said currencies imported on or after January 1, 1877.

I am, very respectfully,

LOT M. MORRILL, Secretary of the Treasury.

STATE AND TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

States and Territories.	Popu-lation, 1870.	Area, sq. mi.	Capitals.	Governors.	Area, sq. mi.	Term Expires.	Legisla-ture next Session begins.	State Election on—
Alabama.....	996,992	50,722	Montgomery.....	George N. Houston (D).....	63,000	Nov. 1879	Nov. 1878	1st Monday in Aug.
Alaska Territory.....	16,340	677,700	Sitka.....	O. O. Howard, M. G. (R).....	3,500	April, 1877	Jan. 1878	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Arizona Territory.....	41,730	113,916	Tucson.....	A. P. K. Sanford (R).....	3,500	Jan. 1877	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in Sept.
Arkansas.....	484,471	52,196	Little Rock.....	William R. Miller (D).....	6,000	Dec. 1879	Dec. 1877	1st Wednesday in
California.....	560,347	158,661	San Francisco.....	William Irwin (D).....	4,000	Jan. 1879	Nov. 1878	1st Tuesday in Oct.
Colorado.....	39,864	104,600	Denver.....	John L. Ronti (R).....	2,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Connecticut.....	237,464	4,760	Hartford.....	Richard D. Hubbard (D).....	3,500	Jan. 1878	Dec. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Dakota Territory.....	14,181	182,000	Yankton.....	John L. Pennington (R).....	2,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Delaware.....	126,016	2,120	Dover.....	John P. Cochran (D).....	4,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
District of Columbia.....	131,700	60	Washington.....	George F. Drew (D).....	4,000	Jan. 1881	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Florida.....	167,748	59,346	Tallahassee.....	Alfred H. Colquitt (D).....	4,000	Jan. 1881	Jan. 1877	1st Wednesday in Oct.
Georgia.....	1,184,109	59,000	Atlanta.....	Mason Brayman (R).....	5,000	July, 1880	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Idaho Territory.....	20,883	90,932	Boise City.....	Shelby M. Oullom (R).....	5,000	Jan. 1881	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Illinois.....	2,689,891	63,410	Springfield.....	James D. Williams (D).....	3,000	Jan. 1881	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Indiana.....	1,880,837	33,809	Indianapolis.....	Samuel J. Kirkwood (R).....	2,500	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Indian Territory.....	68,132	68,991	Tahlequah.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Iowa.....	1,191,792	55,046	Des Moines.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Kansas.....	364,399	58,318	Topeka.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Sept. 1879	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in Aug.
Kentucky.....	1,321,011	37,680	Frankfort.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in Aug.
Louisiana.....	736,616	41,346	New Orleans.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Monday in Sept.
Maine.....	636,616	35,000	Augusta.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Maryland.....	780,394	11,134	Annapolis.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Massachusetts.....	1,457,351	7,800	Boston.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Michigan.....	1,184,089	56,431	Lansing.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Minnesota.....	439,706	83,631	St. Paul.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Mississippi.....	577,922	47,154	Jackson.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Missouri.....	1,731,296	65,350	Jefferson City.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	July, 1879	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in Aug.
Montana Territory.....	39,863	143,776	Helena.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Nebraska.....	122,983	73,985	Lincoln.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Nevada.....	43,491	81,429	Carson City.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
New Hampshire.....	313,300	9,240	Concord.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
New Jersey.....	906,090	8,320	Trenton.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	June, 1879	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
New Mexico Territory.....	111,318	121,201	Santa Fe.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Dec. 1879	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in Sept.
New York.....	4,362,759	47,000	Albany.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	10,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
North Carolina.....	1,071,561	50,704	Raleigh.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	4,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Ohio.....	2,080,260	39,964	Columbus.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	4,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
Oregon.....	90,923	95,274	Salem.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	1,500	Sept. 1878	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in June.
Pennsylvania.....	3,621,791	46,000	Harrisburg.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	10,000	Jan. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Rhode Island.....	217,393	1,306	Newport—Providence.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	1,000	May, 1877	Jan. 1877	1st Wednesday in April.
South Carolina.....	706,006	34,000	Columbia.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Dec. 1879	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Tennessee.....	1,258,020	45,600	Nashville.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	4,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Texas.....	818,678	74,356	Austin.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Feb.
Utah Territory.....	99,400	87,056	Salt Lake City.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Dec. 1878	Jan. 1877	1st Monday in Aug.
Vermont.....	330,561	10,212	Montpelier.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	1,000	Oct. 1878	Jan. 1877	1st Tuesday in Sept.
Virginia.....	1,223,163	36,352	Richmond.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Washington Territory.....	37,403	69,994	Olympia.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	April, 1880	Jan. 1877	2d Tuesday in Oct.
West Virginia.....	442,014	23,000	Wheeling.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Wisconsin.....	1,004,670	43,934	Madison.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	4,000	Jan. 1878	Jan. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.
Wyoming Territory.....	11,818	68,000	Cheyenne.....	Charles M. Cronwell (R).....	3,500	Feb. 1879	Nov. 1877	Tuesday after 1st Mon. Nov.

NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THEIR REDEMPTION.

The following regulations are adopted in lieu of all which have been heretofore issued governing the redemption of national bank notes by the National Bank Redemption Agency, under the provisions of "An act fixing the amount of United States notes, providing for a redistribution of the national bank currency, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1874, (18 Stat., 123.)

I.—THE REDEMPTION ACT.

The provisions of the said act relating to the redemption of the national bank currency are as follows:

SEC. 2. That section thirty-one of "The National Bank Act," be so amended that the several associations therein provided for shall not hereafter be required to keep on hand any amount of money whatever by reason of the amount of their respective circulations; but the moneys required by said section to be kept at all times on hand shall be determined by the amount of deposits in all respects, as provided for in the said section.

SEC. 3. That every association organized, or to be organized, under the provisions of the said act, and of the several acts amendatory thereof, shall at all times keep and have on deposit in the Treasury of the United States, in lawful money of the United States, a sum equal to five per centum of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of such circulation; which sum shall be counted as a part of its lawful reserve, as provided in section two of this act; and when the circulating notes of any such associations, assorted or unassorted, shall be presented for redemption, in sums of one thousand dollars or any multiple thereof, to the Treasurer of the United States, the same shall be redeemed in United States notes. All notes so redeemed shall be charged by the Treasurer of the United States to the respective associations issuing the same, and he shall notify them severally, on the first day of each month, or oftener, at his discretion, of the amount of such redemptions; and whenever such redemptions for any association shall amount to the sum of five hundred dollars, such association so notified shall forthwith deposit with the Treasurer of the United States a sum in United States notes equal to the amount of its circulating notes so redeemed. And all notes of national

banks, worn, defaced, mutilated, or otherwise unfit for circulation, shall, when received by any Assistant Treasurer or at any designated depository of the United States, be forwarded to the Treasurer of the United States for redemption, as provided herein. And when such redemptions have been so reimbursed, the circulating notes so redeemed shall be forwarded to the respective associations by which they were issued; but if any of such notes are worn, mutilated, defaced or rendered otherwise unfit for use, they shall be forwarded to the Comptroller of the Currency and destroyed, and replaced as now provided by law: *Provided*, That each of said associations shall reimburse to the Treasury the charges for transportation, and the costs for assorting such notes; and the associations hereafter organized shall also severally reimburse to the Treasury the cost of engraving such plates as shall be ordered by each association respectively; and the amount assessed upon each association shall be in proportion to the circulation redeemed, and be charged to the fund on deposit with the Treasurer: *And provided further*, That so much of section thirty-two of said national bank act requiring or permitting the redemption of its circulating notes elsewhere than at its own counter, except as provided for in this section, is hereby repealed.

II.—ORIGINAL FIVE PER CENT. DEPOSIT.

1. Every newly organized national bank, with the exception of national gold banks, is required, immediately on the receipt of its circulation from the Comptroller of the Currency, to deposit in the Treasury of the United States a sum equal to five per centum thereof in lawful money of the United States, in one of the following ways:

I. By a deposit of United States notes with the Assistant Treasurer U. S. in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or New Orleans, to the credit of the Currency Transfer Account of the Treasurer U. S., or with the Assistant Treasurer U. S. in Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, or St. Louis, to the credit of the General Account of the Treasurer U. S. Banks not situated in one of the above-named cities should make the deposit through their correspondents. The original certificate of deposit must be forwarded to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent.

II. By a remittance of United States notes, addressed to the Treasurer U. S.,

marked "United States notes for credit of five per cent. fund," with the express charges thereon prepaid.

2. In estimating the circulation upon which the deposit is required, the bank must include all notes of its issue in its own possession as well as those in actual circulation.

3. A similar deposit, made in the same manner, is required on all additional circulation issued to national banks.

III.—REDEMPTION OF NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

1. The notes of national banks, other than gold banks, may be forwarded to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent for redemption, under the contract with Adams Express Company, in sums of \$1,000 or any multiple thereof, by any person, company, firm, bank, or corporation situated within the territory covered by the contract.

Remittances from banks and other parties situated without the territory covered by the contract should be marked "under contract with Adams Express Company, from ," [——— the point of connection with that company,] the charges should be prepaid to that point, and the bills therefor should be sent to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent, for approval and reimbursement to the consignors by Treasury drafts.

Remittances of any other amounts than \$1,000, or a multiple thereof, are not received for redemption under contract, but the charges thereon must be prepaid by the consignors.

2. Assistant Treasurers and designated depositaries of the United States are required to select from the funds received by them all notes of national banks which are worn, defaced, mutilated, or otherwise unfit for circulation, and to forward them to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent, from time to time, under the contract with Adams Express Company, in sums of \$1,000, or a multiple thereof, for their credit in general account.

3. Notes equaling or exceeding three-fifths of their original proportions, if in such condition that their genuineness can be clearly ascertained, and if the name of the bank and the signature of one of its officers are distinguishable, are redeemed for their full face value. Notes, the signatures of which have evidently become illegible from wear, are not rejected on that account.

4. Fragments less than three-fifths are not redeemed by the Redemption Agency, but should be presented for redemption to the banks by which the notes were issued. If redeemed by the banks of issue, they are

accepted by the agency at the valuation placed on them by the banks. This rule applies to fragments, which the Comptroller of the Currency has certified that he will accept for an amount less than their face value, if redeemed by the bank of issue. The regulations subjecting United States currency to discount do not apply to national bank notes.

5. The notes must be inclosed in strong straps, of sufficient width, and securely fastened. On each strap must be printed or written with ink the amount inclosed, and the name of the owner. Not less than 100 nor more than 200 notes should be placed in a strap.

6. An inventory, describing the contents by parcels and amounts, must be inclosed with every remittance.

7. All remittances of national bank notes must be addressed to the "Treasurer of the United States and Redemption Agent, Washington, D. C."

8. The packages must be put up in boxes or in wrappers of stout paper, tied with strong twine, secured by careful sealing, and plainly marked on the face of the outer wrapper with the amount and nature of the contents, the full name and address of the consignor, and the fact that they are forwarded under the contract with Adams Express Company, thus :

— National Bank Notes for redemption, [or for credit of five per cent. fund,] under contract with Adams Express Company.

TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES
AND REDEMPTION AGENT,
Washington, D. C.

From
FIRST NATIONAL BANK,
Smithville, Ohio.

9. A letter of advice, written on not less than half a sheet of commercial-note paper, fully describing the remittance and stating the disposition to be made of the proceeds, must be put inside of the package, and a duplicate letter be sent by mail to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent on the day that the remittance is forwarded.

10. The packages, when received at the agency, are charged to and receipted for by the counters, with the seals unbroken, and each counter is required to count, return, and obtain a receipt for the contents of each package before receiving another. An inventory or schedule of the contents, according to the amounts marked on the straps, is made immediately on opening the package, and the contents of each strap are proved separately and put aside, if found to be correct. If discrepancies are found they are noted on the proper strap, which is returned to the owner. "Shorts" are at once reported and verified by the teller in charge. The packages are charged to

the counters by the amounts on the wrappers, and any discrepancy between this amount and the contents is reported as an "over" or a "short" by inventory.

11. Returns for remittances of national bank notes from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, are made by transfer checks on the Assistant Treasurers in the cities from which the remittances are received.

12. Returns for remittances from all other places are made by express, in new legal-tender notes of such denominations as may be asked for, to the parties by whom the remittances are made, with the express charges thereon prepaid to their destination. The arrangements with the express companies forbid the furnishing of exchange for bank notes redeemed or the remittance of the proceeds to any other parties than the consignors.

13. Notes of a bank's own issue redeemed by it should be forwarded directly to the Comptroller of the Currency, with the express charges thereon prepaid. This rule does not apply to notes of a bank's own issue, received by it in the ordinary course of business, mixed with other bank notes.

14. The law officers of the department having decided that national bank notes, stolen when unsigned, and put in circulation with forged signatures, are not obligatory promissory notes of the bank under Section 5182 of the Revised Statutes, such notes are not redeemed by the agency.

15. United States currency and national bank notes, whether for redemption or credit, must be forwarded in separate packages, addressed, respectively, to the Treasurer U. S. and to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent, and must be accompanied by separate letters of advice.

16. Assistant Treasurers and depositaries of the United States, and national bank depositaries, are not required to redeem national bank notes, but they should receive, in payment of public dues, and on account of transfers of funds, all national bank notes redeemable at their full face value by the agency under the foregoing regulations.

17. National bank depositaries may forward national bank notes to the agency for their credit in general account as transfers of funds.

IV.—REIMBURSEMENT FOR NOTES REDEEMED.

1. Immediately on receipt of the Treasurer's notifications, advising them of the redemption of their notes, national banks are required to remit the whole amount due in one of the following ways:

I. By a deposit of United States notes with the Assistant Treasurer U. S. in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or New Orleans, to the credit of the Currency Transfer Account of the Treasurer U. S., or with the Assistant Treasurer U. S. in Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, or St. Louis, to the credit of the general account of the Treasurer U. S. Banks not situated in one of the above-named cities should make the deposit through their correspondents. The original certificate of deposit must be forwarded directly to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent by the bank, making the deposit, as credit cannot be given on the books of the agency until it is received.

II. By a remittance of national bank notes, addressed to the Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent, under the contract with Adams Express Company, marked "National bank notes for credit of five per cent. fund."

2. Reimbursement may also be made by a remittance of legal tender notes or fractional currency, addressed to the Treasurer U. S. and marked "U. S. currency for credit for five per cent. fund," but the express charges, if not prepaid, are deducted from the proceeds of the remittance.

3. The law requires national banks to remit for the full amount of their notes redeemed immediately on the receipt of the calls, and does not permit them to await the receipt of the notes fit for circulation or of the certificate of the destruction of the notes unfit for circulation.

4. Assistant Treasurers are not authorized to receive either remittances of money by express or drafts, for credit of the five per cent. fund.

5. Drafts are not accepted by the agency for credit of the five per cent. fund. If received, they are returned to the sender.

6. National bank depositaries are not authorized to receive deposits for credit of the five per cent. fund.

7. In case the amount due does not exceed the five per cent. deposit of the bank, the notes fit for circulation are forwarded to it by express, and the notes unfit for circulation are delivered to the Comptroller of the Currency for destruction and replacement with new notes, on the same day that the call is made. In cases of overdraft of the bank's five per cent. account, either the fit or the unfit notes, or both, as the case may require, are held until the overdraft is made good.

8. The law requires the agency to return all notes fit for circulation redeemed by it to the respective associations by which they were issued, and to deliver those unfit for circulation to the Comptroller of the Cur-

rency for destruction, and no other disposition can be of them.

9. When a national bank has made a deposit of legal-tender notes for the purpose of retiring a portion of its circulation, all of its notes redeemed, whether fit or unfit for circulation, are charged to that deposit until it is exhausted.

V.—FIVE PER CENT. REDEMPTION FUND.

1. Banks should charge all remittances for credit of their five per cent. account, including the original five per cent. deposit, to an account designated as the "Five per cent. Redemption Fund."

2. Immediately on the receipt of the call or advice of redemption, "circulation outstanding" should be charged with the amount of both fit and unfit notes reported as redeemed, and the redemption fund credited. When the redemption is reimbursed, the redemption fund should be charged; when the notes fit for circulation are received by the bank, the circulation account should be credited, and the same course should be pursued when the incomplete currency, received from the Comptroller of the Currency in place of the unfit notes, is made ready for issue. By this method the five per cent. and circulation accounts of the bank may be made to agree at all times with those of the agency and of the Comptroller of the Currency, except as regards remittances in transit.

3. Remittances for which returns are to be made in transfer checks or new United States currency should not be charged to the redemption fund.

4. National banks which have made deposits of legal-tender notes for the purpose of retiring a portion of their circulation under section 4 of the Act of June 20, 1874, are required to maintain the five per cent. deposit only on the remainder of their circulation. The excess over the required amount is surrendered by the agency immediately on receipt of advice from the Comptroller of the Currency of the amount retired.

5. Banks may keep with the Treasurer any amount they choose in excess of the required five per cent. of their circulation, but they are not permitted to count such excess as a part of their lawful money reserve. It should be entered on their reports of their condition, under item 23—"due from U. S. Treasurer, (other than five per cent. redemption fund.)"

6. Remittances to reimburse for notes redeemed are credited "to make good" the five per cent. deposit; remittances which increase the deposit above the required amount are credited "in excess" of the five per cent. deposit; and remittances in

payment of the required deposit on the original circulation of a bank, or on additional circulation issued to it, are credited "on account" of the five per cent. deposit.

VI.—EXPRESS CHARGES.

1. The express charges on national bank notes received for redemption or credit, on United States currency returned for national bank notes redeemed, and on assorted national bank notes, fit for circulation, forwarded to the banks of issue, are advanced by the agency and afterward assessed upon the several national banks in proportion to the amount of their circulation redeemed.

2. The charges for the transportation of incomplete currency forwarded to the banks by the Comptroller of the Currency are not defrayed by the agency. It is forwarded under a contract between the Comptroller and the express company, and the charges, at contract rates, are required to be paid by the banks to which it is sent. The rates are twenty-five cents for each thousand dollars to each express company over whose lines the remittances pass.

3. The entire express charges on remittances of bank notes for redemption and returns, made in any other amounts than \$1,000 or a multiple thereof, whether less or more than \$1,000, must be prepaid; otherwise they are deducted from the proceeds of the remittances. Bank notes may, however, be sent to make good the five per cent. deposit of a bank at the expense of the agency, in any amounts for which the calls are made. Remittances for credit in anticipation of calls must be sent in even thousands of dollars.

4. The full express charges to their destination on fit notes returned to the banks of issue are prepaid by the agency, whether the banks are situated within or without the territory covered by the contract.

5. The contract with Adams Express Company extends to and includes all points within the United States "accessible through established express lines, reached by continuous railway connection," but does not extend westward beyond Omaha and Nebraska city, in Nebraska, and Atchison and Leavenworth, in Kansas, nor include the lines of Wells, Fargo & Co. in Missouri and Iowa. The contract covers the lines of the following express companies: Adams, American Merchants' Union, Central, Earl, Eastern, Harnden, Hope, Howard, National, New Jersey, Southern, Union, United States, and United States and Canada.

6. The express companies are liable for the loss or destruction of national bank

notes forwarded to the agency under the contract, except when the loss arises through the act of God or of the public enemy, and receipts of the express companies limiting their liability further than this need not be accepted by consignors.

VII.—INCOMPLETE CURRENCY.

1. The issue of new circulating notes to national banks is under the exclusive control of the Comptroller of the Currency, and any inquiry in regard thereto should be addressed to him.

2. No new currency is ordered to be printed except on requisitions from the banks, specifying the amounts and denominations desired. Banks usually order supplies in advance, from which the Comptroller remits, from time to time, new notes of their issue in return for their notes unfit for circulation destroyed.

3. Banks should advise the Comptroller of the denominations of their notes desired in return for their notes destroyed.

4. Banks should keep an account of the amount of their incomplete currency in the hands of the Comptroller, and should make requisitions for additional supplies a sufficient time in advance of the exhaustion of the currency previously ordered to cover the time necessary to have the new notes prepared by the engravers.

5. Banks are charged by the agency with the full amount of their notes unfit for circulation delivered to the Comptroller, whether the exact amount is reissued by him or not. It sometimes happens that the exact amount is not sent by him because it cannot be made up of full sheets of notes. In such case the amount due should appear on the bank's books as a deficit in its circulation account, not as an excess in its five per cent. account.

VIII.—ASSESSMENT FOR EXPENSES.

1. Under section 3 of the redemption act, the expenses incurred by the agency for "the charges for transportation and the costs for assorting" the redeemed notes of national banks are assessed upon the several banks in proportion to their circulation redeemed, and are charged to them in their five per cent. accounts.

2. All of the express charges incurred are consolidated and assessed in proportion to the amount of the notes redeemed for each bank, and all of the other charges are assessed in proportion to the number of notes redeemed for each bank.

3. Denominational registers are kept of the notes redeemed for each bank, from which the amount and number of its notes redeemed are exactly computed.

4. The assessment is made by fiscal years,

and is levied as soon after the end of each year (June 30) as the accounts can be settled and the computations made.

5. Remittance should be made for the amount of the assessment immediately on the receipt of the notice thereof, in the same manner as for notes redeemed. It is not sufficient for a bank to credit the amount to the five per cent. redemption fund on its books.

6. Banks which have made a deposit during the fiscal year for the retirement of all or a portion of their circulation are assessed only for the proportionate share of the expenses incurred in redeeming their notes prior to the making, or after the exhaustion, of the deposit. A. U. WYMAN,
Treasurer U. S. and Redemption Agent.

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1877.

"RETURN GRAIN MOVEMENT" RUMORS.—Foreign grain markets have been tame and spiritless for a long time past, especially for wheat, and our own markets have been, in the wheat connection, kept relatively higher as to prices, partly by speculative manipulation, based on the assumption of short supplies in the interior, thus seriously checking business. Export dealings in wheat at New York have been recently unimportant, shippers complaining of their inability to pay asking rates. Millers here and throughout the interior have been also very reserved in their operations, yet values have been maintained by holders with remarkable firmness. Through the past few weeks various rumors have been in circulation of return shipments of American wheat from Europe of more or less magnitude, these rumors, for the most part, being credited to "well-informed parties at Chicago," where, by the way, the speculative interest is represented as being in substantial control of the market. The rumors have had reference mostly to returning cargoes of California wheat, but at the close of the past week became more comprehensive, and hinted at "large quantities of wheat arriving at the port of New York from England, Germany, and California, with further important amounts on the way." The rumors are spoken of as having the foundation of a return shipment of very inferior Spring wheat from Glasgow, which inferior wheat is said to be in liberal supply and unmarketable there, and possibly one or two lots of California wheat, which have been involved in the return movement by the rumors which are so freely supplied from certain points at the West to the markets of the seaboard with the sufficiently obvious purpose of influencing values.

TREASON OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

The attention of the country is called to the fact that the leaders of the Democratic party are upon their trial and will have to answer for their misdeeds. The extent of Democratic frauds in the recent election for President, on behalf of Tilden, is really appalling. And it may be said that the character and disloyal attitude of the Democratic majority in the House was permitted by Providence in order to convince the people that the Democracy were no longer a political party, but political banditti—reckless, fraudulent, and murderous, and held together by the hope of plunder on obtaining office by violence, perjury, and defiance. It will be remembered that a horde of pardoned rebel Democrats swore that they were members of the House, and had been elected from the South. So unused were the bulk of them to the duty of legislators, that having created a Democratic majority, the work of the first session of the worst and most despicable House of Representatives the country ever had, was parceled out into two heads, viz: First, to cripple the public service by inadequate appropriations; and, second, to secure the appointment of something like fifty investigating committees, which occupied the time of the session in the preparation of false and partisan reports, and in spending the public money for witnesses and printing to an amount beyond that of any Congress known. Appropriations were exhausted and renewed, and deficiency bills were necessary to renew appropriations still exhausted. The present Democratic party arraigned the Nation, not the Republican party alone, for fighting to save the Union and for the expenses of the war incurred to suppress the Democratic rebellion—a rebellion in which these pardoned rebel Democratic members themselves participated; and as the election for the Presidency would take place before the present session, the Congressional reports of Democratic committees were used as alleged public documents, furnishing evidence of Republican extravagance, &c., thus flooding the coun-

try with Democratic falsehood, so unblushing and nefarious, that it has at last come home to the perpetrators, who cut a very sorry figure.

It would seem that the unusual spectacle of a Democratic majority in the House, made up by the aid of a multitude of pardoned Democratic rebels, who had fought against the Union, when it was known that the Republican party was in a majority in the country, had furnished the unusual opportunity of wasting a session in manufacturing lying Democratic reports; and that the Democratic leaders, flushed with pride at their own infamy, had formed the unusual resolution of forcing Mr. Tilden, the candidate of the Democratic party, upon the people at any hazard, for they could never have expected his election if the public choice was permitted to be made. What are the wishes of the people to the Democratic party? That party in American politics died with the defeat of the rebellion. Such of its members as survived the scattering retained the name, but were largely recruited from the ranks of slave-owners and slave-whippers, whose occupation was gone with emancipation. These worthies knew nothing of public choice or public opinion for anybody but themselves and their friends. So the Northern Democratic leaders confided to Southern rebel Democrats the delicate duty of assisting Mr. Tilden to the Presidency. Mr. Tilden, in return, furnished them with the fraudulent election devices of Mr. Tweed, which had debauched the great State of New York, by subjecting it to the fictitious Democratic majority of the Irish Catholic colony of New York city, whose dangerous classes are intensely Democratic, led by Romish priests, who will not educate their flocks, lest they should become honest men and escape from their control. The Republican majority in the Northern States showed that few would favor Mr. Tilden. The South, which was Republican, was therefore relied upon as the great hotbed of Democratic villainy.

Democratic calculation was right. South-

ern States, with overwhelming Republican majorities, were claimed as Democratic by the use of the rifle, the revolver, and the whip, stimulated, perchance, with the "bar'l" of Mr. Tilden's money which was sent early on its travels, and the result was this: One prolonged Democratic howl went up simultaneously throughout the country, claiming Mr. Tilden's election, in the face of the bloodiest Democratic evidence of his utter and ignominious defeat. Villainy of any kind, when pitted against truth and justice, must always succumb—Democratic villainy especially, as Southern Democrats have added the crime of murder to their usual Democratic practice of packing off some fellow to Congress they said was elected, while they saved the voters the trouble of voting at the polls. This Democratic vociferation and unanimity was all preconcerted—a part of a comprehensive plan of the leaders of the Democracy. And when Congress assembled in December last, the fraudulent claim was so insolently and threateningly asserted as to induce a Republican Senate to pass the compromise bill, to bring the Democratic party to a realizing sense that it is defunct after all; that the people defeated Mr. Tilden, and won't have him anyhow; and that common decency demanded a more sober demeanor, mixed with a shade of shame at the detection of their hollow and blatant cheat. But Democratic shame is an unheard-of quality, and may be nonexistent; for the same Democratic Congress rebels—for they cannot be called "Congressmen," as many of them were not elected, having merely bull-dozed themselves on to the floor of the House, as their friends bull-dozed for Mr. Tilden, who ought truly to have paid them handsomely—set to work to bull-doze the people by investigating the election, but always with a view to inflict Mr. Tilden on the country. The Democrats on the House committees on Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina, and on Privileges and Elections have out-Heroded Herod. They have broken down the sanctity of every private right, and unintentionally led into public gaze a set of Democratic scoundrels who would not be believed if they were to swear till they were black in

the face. These Democratic witnesses took the oath to tell the truth, and swore to the most outrageous falsehoods, with all the grace and ease of Democratic Beau Brummells, to whom lying was natural; and when the telegraph flashed their perjury to their homes, men who knew them made affidavit that they were the veriest Democratic rascals unchanged. Littlefield, one of these most delicate perjurers, had peddled in the streets of New Orleans forged naturalization papers, which he offered to sell, and Mr. David Dudley Field almost embraced him for his perjured testimony.

But truth must triumph; and as the Republican party has nothing but the truth to rely upon, the triumph of the party will be complete. The Democrats overdid the thing. The perjury was too stupendous, while the treason of the Democratic leaders was unearthed through their own instrumentality. They are, indeed, hoist by their own petard, and will be pitchforked into that dark, cavernous abyss, the proper limbo for the aggregation of Democratic lies and frauds, while Mr. Tilden may walk the streets of New York, a wiser and a poorer man; but he will not come to Washington to be made President.

Look at the following Democratic telegrams concerning the Oregon vote. Knavery and treason are manifest. The threats indicate the deep and damning corruption of the Democracy, and justify the charge that the rebellion of the South was the rebellion of the Democratic party.

General John G. Corse, of Chicago, Ill., was before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. In reply to Senator Mitchell, he testified that Colonel W. T. Pelton, of New York, telegraphed him about the 18th of November last, asking him to go to Oregon and look after an ineligible elector. Witness replied to Pelton, saying that he would go, but that it would take ten days for him to get to Oregon, and witness thought it better that some one should go from San Francisco. The witness admitted sending the following dispatches:

CHICAGO, Nov. 13, 1876.
To W. T. Pelton, Everett House, N. Y.:
 The general impression is that Demo-

crats will not allow Tilden to be counted out. We are prepared to resist any fraud.
J. G. CORSE.

CHICAGO, Nov. 15, 1876.

To Perry H. Smith, St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, La. :

If Louisiana electoral vote is stolen from us we will get California and Oregon. We have 160,000 ex-soldiers now enrolled. Vast numbers of Republicans with us. Stand firm.
CORSE.

CHICAGO, ILL.

To Hon. J. M. Palmer, New Orleans, La. :

Two hundred thousand ex-Union soldiers, embracing thousands who voted for Hayes, sustain you. If Tilden is fraudulently counted out in Louisiana the end is not yet. You have Illinois behind you.
CORSE-CAMERON.

Witness received the following :

NEW YORK, Nov. 21, 1876.

To Gen. J. G. Corse, Chicago, Ill. :

If you think it necessary you can pay *National Democrat* two hundred and draw on me at sight, and thus close.

W. T. PELTON.

The above referred to the paying of a bill for printing, *The National Democrat* is a German newspaper, published at Chicago.

The following dispatch was also offered in evidence by Senator Mitchell :

NOVEMBER 8, 1876.

To W. T. Pelton, Everett House, New York :

Gen. Corse left for Wisconsin, as you requested. Desired me to say that we entertained an apprehension that an effort would be made to defeat Governor Tilden in case of a close election, and that we are fully prepared for such an emergency. Over 100,000 ex-soldiers are enrolled in the North in his behalf, and from present indications with that number we can call to our aid a half million North and South, provided the opposition undertake to deprive him of his seat as Chief Magistrate.
DANIEL CAMERON.

Cameron is the private secretary of McCormick, chairman of the Illinois Democratic Committee.

Surely the President was justified in preparing to defend the country against the confessed treason of the Democratic leaders, whose threats were openly made

that they would use force to make Tilden President when the people knew they had defeated him.

WHO WILL RECOGNIZE MR. HAYES.—

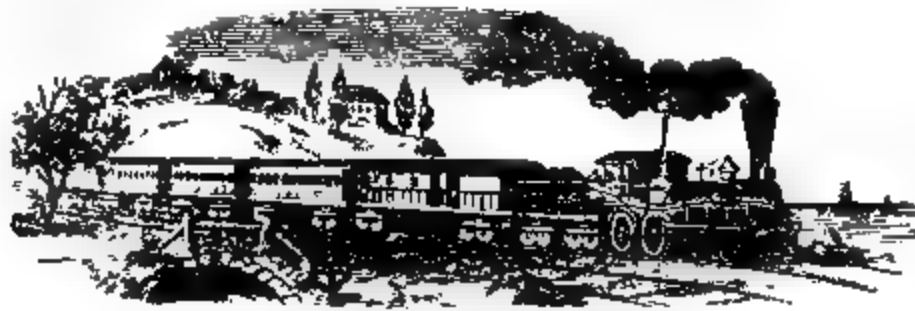
In the midst of a great deal of talk about Mr. Tilden being the choice of the people, and predictions that the country will not recognize Mr. Hayes, the New York *Herald* takes the trouble to calmly analyze the situation. The conclusions deduced are well worth reading. A careful perusal of them will tend to allay excitement and show that after all the country will not be so badly disappointed in its hopes :

"Most of the great sections of the country will be quite satisfied with this result of the Presidential election. In the New England States the electoral vote, whose honesty is not questioned, stands as follows : Hayes—Maine 7, Massachusetts 13, New Hampshire 5, Rhode Island 4, Vermont 5 ; total, 34. Tilden—Connecticut 6.

"Hayes being the overwhelming choice of the New England States they will give his administration a warm support. Going from the extreme East to the extreme West the electoral vote in the Pacific States stands thus : Hayes—California 6, Colorado 2, Nevada 3, Oregon 3 ; total, 15. Tilden—none.

"Mr. Hayes will accordingly begin his term as President with the confidence and favoring good wishes of the Pacific States, which gave him all their electoral votes. Coming back to the great commonwealths which are classed as the Western States, we find this to be the state of their electoral vote : Hayes—Illinois 21, Iowa 11, Kansas 5, Michigan 11, Minnesota 5, Nebraska 3, Ohio 22, Wisconsin 10 ; total, 88. Tilden—Indiana 15.

"It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. Hayes will be acceptable to the West, and that an attempt to weaken his influence would not be supported by that great section. The South sets its face against filibustering or factious opposition, and counsels its Democratic brethren to give President Hayes a fair trial. That he will be pretty generally accepted in the North is evident from the fact that of the 231 electoral votes of all the Northern States Mr. Hayes received 166 and Mr. Tilden only 65. Mr. Hayes is the choice of eighteen Northern States and Mr. Tilden of only four. If the Democrats will cast their eyes abroad over the whole country they will look in vain for any section of our great country that will refuse to recognize Mr. Hayes as the lawful President of the United States."



Improved Ventilator for Railway Closets.

The annexed cut represents a section of the water-closet seat and basin pipe of a railway car, with the Improved Ventilator attachment under the floor of the car.

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The attention of Railway Companies and all others interested in the health and comfort of the traveling public is invited to the Improved Ventilator, represented in the above cut. Its simplicity commends it to all who have examined it. It effectually prevents the upward draft in the discharge pipe of Railway water-closets, thereby cutting off the

NOXIOUS GASES, DUST, WIND, AND CINDERS,

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Yours truly,

PAYSON TUCKER,
Superintendent.

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\$5 to \$20 per day at home. Samples worth \$5 free. STINSON & CO., Portland, Maine.

\$12 a day at home. Agents wanted. Outfit and terms free. TRUE & CO., Augusta, Maine.

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VOL. 8.

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1877.

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DEVOTED TO

THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

Vol. VI.—No. 5.

MAY, 1876.

Whole No. 39.

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IN ADVANCE.

1876.

PROSPECTUS. Vol. 6.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY, 1876.

No. 5.

CRIPPLING THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The attitude of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives on the question of appropriations is one of an alarming character. It illustrates very forcibly the evil and unpatriotic policy of that organization, and must more than ever convince thoughtful and prudent citizens of the great danger to which the country would be subjected by the transfer of the General Government to its hands. Cries of "extravagance" and of "corruption" are the ready slogans of demagogues, while the reckless cutting down of expenditures seems an easy evasion of responsibility, a facile way of reaping undeserved credit, and, when examined, a striking proof of an utter want of statesmanship. Those who undertake it exhibit as plentiful a lack of sagacity as they do a superabundance of impudence. The campaign of slander and libel, which for the last five years has been an especial feature of the Opposition, has, like other vaulting ambitions, "o'erleapt itself," and now flounders in the cloaca on the other side, from whence it has expected to gain abundant materials for that throwing of filth wherein it revels.

TOTAL REDUCTION PROPOSED.

The civil service, or purely administrative work of the General Government, is that portion whose efficiency is now most seriously threatened. The Democratic majority of the House Committee on Appropriations have reported the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, covering the fiscal year 1876-7. The character of the bill may be seen from the following summary of totals:

Appropriated, 1875-6.....	\$18,734,422 20
Estimated, 1876-7.....	20,773,306 70
Appropriations recommended for 1876-7.....	12,799,883 61
Difference between current appropriations and those reported.	5,934,538 59
Between recommendations and estimates.....	7,978,423 09

The object of such wholesale reduction, in but one of the appropriation bills, is at once apparent. It is to give force to the long-reiterated accusation of reckless extravagance in the Administration and by the party sustaining it, and at the same time convince the unreflecting and penurious classes that it is no longer safe or wise to trust the Government in the hands that have so long defended its existence and directed its affairs. Had it not been so recklessly attempted the policy might have succeeded. As it is, the Democratic engineers are "hoist with their own petard." They have succeeded only in demonstrating that they stand before an awkward dilemma. On one horn they will be impaled to a demonstration, as it will not be a difficult task to prove conclusively that the proposed wholesale reductions are designed only for possible political effect on Northern elections, (Southern ones are to be coerced in the most approved ex-Confederate-White-League style,) and are therefore made to show a huge sum less in the present bulk of expenditures, without much or any regard to the effect it may have on the efficiency of the public service or the possible aggregate of the deficiency bills which must be considered—*after the elections*. This horn of their dilemma is being sharpened by Randall, Holman & Co. Already its pricking makes some of their supporters uneasy. In a few instances and items modifications have been introduced, to secure their united support, otherwise doubtful.

DEMAGOGERY OR TREASON.

The other horn presents an even more serious and threatening aspect. It recalls Wendell Phillips' epigrammatic warning with regard to the sectional South and its

history—that to forget is a crime. In 1860–'61 a long threatened rebellion in the interests of slavery and the destructive political sophistries by which it was promoted culminated in the commencement of a four years' civil war. Actual hostilities were preceded by the scattering and dismantling of the Federal Navy; the disruption of the Army; the seizure of military posts, forts, arsenals, navy-yards, mints, custom-houses, and post offices; the robbery of public funds; the coercion of Indian tribes, and a vigorous attempt to disorganize the General Government so as to make it ineffective for resistance. The policy then pursued was designed to sunder the Union, destroy the Nation, and to create a new and slaveholding Confederacy. Two things were aimed at: *To cripple and destroy in advance the means of effective resistance and to obtain possession of all Governmental machinery existing within the territory designed for separation and independence.*

That purpose was, after a Titanic struggle, utterly defeated. Fifteen years after its inauguration, the same section, party, and men are back in Congress, aiming apparently at a rehabilitation of their former unsuccessful struggle under another form and by new direction. Slavery has been destroyed. Secession has apparently been surrendered. But the philosophy of disintegration survives in a more dangerous shape. The doctrine of State sovereignty is now advanced as a just vindication of the slaveholders' rebellion, and as the most effective method of winning (by its enthronement as a successful party dogma) *within the Union what could not be achieved out of it.* To tear to pieces it was necessary to destroy the means of coercion and resistance. To conquer what could not be pulled down it may be necessary to so *cripple the internal administration as to prevent the efficient direction of the public service, thereby disgusting the people and greatly weakening respect for the Federal Government.* The first aim was to destroy its material resources; the latter one seems to look to the crippling of its moral power, and thereby bringing it into contempt.

The Democratic party in and out of Congress may take whatever horn of this dilemma it pleases. Either will impale it so deeply

that ere long it will be only a gibbering spectacle of demagogish incompetency and sectional malignancy, or of both together. Perhaps these characteristics cannot be made more plain than by a practical application of the facts. The statements embodied herein may be relied upon as exhibiting in moderate form the effects of the reductions proposed in the important departments referred to. They are the result of careful inquiry, and the conclusions reached can be easily verified.

A SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT.

The extent of the reductions so recklessly made is exhibited in the following table, showing as it does the ratio allowed by the appropriation bill on the estimates as presented by the several Departments and Bureaus thereof:

Per cent. allowed on estimates.	
0	Indian Office, (abolished.)
1½	Court of Claims; contingent expenses, etc.
33	Bureau of Education.
40	Contingent expenses of Senate.
45	Mints and Assay offices.
50	Department of State.
54	Capitol police.
58	Treasury Department.
59	Contingent expenses of House of Representatives
59	Territorial Governments.
63	Pension Office and contingent expenses.
64	Secretary Interior; contingent expenses Patent Office Building.
67	War Department and contingent expenses.
68	Clerks and employees of Senate.
68	Executive.
69	Library of Congress and Botanical Garden.
69	Navy Department and contingent expenses.
69	Expenses of collecting internal revenue.
72	Department of Agriculture and contingent expenses.
73	Post Office Department and contingent expenses.
77	Congressional Printing Office.
78	Department of Justice and contingent expenses.
81	General Land Office clerks and contingent expenses.
83	Patent Office and contingent expenses.
84	Surveyors General and clerks.
86	Clerks and employees of House of Representatives.
88	Pay and mileage of members of House of Representatives.
89	Pay and mileage of Senators.
90	Reporters of Debates and Proceedings of Congress.
99	U. S. courts; attorneys and marshals.
100	Compiling of Congressional Directory.

The result of this wholesale and indiscriminate reduction of the appropriations may in part be estimated by the following statement of its effect on the principal bureaus of the Treasury Department proper:

EFFECT OF THE REDUCTION ON THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT PROPER.

Offices.	Clerks.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.	Remarks.
First Comptroller's—					
1876.....	47	....	\$75,800		The current work of the office cannot be kept up with the force contemplated by the bill now before Congress.
1877.....	37	....	55,480		
Reduction.....	10	21	20,820	27	
Second Comptroller's—					
1876.....	72	....	110,600		It will be impossible to carry on the current work in this office if the proposed reduction is made.
1877.....	46	....	65,780		
Reduction.....	26	36	44,820	40	
First Auditor's—					
1876.....	49	....	77,380		It will be practically impossible to keep up the work of this office with the force reduced as shown on this schedule, and <i>three</i> additional to the present force are deemed necessary.
1877.....	34	....	50,910		
Reduction.....	15	30	26,470	34	
Second Auditor's—					
1876.....	174	....	245,280		This office has a large number of unsettled accounts, bounty cases, &c., on hand. The present force is inadequate to that rapid disposal of them which should characterize the public service. With the proposed reduction the Bureau will practically be disorganized.
1877.....	106	....	142,500		
Reduction.....	68	40	102,780	42	
Third Auditor's—					
1876.....	171	....	237,000		With the present force 20,305 accounts behind, involving over \$40,000,000, and many other accounts of which the amounts are not stated.
1877.....	108	....	141,100		
Reduction.....	63	37	95,900	40	
Fourth Auditor's—					
1876.....	54	....	81,000		Already reduced so low that it is difficult to perform the current business of the office. A further reduction will be positively injurious to the public good.
1877.....	40	....	56,130		
Reduction.....	14	26	24,870	31	
Fifth Auditor's—					
1876.....	33	....	50,680		The reduction of force proposed will delay the adjustment of accounts, or prevent the careful consideration of them which the public interests require. In either case the public business must suffer.
1877.....	24	....	34,760		
Reduction.....	9	27	15,920	31	
Sixth Auditor's—					
1876.....	233	....	313,320		The reduction proposed will delay the settlement of the accounts of the Post Office Department. The work of this Bureau will be increased largely during the next fiscal year.
1877.....	216	....	271,050		
Reduction.....	17	7½	42,270	13½	
Commissioner of Customs'—					
1876.....	80	....	49,760		Cannot keep up the work with less than the present force.
1877.....	19	....	30,760		
Reduction.....	11	37	19,000	40	
Register's—					
1876.....	207	....	246,160		The proposed reduction is made without discrimination, and shows ignorance of the work to be performed. One large division will be brought to a complete standstill. All will be crippled. The experienced officers cannot be retained. The work must fall behind very largely.
1877.....	143	....	157,970		
Reduction.....	64	31	88,190	36	
Internal Revenue—					
Reduction.....	.....	20			Could not suffer the reduction without great detriment to the public good.
Treasurer's—					
Reduction.....	113	28	131,000	30	This Bureau cannot perform its important duties with the proposed force. There is barely enough at present employed.
Comptroller of Currency's—					
1876.....	125	....	161,620		The National Banks will be embarrassed by the reduction, and the business of the country must suffer. As the expenses of this Bureau are paid by the banks, this is a double hardship.
1877.....	85	....	102,810		
	40	30½	58,810	30½	

The foregoing, it will be observed, does not include several important bureaus, as that of the Supervising Architect, the Revenue Marine, Hospital and Life Saving Service, the Bureau of Statistics, and the Light-House Board. The efficiency of these are all threatened, that of the Architect's office being almost destroyed. The Secretary's office itself will be, as Secretary Bristow points out, seriously affected.

EFFECT ON THE SERVICE.

It will be observed, that the largest reductions proposed in the Treasury bureaus are to be found in the Second Auditor's—forty per cent. in clerical force, and forty-two per cent. in money; the Third Auditor's, thirty-seven and forty per cent., and in the Fifth Auditor's, twenty-seven and thirty-one, a reduction that practically destroys this bureau. The Register's, also, thirty-one and thirty-six; the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Currency about thirty per cent. on both; and in the Second Comptroller's, where it is thirty-six per cent. in force and forty in money. These bureaus are concerned in the settlement of accounts, and in the handling and issuing of the public securities and currency. The Second Comptroller and the Second and Third Auditors have the settlement of the vast body of army accounts, quartermasters, paymasters, claims, etc., as well as of pay and bounties. The Fifth Auditor is charged with the adjustment of all internal revenue, diplomatic, and consular accounts. If the first named are not examined every quarter, so as to be adjusted at the end of each year, the door is left wide open for defalcation and dishonesty. The proposed reduction practically destroys this bureau, as by it every clerk will be required to do six times as much work per day as was the case in 1861. It would seem as if there was a special purpose in crippling these bureaus. It is well known that considerable dissatisfaction exists because of the delays experienced in the settlement of such accounts as those indicated. This affects a larger class than the claimants number. The same purpose crops out in the attack on the Pension Bureau, and in its proposed transfer to the War Department. It is harsh but not unjust to declare that

the object would appear to be to bring about a wide-spread sense of injustice on the part of the Government among a numerous body of citizens, who rightly deem themselves entitled to consideration at the hands of the Nation they so valiantly defended.

The disorganization or impairing of the bureaus charged with the collection of the revenue, as well as those that are intrusted with the handling and issuing of the public moneys, is even a more fatal policy. Already the Customs Bureau finds itself too weak-handed to meet the increased requirements of the service. The Centennial Exposition has made a great draft on its resources. This will increase, not diminish.

It is a fruitful opportunity for smuggling, to which the Democracy propose to add a premium by decreasing the force that can be employed. The internal revenue service is also to be impaired. But there is a Democratic excuse for this. By decreasing the officials, illicit distillers in the South will be secure. The Democratic vote will be increased thereby. Recently the French Minister notified our Government that the exhibitors from that country would feel compelled to withdraw their goods unless something was done to facilitate their reception. So petty and small is the spirit exhibited that this great Government is compelled to accept the charitable interposition of its citizens in order to keep its principal post office buildings lighted. Only by such disgrace has the Democratic majority been roused to a sense of duty. All that portion of the Treasury work, which, like the Supervising Architect's office, has to do with the employment of labor is systematically crippled, and that, too, at a period when the general depression of industry makes the smallest addition to the ranks of the great army of the unemployed a greivous burden. Now turn from the Treasury to

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

With the very important interests and duties committed to its charge, what will be seen? The following statement of the condition and necessities of the work in this Department illustrates the effect of the proposed reductions therein:

Offices.	Clerks.	Percent.	Amount.	Percent.	Remarks.
Secretary's—					
1876.....	42	....	\$69,780		
1877.....	37	....	58,530		
Reduction.....	5	12	11,250	16	The work of this office requires an increase rather than a decrease of force.
Land—					
1876.....	201	....	284,960		
1877.....	167	....	211,380		
Reduction.....	34	17	53,580	20	With the proposed reduction great injury will be done to settlers and others dependent upon the prompt action of the General Land Office.
Pension—					
1876.....	365	....	490,780		
1877.....	269	....	338,920		
Reduction.....	96	26	151,860	31	This office is greatly behind in its work. To reduce the force, as proposed, will work great injury to the pensioners of the country.
Patent—					
1876.....	332	....	436,400		
1877.....	291	....	370,220		
Reduction.....	41	12	66,180	15	This office returns a revenue in excess of its expenditures. To cripple it by a reduction is to cut down its revenues.
Education—					
1876.....	18	....	18,860		
1877.....	11	....	14,890		
Reduction.....	2	15	3,470	19	The proposed reduction of clerical force will prove injurious. But the reduction of the contingent expenses from \$21,200 called for to \$1,210 will be ruinous. It will prevent the collection of statistics and stop work that is necessary to be done.
Indian Office abolished.					

IMPEDING THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY.

The effect of the proposed reductions in this Department cannot but be very injurious. Take the General Land Office as an example. Year by year it is more heavily taxed, until the present force is worked to its utmost capacity to keep abreast of current business. The revival of prosperity, though slow in its advance, is sure to come. Along the whole western line the pioneer columns are advancing. The railroads send out their iron lines like tentacles to clasp and encompass the wilderness. The activity of the Land, like that of the Patent Office, is a proof of prosperity and progress. Statesmanship would recognize this, and provide for it accordingly. Demagogism only sees an opportunity of reducing salaries already poor, and of making a lesser appropriation than usual, utterly indifferent as to the injury that may be inflicted on general business, or the injustice done to individuals.

The Patent Office presents another illustration. Like our consular service, this office more than pays for itself. It would certainly seem as if a wise liberality should govern the appropriations made for its administration. In the present case, however,

the force is reduced below the ordinary demands of the work, and not the slightest heed is paid to the strong probability that the Centennial Exposition with its crowds of foreign visitors is likely to greatly increase the business. Very many inventors from other countries will doubtless apply for patents, hoping thus to protect what they exhibit, as well as hereafter make profit from sales among us. The Pension Bureau has been recently attacked, especially on the ground that its work drags behind so largely. The force is too small, therefore reduce it. This is the logic of Democratic reform. But, then, applicants will be dissatisfied, and votes against the party in power may thereby be made.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Take the important duties that are committed to Secretary Fish and the Department under his control. By the bill under consideration, its clerical force is greatly crippled, and the departmental work will be thereby delayed to an injurious degree. The staff of this Department must necessarily be one selected with great care. There are among its clerks many men, not only skilled in their delicate duties, but with special cul-

ture and accomplishments, which render them almost invaluable. A number of them are linguists of no mean order. Others are encyclopedias in their compendious knowledge of public and diplomatic affairs. It is such men as these—of whom the State Department by no means enjoys a monopoly in so far as the civil service is concerned—that the Democratic economists are depriving of a decent reward for a high order of service, well and faithfully performed. The demagogues in Congress, who are playing so large a game on such small cards, exhibit their inherent meanness most effectually when they reduce the already indifferent pay of Government clerks, but take especial pains not to put their own salaries on the same low level.

AN ATTACK ON LABOR.

No grosser or meaner attack on labor and its honest reward has been made of late years. The Republican party, in Congress or out of it, has never resisted any honest effort to reduce the expenses of the Government, and thus lighten the burdens of the tax-payers. But it has never done so at the cost of honest toil, or of the efficiency of the public service. Both are involved in the pending policy of the accidental majority of the House of Representatives. The facts already given, and others to follow, show how the latter will be brought about. As to the reduction of salaries, look for a moment at the gross injustice sought to be perpetrated. Take our consular service as an example. Whatever may be its shortcomings, the statement cannot be disputed that in the character of consuls and the honest administration of their duties that service is at least seventy-five per cent. in advance of what it was under Democratic rule. The consular service pays for itself, and leaves a surplus annually of about \$100,000. Since 1860 the price of living has everywhere advanced. All social economists take note of the fact that the increase of rapid intercommunication has largely increased and equalized the price of labor and the cost of living the civilized world all over. The rise of incomes—taking the grade to which consuls, &c., would properly belong—has not been in a proportionate ratio to the

cost of living. The English Government has collected and published in a Parliamentary Blue Book a large number of facts, which show that this increased cost of living at all their principal consular posts has within the past fifteen years been equal to at least forty per cent. During that period there has been several readjustments of our consular salaries, but no general or adequate increase has ever been made. On the other hand, there is much less opportunity than formerly to increase such incomes by doubtful means. Under the much abused Republican policy of special inspectors the affairs of the consulates have been investigated, and very many leaks stopped. Yet in face of these facts the Democratic House, under the leadership of a springing demagogue from the Illinois prairies, has slashed right and left, cutting down the salaries indiscriminately, and abolishing offices of real value to the commercial interests they are designed to foster.

INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

This illustration fits well with the reductions attempted in Department salaries. These latter were last scheduled in 1853. In a small number of appointments created and made since that date other rates may have been fixed, but as a rule the salaries then arranged are those that rule to-day. The cost of living has increased an average of sixty per cent.; while the increase in wages in other occupations has ranged from fifty to one hundred per cent. The large majority of the men and women employed in the Departments at Washington are persons of education, social culture, and trained intelligence. Very many of them possess a high grade of ability and attainments. All of them who by any means will be able to get away from conditions such as the demagogues propose to impose will undoubtedly do so. The most competent will be the first to retire of their own volition. The service will lose in efficiency thereby. But what does this matter to the politicians of the Randall-Holman school? They want a party cry, and think they have got one, forgetting, however, that the war and what has followed has educated a vast number of persons to a larger comprehension of the needs and demands of the Government than was

formerly the case. The American people are not mean. They do not propose to defraud the men and women who are hired to do their work, nor do they believe it to be the business of Government to cut down salaries and cheapen labor. Its business is to administer the trust imposed, and pay a fair price for all the services required.

IMPAIRING THE POSTAL SERVICE.

In further proof of the reckless policy pursued it may be stated that a very large proportion of the reductions proposed, in force or salaries, are made on insufficient evidence of their utility. The salary reduction, it is asserted, was to be made on a dead level rule of ten per cent.; that of force on a similar one of twenty per cent. The rule has not even been systematically applied, favorite officials being partially exempted, while others are made to bear more than their share. In the Treasury the working force is reduced twenty-three per cent., and the appropriation more largely. In the Interior the reduction of force is twenty and one-half per cent.; that of salaries, etc., equals twenty-three per cent. The mere statement of such a hard and fast rule ought to be sufficient, however, to show its unwisdom, because, if for no other reason, it makes no account of the duties performed by the official, and requires no examination into the needs of and demands on the office itself. The proposed reduction of the Post Office Department appropriation is in pertinent proof.

Like the General Land and the Patent Offices the postal service is, only in a larger degree, a proof of the growth and progress of the whole country. Its duties expand as that expands. Its usefulness must be commensurate with the growth of business and settlement. To reduce its resources and cripple its capacity is to hinder the rapid interchange of all business and social life, and will especially hamper the growth of the more struggling communities. The section which will suffer the most is the one most hostile to the policy of enlightenment and equity, which is the distinguishing mark of Republicanism. But the Post Office Department can cut its suit according to the cloth that is given. Its disbursements can be kept within its appropriations.

But that must result in a great lessening of postal facilities, if the amount is not to

exceed what is now proposed. At the present time, with 36,000 post offices, over 10,000 mail routes, the disbursement of \$35,000,000 and the receiving of \$27,000,000, the force of this Department is barely sufficient to perform its required duties. Good policy would require an increase. Especially is this so when the expected influx of foreign visitors and the certain movement of so large a portion of our own population as will attend the Centennial render it certain that there will be a greatly increased demand on the mail service. The annual increase in population, settlement, and business demands a proportionate increase in postal facilities. The electioneering necessities of a party out of power, but having a temporary "coign of vantage," require, or seem to, an ignoring of all these facts, in order to make a showing of economy on the stump and in the party press. The Postmaster General will be required to meet the issue presented by reducing the number of post offices and routes, cutting off four or five thousand of the smaller offices, and discontinuing at least a thousand routes. These will inevitably be, as to a majority of cases, within the Southern and Southwestern States and the Western Territories. The railroad postal force must be largely reduced, thus seriously crippling the mail service between and in the larger cities. If the policy now proposed is carried out as to the transportation of the mails, it must of necessity be followed by a reduction of the number carried. Cities now receiving two general mails per day will have to be content with one; daily mails will become tri-weeklies; the semi-weekly will be transferred to a weekly, while in all other branches the same necessity will prevail. The fact thus presented is already alarming members; but the danger is no greater, though it may be more in volume, than it is as to other branches of the public service treated to the same indiscriminating style of phlebotomy. The Democratic Dr. Sangrados tried another kind of bloodletting from 1861 to 1865. They haven't got quite over it "down South;" but this, and later, mode of reducing the system will prove as ineffectual for the destruction of the Union as was the former sanguinary process.

A SOUTHERN FLY IN DEMOCRATIC AMBER.

The indiscriminate reduction of force, salaries, and necessary contingent expenses is continued through all the Departments, with the exception, perhaps, of that of War. And this exception is another proof of the subserviency to the demands of the Confederate South which is so marked a characteristic of the Democratic party. Texas is at present one of the strongholds of Democracy. It has been made so by the concentration there of the ex-Confederate army by means of immigration from other Southern States, by a large increase of ruffianism and the usual processes of Democratic intimidation, and through the wholesale disfranchisement of colored voters by means of "Judicial Ku-Kluxism." Texas has, in addition, a chronic source of disorder—that of the Rio Grande Mexican cattle forays. To check, and finally, it is hoped, prevent them, it is necessary for the United States to maintain a large military force on that frontier. Besides, the Confederate Democratic leaders are looking for prospective gains to the area of their Southern empire, to the final establishment of which they have never ceased to look forward. The army on the Rio Grande, under their control, could easily be made the vanguard of a new war of conquest. Texas Democrats have, therefore, demanded that the War Department shall not be crippled, and the Sangrados of the Appropriation Committee bow in humility to their vermillion edict.

GOOD NEWS FOR SMUGGLERS AND ILLICIT DISTILLERS.

In all other directions the bleeding and depleting process is vehemently urged. The efficiency of the Department of Justice will be seriously impaired, and especially will this be the case in those regions of the South and Southwest in which, by lax administration, the Democracy will be most largely benefitted. It will not be possible either to push, as actively as should be the case, such

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AN ATTACK ON THE GRANGERS.

The important Department of Agriculture, concerned as it is with great interests wholly non-partisan and non-political in character, is, under the pending bill, almost deprived of usefulness. This again, in a marked manner, exhibits the want both of genuine statesmanship and of political sagacity on the part of the Democratic managers. Agriculture, as a great producing interest, was never so knit together as at the present time. The Grange permeates with its homogeneous influence every county in the Union, and binds to its policy a vast body of farmers and planters who are not yet within its folds. The statesman would see (Republicans have already done so) in the growth of such movements striking evidence of the manner in which the producing and laboring interests were coming forward to contest with those of commerce and exchange a normal share in legislation and government; and, so seeing, would endeavor to direct and control the same through legitimate channels. The Department of Agriculture has, in our system, become one of the most useful of these channels. The influence of the National Government is beneficially exercised to the advancement and encouragement of a primary force in production, industry, and wealth-making. It is so exercised, and has always been, without regard to party demands or policies, and without in any way interfering with individual interests or activities. The Democrats who represent agricultural districts know the interest manifested by their constituents in the experiments, publications, etc., of this Department quite as well as do their Republican associates on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The attempt to cripple the Department of Agriculture is, like the reductions in the General Land and Patent Offices, the proposed stoppage of all public works, river and harbor improvements, buildings, etc., as well as the inequitable general reduction of salaries, to be regarded only as a deliberate attack on the producing and laboring interests of the country. If this is denied, as it will be, the other horn of the dilemma is seen in the fact that such reductions, made without shrewdness or comprehensiveness,

only show the incapacity of the Democratic leaders to do anything more than destroy, tear down, and pull to pieces.

DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY—ITS PROOF.

The fact is plain that, even acquitting the Democracy as now represented in the House majority of all willful intention to impair the efficiency of the Government and the administration thereof, the pending appropriation bills only prove more conclusively than ever their incapacity to administer the Government or to wisely shape the legislation of the country. If their present actions are not interfused with treasonable malignancy, as in 1861, or animated only by the demagogue's aspirations for a taking election cry, then they must meet a pertinent criticism of which their daily acts are in proof of its truth, and that is, that they have been so long out of power as to be utterly incapable of understanding the enlarged necessities of the nation, or the demands which these are constantly making upon the Government of the country.

THE POLITICAL CRABS.

The truth is that the United States have grown out of the provincial swaddling clothes which the old-time governing Democracy so long imposed. The hands on the dial of Time cannot be turned back. The swaddling clothes are not to be made the cerements of the Nation. The Republic is a lusty and quite well matured giant now-a-days, and the Democratic liliputians who once were large enough to manage it almost to destruction, will find the bonds and withes then used are but as flaxen threads on the thews and sinews of to-day.

Since 1861 America has grown. A new public opinion controls. The civilization of the old Free States, with its vast complexities of industry, wealth, social order, education, and moral growth, is the civilization of the whole land. Its limitations as well as strength are all there. Retrospection is weakness. The Democracy travels backward like the crab. Its one eye is always turned over the shoulder of Time looking to a past, which, thank God! will never come again. It represents the politics and polity of sectionalism. Its criticism is malignant, because its history has been that of destruc-

tion. Slavery has dwarfed all moral sense, and the philosophy of disintegration has cramped capacity. Hence when it obtains, as in the present case, a temporary foothold, it cannot utilize the same for future advantage. Political opponents are treated as thieves and scoundrels; there is no sense of personal honor or public comity, as between men of differing opinions, and in pretending to provide for the wants of the Government, as should be the purpose of the regular appropriation bills, the Democrats succeed only in crippling its working capacity, undermining the public service, and by pretended efforts at economy which bear most unjustly on the poorest paid employes and officers, prepare the way for large deficiency bills and render more costly the necessary efforts which the future must bring in order to restore that state of efficiency without which the public work cannot be performed.

OUR DIPLOMATIC service must be overpaid, for it is well known that one of our foreign officials, after a service abroad of seven years, had sufficient funds left, after buying his ticket home, to buy a bottle of anti-sea-sickness cordial and a second-hand cork life-preserver. This remarkable incident, however, is offset by the fact that "one more unfortunate" is at this date "in pawn" at his post, unable to return home until some of his friends send him funds, which they are now engaged in collecting. But then the present force is composed mainly of Republicans, and, unlike the former Democratic incumbents of consular positions, have serious objections, as a rule, to making traffic of the flag, seal, and prestige belonging and supposed to accrue to their offices. Such as have been accused of so trafficking have generally been Democrats, who have nobly played the parts of "camp followers" on the party of success.

BORING a ship's bottom in mid-ocean to discover a rotten plank is wisdom compared to the Democratic policy of investigating everything, at enormous expense, while the workmen of the country are starving for want of needed legislation to set them to work.

THE CIVIL SERVICE FORCE IN THE EMPLOY OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

A fruitful source of party buncombe is found in the number and character of the persons employed by the United States to carry on the work of administration. It is a theme even more cherished by the political impotents who control the so-called "liberal" press, composed as it is of journals far more distinguished for illiberality of judgment than for any other marked quality. A foreigner who should make the diatribes of a half dozen prominent newspapers that might be named his sole source of study as to our character and institutions would undoubtedly have a good right to believe us the most corrupt people under the sun. The critics who leave that impression know better, but then they delight in befouling their own nest. There is a certain market for their wares, ill-smelling as they are—a market which has been created by their constant efforts, and which it is to be feared grows by what it feeds upon. On the whole, the journalistic critics referred to are worse than the partisan assailants. The one attacks the well-being of the country; the other only intends to assail the acts of the party and Administration which happens to be in power. The country would be all right provided only that they run it. The critics, however, would continue their assaults, seeking apparently to undermine popular faith in republican institutions, or aiming to place themselves and their profession in the position which Prince Bismarck recently declared in the Prussian Parliament the press was seeking to assume—that of the modern inquisition.

The alleged extravagance, corruption, and undue enlargement of the civil service, so-called, is then, as has been said, a fruitful source of criticism. Some recent misrepresentations as to the number of the persons employed by the General Government demand correction, and so affords an occasion to confound the unjust accusers. The Hon. M. J. Durham, of Kentucky, speaking on Thursday, March 23d, on the pending general civil service appropriation bill, made, among other statements, the following :

"The country can justly complain that for years the number of employes and officers of the Government has been greatly increased, and no doubt far beyond the requirements and necessities of the public service. I find on examination that the number of employes borne upon the civil list of the United States for the years indicated is shown as compiled from the Biennial Register, and is, to wit : 1859, 44,527 ; 1861, 46,049 ; 1863, 47,375 ; 1865, 53,067 ; 1867, 56,113 ; 1869, 54,207 ; 1871, 57,605 ; 1873, 86,660 ; 1875, 102,106. A very considerable number of the above who are borne upon the pay-rolls can, without doubt, be dismissed from the service, and there would be still enough left to carry on the Government in its various branches with promptness and dispatch. One of the consequences arising from this large biennial increase of office-holders, and it may be at larger salaries than they are entitled to, is to increase the annual expenses of the Government until they have become enormous and very burdensome to the people."

If the statement above embalmed (not in amber, though, by any means) were correct, it would be a just cause of alarm and reproach. There is no truth in it, however, as will presently be shown. Mr. Durham may probably be acquitted of intentional misrepresentation. He has only blundered in his eagerness to make a point. If his figures are as incorrect for all as they are for 1875 their untrustworthiness is simply ludicrous.

The Biennial Register, or "Blue Book," as it is commonly called, is made up to the 30th of September, in the year of its publication. The law under which its compilation is ordered reads as follows :

SECTION 510. As soon as practicable after the last day of September in each year in which a new Congress is to assemble a register shall be compiled and printed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, of which seven hundred and fifty copies shall be published, and which shall contain the following lists, made up to such last day of September :

1. Correct lists of the officers, clerks, employes, and agents, civil, military, and naval, in the service of the United States, including cadets and midshipmen, which lists shall exhibit the amount of compensation, pay, and emoluments allowed to each, the State or country in which he was born,

the State or Territory from which he was appointed to office, and where employed.

2. A list of the names, force, and condition of all the ships and vessels belonging to the United States, and when and where built.

3. Lists of all printers of the laws of the United States, and of all printers employed by Congress or by any Department or officer of the Government during the two years preceding the last day of September up to which such list is required to be made, with the compensation allowed to each, and designating the Department or officer causing the printing to be executed.

4. A statement of all allowances made by the Postmaster General, within the same period of two years, to each contractor on contracts for carrying the mail, discriminating the sum paid as stipulated by the original contract and the sums paid as additional allowance.

Previous to 1873 the compilers of the Register did not deem it necessary to call for any of the names, etc., of the persons employed as mechanics and laborers, whose positions are not specifically designated in the several appropriation acts, and who are therefore employed under general authority to engage and pay for needed labor. Such classes include mechanics and laborers at the several navy-yards, a small portion of those employed on the public buildings, those at the Government printing office, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, on river and harbor improvements, and all works of a similar character. All told these will not exceed ten thousand. In the Registers of 1873 and 1875 an effort has been made to record the names of such employes. It has in part been successful, and hence the increase which has really occurred in the size of the Blue Book. It would seem, however, as if the compiler was mistaken and had given too latitudinarian an interpretation of the law, as quoted. The extent of these additions will hereafter be shown. In the meanwhile it will be well to ascertain what Mr. Durham charges. To read the passage quoted is to obtain the distinct impression that there has been a lavishly wasteful increase of force. Let us look at both the statement and the facts. Both are essential to an understanding of the disparity between them. The accompanying statement shows the figures according to Mr. Durham:

Blue Book for—	No. registered.	Increase	Increase ov'r 1859.
1859.....	44,527	.....	.....
1861.....	46,049	1,522	.....
1863.....	47,375	1,226	2,848
1865.....	53,067	5,692	8,540
1867.....	56,113	3,046	11,586
1869.....	54,107	*	9,480
1871.....	57,605	3,298	13,078
1873.....	86,660	29,055	32,133
1875.....	102,106	15,446	57,579

* 2,006 less than in 1867.

It will be observed that the increase is quite gradual up to 1871. The figures of 1865 and 1867 are due, as every one will see, to the increased postal and other service, rendered necessary by the restoration of Federal authority in the South, and the consequent rehabilitation of its functions therein. The marked decrease in 1869 over 1867 is due to changes made in the internal revenue and other branches, which rendered unnecessary a large number of paid office-holders. The practical dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau, service about 1868-'69 also decreased the total.

To those who are familiar with legislation since that date it will be a very difficult task to give a satisfactory explanation of the marvellous increase stated by Mr. Durham, as shown by the foregoing table, unless it be regarded as grossly erroneous. This is the true explanation. There has been a steady reduction of the officers, clerks, and other administrative agents of the Government since 1870 in all the branches thereof, except such as are immediately subject to the expansion superinduced by the country's normal growth and progress. The Post Office Department is an illustration of this position. The average increase shown from 1859 down to 1871 is almost wholly accounted for by the additional number of postmasters and other persons added each year. Since 1859, for instance, the number of postmasters has almost doubled. Of course this has increased the force of clerks, agents, carriers, messengers, and contractors to a proportionate degree.

Mr. Durham's misstatements are mischievous, and must be corrected. If the reader could have before him copies of the "Blue Book" for 1871 and 1875 it would be easy to perceive how he has blundered, allowing

for the idiocy which aims only at making a telling point as a sure preventive of necessary caution. In the volume first named the number of octavo pages is 913; in that for 1875 there are 1,211—an increase of 298 pages. On each page the number of names printed runs from 81 down to 26, the average being 65 names to a page. To have added 44,501 names to the Blue Book of 1875 over that of 1871 would have required an addition of about 675 pages, making the volume contain 1,589 pages, or 378 more than it actually does. But the increase that is stated must be accounted for—a very easy thing to do when the facts are known. It will be borne in mind that the compiler has added, in the last two Registers, a considerable number of names never heretofore embraced by the publication. According to the statement of that officer the total is not less than 12,000, which, at 65 names to a page, required an addition to the Register of 1875 of about 185 pages. The remaining pages are accounted for by a rearrangement of the matter and a subdividing of the different classes for a more convenient way of presentation. These additional 12,000 names, or so, are obtained in this way. There was an increase of about 2,400 post offices during the past two years, and, in addition thereto, the last Register gives the name of every incumbent for the two years following the preceding publication of a Blue Book. This fact accounts for at least 3,500 additional names. There is an addition to the postal service, consequent on this increase of offices, to the number of 292 persons, otherwise than postmasters. This makes on this branch alone a total increase of 6,192 names.

In addition, there are now embraced in the last Biennial Register the following persons employed by, or otherwise under Government authority, whose names were not embraced by the Register of 1871: Internal revenue gaugers and storekeepers, over 1800; employes at new mints; Commissioners of United States Centennial Exposition, 96; light-house engineers and inspectors; clerks, storekeepers, etc., Subsistence Department of the United States Army; employes (clerks, mechanics, laborers, &c.,) Ordnance Department at large; United States Army; United States geological surveying force;

also registers in bankruptcy and Circuit Court commissioners—in all over 6,000 persons. It will be observed that a considerable number of these additions are of mechanics and laborers, paid by the day, a force whose pay and position are not indicated specifically by law, and who usually are hired in open market at the ruling rates of such labor in the vicinity of their work. It would seem as if such persons did not come within the terms of the law, and if they do, then there is a considerable force to be added to the official Register. But even that addition will leave Mr. Durham's figures largely in excess.

But there is another way to test Mr. Durham's inaccuracy as to the Register of 1875, as well as prove the correctness of the enumeration now presented. The total number of names found in the last Blue Book is 79,624. If 1,211 pages (the number it contains) be multiplied by 65, the total will be 78,715. If Mr. Durham's figures, 102,106, are taken, and he be allowed to estimate at the highest number of names entered on any one page of the Register—viz., 81—it will still be found that the 1,211 pages the volume for 1875 embraces will give only 97,891 names, or 4,215 less than the Kentuckian's total.

The foregoing statements alone show that Mr. Durham is guilty of inaccuracy. But a more careful examination will establish, beyond controversy, that he is willfully careless and indifferent to the truth. The Biennial Register contains the names of the Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of all officers of the Army and Navy, the vessels of war, besides executive and judicial officers, the Department and other clerical force, the custom and internal revenue agents, the postmasters, and a considerable body of names representing persons employed as mechanics and laborers. Yet all these names will not come within 23,000 of Mr. Durham's pretended exhibit of the total, by the Register for 1875. This will be shown presently by an actual count. In order to secure a fair estimate of the civil expenses of the National Government, under Republican administrations, which are being assailed by Democratic speakers like Mr.

Durham, it would be but fair to eliminate the officers of the Army and Navy from the muster-roll. The charge is that there is "a biennial increase of office-holders," and "it may be at larger salaries than they are entitled to." Let us see. The last Register will be sufficient for an examination. The following summaries can be regarded as accurate:

Total number of officials, clerical and other civil employes, in the pay of the General Government, and registered in the Biennial Register for 1875.

EXECUTIVE.

Private secretary, assistant, and land warrant clerk.....	8
Other persons.....	4
Total Executive.....	7

CONGRESS.

Officers and employes of the Senate, clerks, Capitol police, &c.....	175
Officers and employes of the House of Representatives.....	155
Government Printing Office, clerks, &c..	8
Total Congress.....	338

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Secretary, assistant secretaries, clerks, &c., employed in the Department itself	92
Ministers.....	30
Secretaries of Legation.....	13
Consul-Generals.....	17
Consuls.....	234
Commercial agents.....	21
Interpreters, marshals, and dispatch agents.....	18
Consular clerks.....	12
Members of the Alabama Court of Claims and other international commissions..	13
Centennial commissioners.....	96
Total Department of State.....	546

THE TREASURY.

Department proper—

Secretary's office, (this includes representatives of all bureaus and separate offices).....	503
First Comptroller.....	43
Second Comptroller.....	72
First Auditor.....	49
Second Auditor.....	149
Third Auditor.....	171
Fourth Auditor.....	54
Fifth Auditor.....	33
Sixth Auditor.....	233
Commissioner of Customs.....	30
Commissioner of Internal Revenue.....	134
Register.....	207
Treasurer.....	532
Comptroller of Currency.....	125
Total Department proper.....	2,345

Agents of the Department—outside force:

Special agents, (two employed in Washington).....	62
Customs—collectors, &c.....	4,407
Internal revenue—	
Collectors.....	211
Deputy collectors.....	879
Storekeepers.....	907
Gaugers.....	909
Assistant treasurers.....	195
Mints and assay offices.....	660
United States depositories.....	13
Coast Survey, (89 employed in Washington).....	146
Life-saving service.....	114

Marine hospitals.....	41
Revenue marine.....	194
Light-house keepers.....	860
Light-house engineers and inspectors....	202
Steamboat inspectors.....	104

Total outside force.....	9,904
Add Department proper.....	2,345

Total Treasury.....	12,258
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DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

Department proper—

Secretary's office.....	77
Adjutant General.....	252
Quartermaster General.....	168
Paymaster General.....	71
Subsistence, Commissary General.....	20
Surgeon General.....	172
Chief of Engineers.....	21
Chief of Ordnance.....	24
Signal Service.....	18
Bureau of Military Justice.....	9
Medical statistics.....	2
Inspector General.....	2
Superintendents of cemeteries.....	70
Public Buildings and Grounds.....	65

Total Department proper.....	981
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Outside force War Department:

Quartermaster General.....	342
Paymaster General.....	52
Commissary General of Subsistence.....	204
Surgeon General.....	15
Acting Assistant Surgeons.....	163
Ordnance.....	1,100

Total outside force.....	1,876
Add Department proper.....	981

Total War Department.....	2,857
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DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY.

Department proper.....	89
Naval Observatory.....	19
Hydrographic Office.....	23
Almanac, (6 at Washington).....	12

Total Navy Department.....	143
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The following force are not embraced by the Blue Book:

Civil force, (clerical, &c.,) at navy-yards, asylums, hospitals, academy, and torpedo and other stations.....	558
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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Department proper—

Secretary's office.....	42
Land office.....	201
Pension office.....	365
Patent office.....	332
Indian affairs.....	57
Bureau of Education.....	13
Geological surveys.....	31
United States Capitol extension.....	4
National Museum.....	18
Inspectors gas and meters.....	2
Hospitals in District of Columbia.....	229

Total Department proper.....	1,294
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Outside Department proper—

General Land Office:	
Registers.....	98
Receivers.....	98
Surveyors General.....	17
Clerks, &c., to Surveyors General..	108
Indian Affairs:	
Superintendents and clerks.....	8
Indian agents.....	78
Employes.....	640
Territories—Governors and secretaries..	18
Pension agents.....	58

Total outside force.....	1,118
Add Department proper.....	1,294

Total Interior.....	2,412
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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.	
Department proper	58
District institutions—Police, jail, and re- form school	301
Total Department proper	354
JUDICIARY.	
United States Supreme Court judges, (9,) Court of Claims, (5,) District judges, (5,) Police judge, (1,) United States Circuit Courts, (9,) District Courts, (56,) Territorial Courts, (27,) total.....	112
Clerks to United States Courts.....	197
Reporter to Supreme Court.....	1
Marshals.....	86
District attorneys	84
Assistant attorneys	58
Registers in bankruptcy	253
United States Circuit Court commission- ers	1,730
Total judiciary.....	2,521
Add Department proper	354
Total Department of Justice.....	2,875
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.	
Department proper	91
POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.	
Department proper	384
Other officers and agents :	
Postmasters.....	35,547
Contractors.....	6,280
Post Office clerks.....	4,467
Railway Post Office clerks.....	901
Route agents.....	987
Mail route messengers.....	225
Local messengers.....	125
Special messengers.....	66
Total Post Office Department.....	48,892
Total registered force properly belong- ing to the civil service.....	67,757
To this total may be added the follow- ing :	
Congress—Senators, Representatives, and Delegates	374
Officers of the Army	2,929
Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps..	1,955
Vessels of the Navy	149
Advertisers for the several Departments	380
Post Office contractors.....	6,280
	12,067
Total number of persons and names re- gistered in the Blue Book for 1875....	79,824

Mr. Durham stated the total to be 102,106. He may be congratulated, as a Democrat, in getting within 23,930 of the truth. But then, using his own standard—that the Blue Book was the measure of the civil list—and it will be found that a still further deduction can be made. The total given—12,067—of names not to be counted as part of the “civil list,” in the sense Mr. Durham used that term, is properly to be subtracted from the whole number registered in the Biennial Blue Book. According, then, to this calculation, *the total civil list will embrace but 67,757 names, or 34,349 less than the number given by Mr. Durham.*

But that gentleman presented this formidable aggregate as a proof of extravagance ; of the costliness of the present Administration. This is in reality the most important portion of his arraignment. The American people are not so much interested in the number of persons in the employ of the General Government as they are in the question of cost and that of the proper performance of the necessary duties. To that end it may be as well to still further take Mr. Durham’s criticisms apart, and show how captious and ill-founded they are. For convenience sake, in this respect, the persons employed by the United States whose remuneration is not designated as salaries, or directly provided for out of the revenues collected, may be divided into the following groups :

I. Those paid by fees in whole or in part:		
Officers.	Number.	Annual amounts limited by law.
Consuls or commercial agents	93	\$2,500*
Pension agents.....	58	4,000*
Postmasters.....	34,047	1,000*
Land Office registers and re- ceivers	196	500†
District attorneys	84	200†
	34,478	
*Out of their fees office expenses are also paid. †Besides the amount named, these officers receive a percentage on all moneys received by them.		
II. Those paid entirely by fees :		
Commissioners to United States courts..	1,730	
Internal revenue gaugers.....	909	
Clerks to United States courts.....	197	
Registers in bankruptcy.....	253	
Marshals.....	86	
	3,175	
III. Those who contract and derive profit:		
Mail contractors.....	6,280	
Advertisers or publishers.....	380	
	6,660	
IV. Without pay :		
Centennial commissioners.....	96	
Honorary medical and other appoint- ments in District of Columbia	30	
	126	
To recapitulate, there are of—		
Class I	34,478	
Class II	3,175	
Class III	6,660	
Class IV.....	126	
Total force unpaid by appropriations, not salaried specifically by law, and paid only by fees, subtracting 280 district attorneys and public land officers, who receive a small specified salary as part of their remuneration, 44,159		

As the total civil list has been shown to number but 67,757 persons, (according to the last Blue Book,) it follows that of persons whose salaries are designated by law, provided for by regular appropriation bills, and paid out of the revenue collected to meet the demands of Government, there are in all but 23,318 persons.

These facts, and they cannot be substantially controverted, prove on how shallow a foundation rests the outcry against a swollen civil list, and the so-called extravagance of salaries. It will prove, after all, that the salary bill is but the smaller portion of the expenses of a proper administration of this great Government. While referring to the question of labor cost, it should be borne in mind that there are quite a number of important bureaus which sustain themselves out of the receipts of their office. The Patent Office and the Consular service not only pay for themselves, but turn in a large surplus to the Treasury. Both of these agreeable facts have become so under Republican administration. The land offices materially aid in meeting their own expenses out of the fees and sales they receive. The postal service pays for more than two-thirds of its cost. Some of its branches, such as the money order business, net a surplus to the Department. The Judiciary is largely self-sustaining also. Under Republican legislation, rigid inquiry has been had into the fee system, and in all branches a maximum limitation has been placed upon the amount any one officer may receive as remuneration. This and similar measures are certainly reformatory in character. During the Democratic rule of a third of a century that party never investigated or corrected any abuse of this or similar character. In examining the aggregate of expenditures under the form of salaries it must be borne in mind that there are only 1,500 postmasters whose remuneration exceeds \$1,000 per annum, and that of the remainder, all of whom are paid out of their office receipts, more than 25,000 do not receive over \$100 per annum. These points might be greatly multiplied, but those given are sufficient for the present purpose. In conclusion, it seems proper to affirm that our political history has not here-

tofore presented as mean, petty, and base a partisanship as that which now characterizes the current actions and criticisms of the accidental Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. There is neither honor or courtesy in their dealings with opponents, or political integrity and sagacity displayed in their attitude towards the executive branches of the Government itself. The misrepresentation herein exposed fairly illustrate their senseless and unpatriotic position.

Presidents.

The following table, prepared for reference, shows the political sentiments and the date of the inauguration of each President, the length of time he lived after that event, and his age at the time of his death :

1. George Washington, Independent, inaugurated 1789; lived 10 years; age 68.
2. John Adams, Independent, inaugurated 1797; lived 29 years; age 90.
3. Thomas Jefferson, Democrat, inaugurated 1801, lived 25 years; age 83.
4. James Madison, Democrat, inaugurated 1809; lived 27 years; age 85.
5. James Monroe, Democrat, inaugurated 1817; lived 14 years; age 73.
6. John Q. Adams, Whig, inaugurated 1825, lived 23 years; age 81.
7. Andrew Jackson, Democrat, inaugurated 1829; lived 16 years; age 78.
8. Martin Van Buren, Democrat, inaugurated 1837; lived 25 years; age 80.
9. W. H. Harrison, Whig, inaugurated 1841; lived 1 month; age 68.
10. John Tyler, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1841; lived 21 years; age 72.
11. James K. Polk, Democrat, inaugurated 1845; lived 4 years; age 54.
12. Zachary Taylor, Whig, inaugurated 1849; lived 16 months; age 66.
13. Millard Fillmore, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1850; lived 24 years, age 74.
14. Franklin Pierce, Democrat, inaugurated 1853; lived 16 years; age 65.
15. James Buchanan, Democrat, inaugurated 1857; lived 11 years; age 77.
16. Abraham Lincoln, Republican; inaugurated 1861; lived 4 years and 1½ months; age 56.
17. Andrew Johnson, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1865; lived 10 years; age 67.
18. General Grant, Republican, inaugurated 1869.

Tyler and Fillmore were elected Vice Presidents as Whigs and Johnson as a Republican. Their "independence" followed their inauguration as Presidents.

PROPOSED PENSIONS FOR REBELS.

Few nations have been called upon to place upon their pension-rolls so large a number of pensioners as we have. The rebellion caused a fearful loss of life and distress among those persons who responded to the call of the country to save the Union. Men who suffered the loss of limbs or of eyesight or of health in the direct line of duty, and the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors who fell in the service, were properly provided with pensions. A pension, however, was not given so much as a reward for loyalty. It was granted more out of the gratitude of the people for the devotion and sacrifice of those who stood forth in the hour of the nation's peril and aided in its preservation.

But the men who took part in the rebellion, and fought against the Union and the cause it represented, have no such claim. To reward such men if they suffered would be a discrimination in favor of treasonous disloyalty, and place the rebel and his dependents on the same footing with the soldiers who fought and saved the Union. In order, therefore, to guard against the commission of such gross injustice a law was enacted which has been reproduced in section 4,716 in the Revised Statutes. That section reads as follows, viz:

"No money on account of pension shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States."

Now, the Confederacy, which was the product of the rebellion against the authority of the United States, having been destroyed by the Union forces in the field, has gathered its scattered elements in the National Congress; and the assembled Confederates in the House and Senate, appearing in the guise of representatives of the people, seem to be actuated by the same spirit as when the war prevailed, and to be resolved to do all they can on behalf of their comrades and their families and against the interests of the Union. Accordingly, wherever Republican legislation protected the Federal Treasury, or confined payments therefrom to

persons of known loyalty, the Confederates in Congress have set themselves to reverse that legislation, and open the way for the entrance of disloyalty to seize upon the public money.

These recent efforts to extend the pension-rolls by quartering rebel sympathizers and their families upon them is explained in House bill No. 2,991, introduced by Mr. McFarland, to repeal the above section of the Revised Statutes. This bill has not attracted much attention, but its principle is so impudently and monstrosly wrong that it deserves a close examination and should be remembered. The text of the bill is as follows:

"*Be it enacted, &c.* That section forty-seven hundred and sixteen of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-rolls the names of all persons who may be entitled to a pension under existing laws, notwithstanding they may have served in the rebel army prior to such service, and pay to such persons, their widows or children, a pension as provided by law in other cases, from and after the passage of this act."

It is almost always safe to assume that when a Southern Democratic member of the House or Senate desires to repeal a section of the Revised Statutes he either aims at protecting the Democratic South in its disloyalty or to reward his disloyal comrades for their treason out of the Treasury of the United States. This is not a condition of affairs that the people are likely to approve, and Representatives especially will resolve that their votes shall be cast to defeat forever the hope of treason in that direction. The bill above cited has in substance been passed by the House majority, as a report from the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, which committee is presided over by an ex-rebel brigadier—Hunton, of Virginia.

If some Democratic genius could invent some plan to utilize the gas daily generated in the present House of Representatives the appropriation for lighting public buildings might be stricken out altogether. As an economic idea we commend it to the faithful.

REMINISCENCES OF PERSONS AND EVENTS DURING THE TWO TERMS OF GENERAL JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY.

No man of this country or of any other ever possessed in a greater degree the confidence of the people, or excelled in personal popularity with the masses than Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. Politicians were not always satisfied with him, not even those who had largely participated in the success of the party that twice elected him to the Presidential office; but the people were ever with him, and believed in his honest, devoted patriotism, stood by him in every act in his administration of public affairs, when political leaders of the party were alarmed if not disaffected at times by the bold aggressive movements of the brave and intrepid soldier. It is related of a Pennsylvania farmer, who having sold, in Philadelphia, a wagon-load of products from his farm some twenty miles back in the country, was offered in payment the notes of the United States Bank, then at a premium of one per cent. over the State bank circulation, when to the surprise of the purchaser he declined to take them in payment, simply saying that General Jackson had said the Bank was bad and corrupt, and therefore he did not care to have anything to do with it.

A true and staunch friend, he never was known to abandon any one in whom he had placed confidence, or for whom he had any friendly feeling although the whole world might go against his views and opinions. He was ever the defender of the weak against the strong, and no man ever surpassed the old Hero in his chivalric appreciation of woman, or in his disposition to protect and defend her at all times against any species of aggression or persecution. This noble disposition had been increased in him in consequence of the base and dastardly attack that was made on his domestic life during the canvass for his first presidential term, and even upon the beloved partner of his joys and sorrows, whose life, it was believed, was shortened by such attacks and persecutions.

This trait in his character for gallant defense of woman was brought fully into action on the memorable embroilment in Washing-

ton society in 1831, in which the members of his Cabinet and their families were principally and immediately interested. Reference is here made to the unpleasant condition of affairs immediately preceding the dissolution of the Cabinet in that year. The rupture that had taken place between General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, to which more particular allusion will be made further on, was soon followed by an event naturally to follow as a consequence—that of breaking up the President's Cabinet. Several members classed as the political friends of Mr. Calhoun could not be expected to remain as ministers to General Jackson while adhering to that gentleman. This dissolution of the Cabinet, however, was hastened and more immediately brought about by the embroilment in high society referred to above. The main difficulty and source of these troubles in society, as the General believed, arose from a wanton and unprovoked persecution on the part of the Calhounites, of the family of his friend and favorite minister, General Eaton, then Secretary of War, aimed as an indirect attack on himself, and similar in effect to the dastardly war made on his own domestic peace during his first candidacy for the Presidential office.

Mr. Samuel D. Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, visited the President at the suggestion of Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, the reputed slayer of Tecumseh, to see if some harmonious compromise could not be made whereby he and others could remain in position—for although friends and admirers of Mr. Calhoun, and therefore necessarily and to some extent disaffected toward General Jackson, yet they seemed desirous, to use a modern phrase—to stick; but the President was far from being conciliated, and, as Mr. Ingham reported back to Colonel Johnson, he had become very violent, and, as he remarked under considerable excitement, that he would never again undertake such a mission, for the President was not only violent, but seemed to roar at him like a maddened lion. Colonel Johnson said he would

go to him and see if the lion would roar at him; possibly the old Hero had roared enough for that occasion, for he received the Colonel, for whom he had a high regard, with that impressive dignity that was never surpassed by any high official in receiving those who approached him, especially under such extraordinary circumstances as then existed. Colonel Johnson warmly deprecated the course affairs were taking—that they would lead to a breaking up of his Cabinet, and feared that the people of the country would become alarmed and disaffected at so unusual an event. The President, in his determined manner, assured him that he need not entertain any apprehensions with regard to the reception of such an occurrence by the people, who would, in their accustomed common-sense way of looking at causes and effects, be but little concerned by the changes which might take place in his Cabinet.

The result was as foreseen by Colonel Johnson—the Cabinet was dissolved, and as foreseen by the President the people seemed to care but little about it. Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, and General Eaton, Secretary of War, being the special, personal, and political friends of General Jackson, having tendered their resignations, the balance of his Cabinet were, of course, necessitated to follow their example, thus terminating a Council to the President in which Mr. Calhoun had been largely represented, and which, consequently, could no longer be palatable to the President. General Eaton and his family went to Florida, where he had been appointed Governor, and subsequently as Minister to Spain. Mr. Van Buren went as Minister to England, and the rest of that famous Cabinet retired from public to private life, from whence they never afterward emerged.

In the election for President which took place in 1832, the successful ticket before the people bore the name of the old hero of New Orleans for President, with that of Mr. Van Buren for Vice President, and their inauguration took place amidst great party rejoicings on the 4th of March, 1833, being the second term of General Jackson.

A great change had taken place in the political as well as in the personal relations of

the distinguished leaders who had figured so prominently in the exciting movements of the previous four years. Mr. Clay had again been beaten, and the political feud between him and the President had increased in bitterness, assuming constantly thereafter personal dislike and antipathy. Mr. Van Buren had succeeded Mr. Calhoun to the Vice Presidency, and was now to preside over the Senate, in which the latter was to be simply a Senator; nor was this all of the discomfiture of the ambitious South Carolinian. The strong ties of personal and political friendship that had so long existed between him and General Jackson had been suddenly and violently severed—never to be restored again. It had been discovered to General Jackson through the revelations of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who had been a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet during the time that General Jackson had control of military affairs in Florida, that instead of Mr. Calhoun (also of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet) having defended him against serious charges brought up in Cabinet for transcending his powers and authority in Florida, he was for strict investigation, and for such punishment as the extraordinary circumstances demanded; and that it was Mr. John Quincy Adams who had on that critical occasion espoused his cause and defended him against any extreme proceedings on the part of the Government.

This discovery was a sad blow and a great surprise to General Jackson, for he had been for a number of years firmly under the impression that it was to Mr. Calhoun that he was indebted for such friendly aid and defense at so critical a period, and the discovery to a man of his temperament, having an extreme sensitiveness about everything that concerned his military fame, naturally awakened no ordinary indignation and resentment. A correspondence ensued between him and Mr. Calhoun, which had no effect whatever in healing the breach in their friendship; but, on the contrary, it only widened it, and the General, getting mad, abruptly closed the correspondence with the deprecatory address of Cæsar to Brutus, "*Et tu Brute.*"

This unfortunate severance of the old ties of personal and political friendship between

the President and Mr. Calhoun was in every way disastrous and fatal to the latter. Mr. Van Buren succeeded to the place in the affections of the President that had but so lately been occupied by Mr. Calhoun, and in consequence Mr. Van Buren was placed on the ticket in 1832 for the office of Vice President, with the clearly defined will and pleasure of the old hero that he should succeed him in the Presidency. This assertion of the influence and power of General Jackson, based on his unequalled popularity with the people to nominate his successor, and to have him chosen by the people, will be fully sustained by the history of the times—and that not only did this great influence and the power of his name extend to his immediate successor, but will apply also to the nomination and election of Mr. Polk in 1844.

These sudden and overwhelming reverses in Mr. Calhoun's political and personal fortunes made him well-nigh a desperate man. Seeing that he was no longer in the line of "safe precedents," and that the aspiring son of New York had stepped in and jostled him from his ambitious path, where but a short while before he seemed so secure for the high prize in view, and that there remained no possible hope for him to regain his former happy footing, he in an evil hour resorted to his celebrated nullification doctrine.

There has scarcely been in the country greater excitement than that which arose from the discussions in the Senate on the tariff question during the session of 1832-'33. South Carolina under the lead of her heretofore popular and distinguished son, Mr. Calhoun, had assumed the fearful attitude of angry and almost belligerent opposition to the execution of the revenue laws, and at no time probably had there been graver apprehensions for the future of the country than existed then. It was but the dark, gloomy omen and forerunner of what was to follow afterward in 1861, and the dread and dismay which then oppressed the hearts of all patriots simply foreshadowed the horrors that came upon the land from 1861 to 1865.

General Jackson issued his famous proclamation warning the people of South Carolina against any disaffection to the Government, or any attempt to resist the due execution of

laws made by the high authority of Congress, and followed this great address by sending troops to Charleston under the command of General Scott to guarantee and enforce, if need was, the execution of the revenue laws.

During this eminently critical period threatening the national peace, Mr. Calhoun arose in his place in the Senate and made the following alarming declaration that South Carolina was in "battle array," ready to resist the execution of the iniquitous revenue laws for the collection of revenue under an unjust and unconstitutional tariff. Such was the dread and fearful impression made on the minds of Senators and the crowded audience that for a while the feeling was intensely oppressive and painful, for it was known that General Jackson was intently watching every movement on the part of the political leaders of South Carolina, and that had there been an overt act in the way of resistance, going so far as to the shedding of blood after such a speech, there was no knowing what dire results would have happened from the stern determination of the great and patriotic chief then at the head of public affairs, who it was well known would never compromise in any way for the violation of the laws of his country. It was at this momentous juncture, when Mr. Calhoun had so startled and alarmed Senators and audience, that Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, hastily penciled a note to Mr. Clay, and sent it by a page of the Senate, in these exciting words: "For God's sake save him, or he is lost."

Mr. Clayton well knew the inflexible and indomitable will and temper of Andrew Jackson, and that had there been blood shed in resisting the revenue laws after this daringly bold and almost treasonable speech, that the fate of the South Carolina Senator was already determined on, and that with such a man as Jackson in the Presidential chair there would be no compromise or vacillation in the discharge of his high and imperative duties.

Mr. Clay did save him and his State from a very fearful predicament, and in his compromise measures at that time allayed and fully quieted the storm that seemed ready to burst over the Government and the country.

General Jackson's firmness of character

his determination to submit to no wrong to the Government at home or abroad, made him feared and respected everywhere. Witness the action of France in settling up long delayed arrears of debt to the United States when the old soldier and statesman had it intimated to the French Government through our minister at Versailles that the time had come for a settlement, and that no further delay could be tolerated with proper regard to our national honor.

It may not be amiss to say here that it would be of importance to the people of the United States to look well to the character of such a man, and to reflect upon the incalculable advantage of having at all times, if possible, just such a man at the head of public affairs to insure and guarantee the due observance of their rights and laws both at home and abroad; and in this connection it may be safely stated, and without fear of any possible question, that had General Jackson been in the Presidential chair when the political leaders of the South, leaving their seats in both houses of Congress, went forth to inaugurate a civil war, that they would not have reached their homes for such a purpose, nor indeed would they have dared to venture on so dire an errand if he had been President and commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

With the people of the District of Columbia, where he lived as President for eight years, he was greatly respected and beloved. They soon learned to know his inflexible justice and his fixed rule of action with regard to all transactions between the officers and employees of the Government and the people of the District. He would not allow any long continued indebtedness on the part of officials who were receiving their monthly pay from the Government, and who on account of being in the receipt of such Government pay had received credit for any kind of supplies or accommodations. Knowing this, he was very frequently appealed to by creditors against their delinquent customers, and they never failed to secure a liquidation of the indebtedness, or so secured as to guarantee a speedy payment. One of these applications to the General, and which created

much amusement at the time, was that of a lady who kept a boarding-house, and with whom a young man from Tennessee, a clerk in one of the Departments, and of a family for whom the President had a warm regard and friendship, had boarded for several months without paying his board bill and with little apparent likelihood that he intended paying it very soon, and for which she was greatly in want. The General listened to her complaint very patiently, and with his usual kindness and courtesy to the fair sex, and when she had told him her story, he advised her to get the gentleman's note for what he owed her. At this the poor lady's heart sank, and she said, "General, what good will his note do me? He will care as little about paying a note as the open account I have handed him so frequently"—but her heart grew something lighter when the President told her to get the note and bring it to him—for she saw that there might be something in it. She went home and very readily got the required note, as the gentleman said he was very willing to give it, and would include the interest, as she should not lose the interest as long as he owed her hereafter. Smiling at the liberality of her debtor, she returned to the President and submitted to him the document, wondering what would be the next move towards getting her money. To her extreme surprise the President took up a pen from his office table and wrote on the back of the note his own great name—Andrew Jackson. Almost overcome by grateful surprise she arose to take her leave, when the President said to her: "Madam, you will please take the note to the cashier of the Bank of the Metropolis with my request that he will discount it at once, and that he will please to give timely notice of maturity to the maker of the note. Timely notice was given, and it is needless to add that the note was paid promptly when it became due, without taking advantage even of the usual three days' grace.

Great injustice has been done to the character and fame of General Jackson in the estimate made of him, mostly by his political opponents, especially in charging him with tyranny in the exercise of an almost fero-

cious will in his great public career. Nothing was ever more unfounded.

Colonel Thomas H. Benton, who of all men of their times knew him best from many years' acquaintance, and who, from having been in deadly feud with him at an early period of their lives in Tennessee, became, after he attained to the Presidential office, his warmest and most devoted friend, writes in the following interesting manner of him in his "Thirty Years View," published after General Jackson's death:

"His temper was placable, as well as irascible, and his reconciliations were cordial and sincere. Of that my own case was a signal instance. After a deadly feud I became his confidential adviser, was offered the highest marks of his favor, and received from his dying bed a message of friendship, dictated when life was departing, and when he would have to pause for breath. There was a deep vein of piety in him, unaffectedly showing itself in his reverence for divine worship, respect for ministers of the gospel, their hospitable reception in his house, and constant encouragement of all the pious tendencies of Mrs. Jackson. And when they both afterward became members of a church it was the natural and regular result of their early and cherished feelings. He was gentle in his house, and alive to the tenderest emotions; and of this I can give an instance, greatly in contrast with his supposed character, and worth more than a long discourse in showing what that character really was. I arrived at his house one wet, chilly evening in February, and came upon him in the twilight, sitting alone before the fire, a child and a lamb between his knees. He started a little, called a servant to remove the two innocents to another room, and explained to me how it was. The child had cried because the lamb was out in the cold, and begged him to bring it in, which he had done to please the child, his adopted son, then not two years old. The ferocious man does not do that! and though General Jackson had his passions and his violence, they were for men and his enemies who stood up against him, and not for women and children, or the weak and helpless, for all of whom his feelings were those of protection and support."

The great old patriot is gone from earth to heaven, and there never can scarcely ever be a name connected with the history of this country that will be more prized or held in higher estimation than that of Andrew Jackson.

True man—staunch friend, and true pa-

triot—he loved his country and its institutions, and was, all through a long and eventful life, devoted to its honor and best interests. He loved the people, and always felt that they would stand by him in all his political acts, because they believed that he would ever serve them truly and faithfully.

In conclusion, it may be safely said that there never existed a public character who through life acted more thoroughly on the principle inculcated in the solemn and impressive adjuration of the great churchman and statesman, Cardinal Wolsey, to his friend and follower, Cromwell—

—"Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's."

ENCOURAGING EDUCATION.—As a fair sample of Democratic economy we give the following, clipped from the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, as reported to the House of Representatives, March 8, 1876, "For contingent expenses of the Bureau of Education, namely: Stationery, cases for library, library, current educational periodicals, cases for official records, other current publications, completing valuable sets of periodicals and publications in the library, telegraphing and expressage, collecting statistics, and writing and compiling matter for annual and special reports and editing and publishing circulars of information, fuel and lights, office furniture, contingencies, one thousand two hundred and ten dollars."

The Commissioner of Education called for \$21,200 for the prosecution of the important work intrusted to his charge, and the Democratic committee, with a high appreciation of educational advantages, very generously gives \$1,210—a sum hardly sufficient to run a country school through the winter. This cutting-down process may enable the Democracy to save the seven millions they boast of, but while they were at it they could have saved more by refusing to appropriate a dollar for Government expenses. Then, instead of boasting over a saving of seven millions, they could have held up before the astonished people a clear saving of twenty millions. Economy may be a golden virtue when properly exercised, but when practiced at the expense of public necessities it ceases to be a virtue and becomes a positive vice.

THE REBELLION AND ITS SECRET HISTORY.

We are prone to forget how deep-rooted the secession or disunion heresy is until we are aroused by the utterances of some of its advocates. We forget, too, how long the idea of disunion was cherished before an attempt was made to realize it. The following letters to Jefferson Davis from prominent conspirators, (never before published, we think) show that treason was constantly in these men's minds. It will take another generation at least to eradicate it. In the meantime the Government must be sustained, and administered by the loyal and true men of the Republic.

[Indorsement.]

A. P. BUTLER, U. S. S.

EDGEFIELD, S. C., June 16, 1851.

To Colonel Jeff. Davis :

South Carolina very much *in earnest*, but there is fear of division. An issue has been made before the people, making it imperative for her convention to put the State on the trial of *separate secession*. How could such a move affect the cause in Mississippi? And would it help or impair the strength of the States' rights men in other States? Fear South Carolina will make a vain sacrifice if she moves alone without the co-operation of other States. Appeals for counsel and suggestions.

Important!

STONELANDS, NEAR EDGEFIELD,

Confidential.

June 16, 1851.

MY DEAR COLONEL: "The looker on can sometimes see more than the gamester." Such being your situation at the time, in reference to our affairs in South Carolina, I hope I may appeal to you for counsel and for suggestions. Our people are very much in earnest, but there is fear of division and intestine contest. An issue has been made before the people making it imperative on our convention to put South Carolina on the trial of *separate secession*.

How will such a move affect the party of true men in your State? Will it help you, or will it impair the strength or interfere with the onward movements of the States' rights parties in other States. I believe this State could be induced to make any sacrifice for the common cause of those who contend that the General Government is a confederacy, and not a consolidated government. If it is of the latter character, then the Southern States are doomed to degraded subordination. They can hold these rights by no other tenure than sufferance. Should South Caro-

lina move alone, without the assistance from her neighbors of co-operation, she will, I fear, make a vain sacrifice.

Give me your opinion, confidentially, as to the course she should pursue, so far as it may affect the interests of other Southern States. Do write freely.

Believe me yours, with the highest respect,
A. P. BUTLER.

COLONEL JEFFERSON DAVIS, *Mississippi*.

P. S. I write to you at Jackson, supposing that a letter will reach you from that place as from any other.

[Indorsement.]

J. M. MASON.

WINCHESTER, VA., September 30, 1856.

To Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War.

Requests the Secretary of War to exchange muskets with Virginia. Says in "event of Fremont's election the South should not pause, but proceed at once to immediate, absolute, and eternal separation. So you see I am a candidate for the *first halter*!"

Important.

SELMA, NEAR WINCHESTER, VA.,

September 30, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: I have a letter from Wise, of the 27th, full of spirit. He says the Governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Louisiana have already agreed to the *rendezvous* at Raleigh, and others will. 'This in your *most private ear*.

He says further that he had officially requested you to exchange with Virginia on fair terms of difference percussion for flint muskets. I do not know the usage or power of the Department in such cases, but if it can be done, *even* by liberal construction, I hope you will accede.

Was there not an appropriation at last session for converting flint into percussion arms? If so, would it not furnish good reason for extending such facilities to those States. Virginia, probably, has more arms than other Southern States, and would divide in case of need.

In a letter yesterday to a committee in South Carolina I gave it as my judgment, in the event of Fremont's election, the South should not pause, but proceed at once to "immediate, absolute, and *eternal* separation." So you see I am a candidate for the *first halter*.

Wise says his accounts from Philadelphia are cheering for old Buck. in Pennsylvania. I hope they be not delusive.

Vale et Salute.

J. M. MASON.

COLONEL DAVIS.

[Indorsement.]

Anonymous—"Senex."

MEMPHIS, November 18, 1856.

Election of Buchanan only a *temporary triumph*! Make it *available to the South*; so constitute the Cabinet as to retain the *sinews of power*—the *War, Treasury, and Navy* Departments—in Southern hands, that in the event of the election of a Black Republican President in 1860 the Government must not pass to them. A Napoleonic demonstration would be called for—*grab game the policy*. Suggests the names of *Cass, Cobb, Toucey, &c.*, for the Cabinet.

Very suggestive.

MEMPHIS, TENN., November 18, 1856.

HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

MY DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on the victory recently achieved by the Democracy of the nation. It is but a temporary triumph. The fanatical demons of the North in 1860 will again be in the field. Revolutions never go backward. We are now in the midst of a revolution, passive it is true—but a decisive battle is yet to be fought. Our Constitution does not suit the South. The *privilege* of slavery guaranteed to the South is the bone of contention, and heaven and hell will be brought to bear for its abolition.

We have a temporary triumph. Let us profit by it—make the most of it—so constitute Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet that the *sinews of power* will be available in the event of the election of a Black Republican in 1860—available to the South. See to it you Southern men about Washington that the Departments of the *Treasury and War*, and even of the *Navy*, are retained in Southern hands—for if a Black Republican is elected in 1860 the Government should not be permitted to pass into their power—a Napoleonic demonstration would, in that event, be called for—*grab-game the policy*. Therefore, I repeat, let certain Departments be given to true Southern men.

Some such ticket as the following, viz: Lewis Cass, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, Secretary of Treasury; T. J. Rusk, Secretary of War; —Toucey, Secretary of Interior; F. P. Stanton or Orr of South Carolina, Secretary of Navy; General Richardson, Postmaster General; Hallet or Slidell, of South Carolina, Attorney General.

Douglas and Hunter, of Virginia, had better remain in the Senate; General Quitman ought to go to Nicaragua; A. V. Brown, who will expect something, can be sent as Minister to France; D. S. Dickinson may go with the State Department if General Cass decline, or in the Navy if preferred.

The South is proud of you as a military man and as a statesman. You may have to act the Leonidas for the South—we may

have to pass through a Thermopylæ ordeal. The crusaders, infuriated with religious fanaticism, will be down upon us. They will find a Saladin to welcome them to hospitable graves! The Richards and Philips of the campaign will be glad to get back to their Yankee dams to sicken and die with traitorous remorse.

Oh! that the South were wise—that she could become united. In the next campaign the North will attempt to abolitionize not only all foreigners in the South and North—but through such men as Cassius Clay, J. Minor Botts, Rayner & Co., attempt to abolitionize all the non-slaveholders in the South. Houston, Bell, Benton, Blair & Co. will look on with complacency and give indirect aid and comfort.

Long may our Constitutional Union last is the prayer of every Democrat—but give us equality, preserve our honor, or give us a new order of things!

Excuse the liberty of a stranger.

Yours truly in the faith, SENEX.

POOR ECONOMY.—The Democratic House of Representatives want to show the people how large a saving can be made in the expenses of the Government. They have adopted a novel and simple plan to obtain what they want. They cut down salaries from ten to twenty per cent.; then cut down the force employed about twenty per cent., and the desired end is accomplished. Their plan may work great injustice to individuals and positive injury to the business of the Government, but they are after a big saving, and just how they get it, or where they get it from, are matters of secondary importance. The Commissioner of Pensions is one of the hardest worked officers of the Government. On his decision the Government pays millions of dollars to the pensioners of the land. He is required to be a man of personal integrity and ability. The disbursements made upon his settlements are about \$30,000,000 a year. For this important and responsible work he receives an annual salary of \$3,000. The Democrats cut it down to \$2,700. This is in keeping with the shaving business in which they are now engaged.

Three hundred dollars taken from a poorly paid Government official is of itself a trifling amount, but it goes to make up the seven millions saving over which Democratic leaders will grow eloquent next fall. No doubt Pendleton, the saintly fee taker, who presides over a Kentucky railroad for the starvation salary of \$6,000 a year, and pockets \$74,000 fee for collecting \$148,000, which he claimed was honestly due the company, will rattle the changes on this economy dodge in the vain hope that the people will turn honest men out of office in order to put rascals in.

OUR PUBLIC SERVICE.

The unfortunate disorders in our public service, and the misdemeanors and crimes committed by high and trusted officials, which have recently been revealed, will be seized by demagogues as a most welcome opportunity for the furtherance of their selfish ends. That these startling revelations have aroused the public indignation is very natural. But it is not less natural that the indignant public should be misdirected by the creation of public prejudices, from which everything is seen but the proper source of the evil, and by which a cure is promised that eventually must prove worse than the evil sought to be cured. The recently expired mania of the so-called "Civil Service Reform" is an instance sufficient to illustrate this assertion without looking for further proof from history. It behooves us, therefore, to face the evil bravely, trace it to its proper source, and then find the true remedy.

That the Republican party which saved the Union, and achieved such a far-reaching success in the progress of the Nation and of humanity in general, has become worthless, and ought to be abolished because a certain number of officials proved themselves unworthy of the trust with which they were honored by its administration, is an illogical conclusion, and of no credit to common sense. That the evil of corruption can be remedied by conveying the helm of the Government from one party to another is simply ridiculous. Such an assertion characterizes the demagogue, or his brainless echoes. The Democratic rule of the State and city of New York, past and present, does not justify the empty promises that that party would fill the Federal offices more creditably than the present administration if put in its place. Nor has the Democratic rule of Missouri, under which ex-Governor Brown still remains a defaulter to the State in a large amount, and under which \$2,000,000 of fraudulent war claims have been thrown into the market, exhibited the same determination to punish the guilty parties that our General Government has demonstrated in

bringing its criminals to justice. The idea that corrupt and dishonest individuals can only be found in the party in power, and that a reign of purity would commence with its removal from power, is so ridiculous that it would be difficult to believe in its existence in the brains of any human being if we did not see and hear it defended in newspaper articles and oratorical efforts.

But it would be a very poor justification for us to say to the opposing party: you have also unclean sheep in your fold, and have, therefore, no right to accuse us of the same impurity. We are merely endeavoring to demonstrate the truth that corruption is not confined within the limits that characterize a certain political party, but that it is a disgraceful element pervading *the people of our Republic*.

Where, then, may we look for the remedy against the startling corruption to which even our unfortunate Cabinet minister has fallen a victim? Certainly not to the Democracy, which, as a political party, has been, and is still, combatting every sound principle of government and national economy with a persistency worthy of a better cause. This party is still proclaiming, through its representatives in Congress, its unwavering adherence to the heresy of the so-called State rights, notwithstanding the same has been theoretically and practically denounced and abolished, and finally buried by the discarding of the original articles of confederation, the adoption of the present Constitution, and the victorious termination of the rebellion, crowned by the adoption of the last constitutional amendments. This party is still justifying secession, declares the suppression of the rebellion a crying injustice to the Southern States, and threatens to make the constitutional amendments, secured by the last fearful struggle of the nation, of no effect as soon as it gets the power to do so. Then the Union men will be placed in the unenviable position of rebels, provided they do not tamely submit to such a pretense and farce of a government. Can the people of the land so far forget themselves as to throw

recklessly away their rights and liberties, their whole government, secured by rivers of blood and millions of money, by making that party the guardian of their highest political rights, while the confession is on its lips that it would take great pleasure in destroying them? Could we escape corruption by such a suicidal act? Is not a general demoralizing element necessarily very fruitful of individual corruption?

Reform parties have made themselves so contemptible that it requires idiocy to expect any political salvation from such pretenders. Their records show nothing but illogical phrases and questionable acts. "Reformers" as well as society need a thorough reformation before true reform can take place.

The two main factors of which our startling corruptions are the product, are society and the manner in which our public officers are rewarded, either by salaries or fees.

The recently developed calamities of official misconduct should be sufficient to cause the most thoughtless member of our gay society to stop and reflect a moment on the irresistible logic of facts. If the current of our social conduct is not soon differently directed it must terminate in a terrible catastrophe. Let the gay, gaudy, and recklessly extravagant butterflies of society remember the blood-curdling retribution that overtook the French debauchees in the "reign of terror" for their scoffing at poverty. Is it not an indisputable fact that the demands of society on our leading officials are so cruel and merciless that they are compelled to select one of two existing evils, *i. e.*, either to live within the reasonable limits characterizing the lives of decent and respectable citizens, and be considered and treated with bitter contempt as "nobodies," because they do not make enough show, or to squander recklessly their honest income, together with any private means they may have, in order to be considered "passable in society?" Does it not require a moral Hercules to resist the temptations to corruption under such circumstances? It is a deplorable trait of the American character to estimate a man's value according to the amount of cash he can command, and the gay and

glittering display he is able to make. How he came to his money, that does not concern our gay society. The only question considered of importance is : is he in possession of it? The worship of money and display goes so far that a person who has served his well deserved term in the penitentiary will be over-burdened with attention and compliments as the "hero of the day" if he can satisfy such perverted social demands. A good intellect and a noble character are of secondary consideration; and if these manly qualities cannot be supported by plenty of money and display of reckless extravagance, then they are surely not worth noticing. And this is, to a great extent, the criterion according to which the ballots are cast in a great many of our public elections. This trait of our national character can be traced from our highest to our lowest social circles, adopted in every locality and grade of society to local circumstances. Only the heroic and noble exceptions to this popular spirit are the sound foundation of our government.

May our people study the truth in time, and practically, that such money worship and money aristocracy and nobility cannot be reconciled with a democratic government or a government of the people, but must work its destruction. Reforms in our public service will only begin when the people shall consider no other aristocracy and nobility as worthy of notice and public admiration than that of brains and nobility of character; when the saying will be considered as an insult to our republican government, "It is impossible for a poor man to hold a Cabinet office." How many are to-day very profuse in their condemnations of the conduct of ex-Secretary Belknap who work at the same time with an untiring and contemptible persistence at the cultivation of the low and unworthy spirit that caused his downfall. *Reform the people, and you will reform our public service! One is impossible without the other.* The pretended reformer who proclaims a different *modus* for the eradication of our social and political evils is either a demagogue, or—an imbecile.

Not only a perverted public ambition, of which the people are as guilty as public officers, is the cause of our official corruption,

but also the rate at, and the manner in which our public service is rewarded. But in the very face of this fact we see the present Congress indulging in the cheap effort of reducing our public service still further below the limits of respectability.

A man with an extensive business, who needs well-qualified clerks, is compelled to give them a respectable salary in accordance with their qualifications and the importance of the work they have to perform. Even if he has not a spark of human kindness in his breast his self-interest will not allow him to secure second-rate and unreliable assistance for a cheap compensation at the risk of having his business ruined. Our Representatives should act with the same prudence in regard to our public service, instead of inaugurating a plan of which even the most hard-hearted businessmen would be ashamed.

The present salaries of our public servants were fixed when we had no depreciated currency, and when all the necessities for our subsistence could be bought at much lower rates. The salaries of our consuls compel them, either to represent American shabbiness in foreign countries, if they are honest, or American roguery, if their consciences are of spiritual india-rubber. Many have accepted consular appointments under the delusion that a decent and respectable position had been offered to them; but when they had the thing in their own hands and could look into its real value they found themselves cheated in a foreign country. The way to fraud and corruption is very easily found under such circumstances. And is the power free from blame that sets such traps?

The legitimate pay of the majority of our public servants is low; but they are, at the same time, surrounded by so many opportunities to make up for the lack of an honest compensation for their work, that it has, in many instances, the appearance of premiums being offered for corruption and dishonesty, especially if we take into consideration the perverted practice of society heretofore alluded to.

Where could an honest and capable man be found who would be insane enough to accept a public office if the legitimate compen-

sation of the public service should be reduced still lower, as proposed? The Government would then be compelled to select its officers from the scum of society. May the country in future be saved from such reformers and such mischievous economizing. Such retrenchment, in the wrong direction, is a striking illustration of the expression made by the German poet, Schiller: "This is the curse of the evil deed, that it must perpetuate evil."

What can be the cause of such an ill-directed retrenchment, so full of danger for our public affairs? Is it an honest but misconceived effort at economizing? It would merely be a poor recommendation of the intellectual capacities of these gentlemen, and redeem, at least, their honesty and good-will, if we could impute such a motive to their conduct. But we cannot honor them that much; because their real object is too obvious. It is the attempt of the demagogue, who begs for popularity with that class of people who estimate the value of labor according to the brute force its performance requires, and not according to its intellect and skill. How men misuse their precious gift of speech to hide their thoughts with!

Another source of corruption is our unfortunate fee system, because it works injustice to the Government and to officers alike. Officers have, in many cases, to work hard for a beggarly income, where the accidental fees on which they are dependent do not come in for various reasons. For instance, officers in consolidated land offices where little land is entered have meager commissions but a burdensome correspondence for their \$500 salary per annum; while in offices where much land is entered and heavy commissions received, the officers receive the same salary for comparatively very little other work. Such unequal divisions of work and pay, caused by our fee and commission system, could be pointed out in every department of our public service. And every injustice has its bad effect.

Our unjust and corrupting fee and commission system should be entirely abolished. The only just and reasonable method would be to classify our public work and fix for every class an adequate salary. All rev-

venues received in the different departments should be strictly accounted for, and no commissions or fees be allowed to officers beyond their fixed and reasonable salaries. Only under such a system, with capable and honest officers, would Government and officers receive their honest dues.

Order, uniformity, and justice in every direction on the part of the Government are the

first requirements for the suppression of corruption and the foundation for a lasting reform.

Our unfortunate law-makers in our national Capitol would earn the well-deserved thanks of the nation if they could turn their attention to these and similar reforms of our public service instead of making it more contemptible through their pretended and mischievous economizing.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

The recent request made by THE REPUBLIC for the narratives of surviving ex-prisoners of war has been answered up to this writing by a mass of communications first published in local papers, or received by THE REPUBLIC direct. In every instance the writer's name, former regiment, and other essential marks of identification are given. There is something inexpressibly sad as well as shocking in the stern, deliberately stated details of premeditated cruelty these papers contain. It is almost damaging to human nature to reproduce them, but they offer the keenest proof of the demoralization which attended the support of slavery and defense of treason. These communications will be published as rapidly as may be. The one now given is from a member of the famous Sanitary Commission:

EDITORS REPUBLIC: After reading your recent appeal for testimony relating to the treatment and condition of Union soldiers in Confederate prisons, and Confederate soldiers in Union prisons, I am impelled to furnish for publication a plain uncolored narrative of a portion of my experience as agent of the Sanitary Commission during the last exchange of prisoners in the fall of '64.

On the first day of November, 1864, I went on board the "General Sedgwick" at Fortress Monroe, having permission from General Mulford to proceed, with the sanitary stores in my charge, to the point of exchange near Savannah, and there and thereafter to render assistance to the government surgeon on board in relieving the wants of those prisoners consigned to our steamer. On the 8th, with several other steamers, we sailed out of Hampton Roads. We were delayed several days at Beaufort and Port Royal, and not until the 20th did we reach our destination.

Venus Point, the point of exchange, is nothing more than a bend in the river about three miles below Savannah. Here we found

three river steamers flying the Confederate flag, and two ocean steamers with the Union flag at the mast-head. The exchange was evidently in progress. One of our steamers was lashed to one of theirs and gang-planks had been laid from one to the other. Representatives of both parties to the exchange stood, book in hand, keeping record of the number exchanged; while on deck stood General Mulford and the Confederate General Hatch personally superintending the disposition of the liberated men.

My first impression was, that we must have happened on the scene at a time when the Confederates were disposing of their worst cases, and that they were reserving the hardest prisoners to the last; but afterwards found that no such classification had been attempted. The liberated Unionists were, with only now and then an exception, emaciated and insufficiently clothed. Some, unable to stand, much less to walk, were carried on stretchers on board our steamers; others were supported between stout assistants, scarcely able to move one foot before the other; many, though able to walk alone, dragged themselves along in a weak, spiritless manner, indicating a fearful lack of vitality. Nearly all bore on their haggard faces and emaciated bodies the unmistakable evidences of prolonged suffering and the consequent absence of hope or desire. Their enfeebled condition was the more striking because in such close contrast with that of the returned Confederates, nearly every man of whom was in splendid condition—their swarthiness of complexion, quick glance of the eye, and erect carriage indicating perfect health. Not one of the latter did I see who was unable to walk without assistance from one boat to the other.

But the contrast does not end here. The returned Confederates were comfortably clothed in suits furnished by the Government against which they had taken arms. But scarcely a man returned to us from Andersonville and other prison-pens of the South was the possessor of a suit of clothes entire. Very few

wore any underclothing. Here and there could be seen a man scantily clothed in a dirt-begrimed blouse, and a pair of pants rudely contrived out of flour-sacks or meal-bags. Such a one was fortunate. Scores and hundreds were nothing more than a pair of grimy pants, infested with vermin, and out at the knees and seat. Nearly all were barefooted, and many without covering for the head. The skin, rough and bronzed from long exposure, was drawn tightly over their ribs and chests, which protruded so far out from the sunken abdomen as to suggest at once the chief cause of their emaciated condition—slow starvation. So wasted were their limbs that their joints seemed enormous. Their hair and whiskers had a matted, brushy appearance suggestive of dirt and vermin. Their hollow eyes and sunken cheeks told the same terrible story of suffering and deprivation. But the most painful detail of this woeful picture vividly impressed upon my mind was the expression on the faces of these sufferers. In many instances the usual dead, passive look on the prisoners' faces gave way to one of almost idiotic exultation when they found themselves once more free and under the protection of our flag. And when food was given them all the latent wolfishness in man's nature found expression in their faces.

But many, alas, had passed beyond the point of hunger; and the tender of food could not rouse them from the hopeless lethargy into which they had fallen. There they lay stretched upon couches in the cabins of the steamers to which they had been consigned, their eyes staring vacantly upon the faces of their attendants, and at the timbers overhead. Some were too weak to make known their passing wants; others were too near the end of their sufferings to be affected by desire of any sort.

There for nearly three days I watched this unequal exchange of well-clothed, well-fed, healthy men, for half-naked, half-starved, sick and dying men. *Unequal exchange* did I say? From a low standpoint, as one would regard two droves of cattle, such was indeed the fact; but from a loftier standpoint the exchange was to the people of the North an unmixed blessing; for were not these horribly misused men whom we received in exchange for well-conditioned men ready for service, were not these wrecks of men our *brothers*, whom the cartel had possibly saved from a horrible death? During those three days frequent deaths occurred among our men, and I recall not a single death among the Confederates. At short intervals the firing of a rifle in air informed us that another imprisoned spirit had been set free. The dead bodies were sewed up in blankets and lowered into the river, the swamps on either side affording no opportunity for burial.

On Tuesday, the 22d, we received our load of five hundred, who were classified as "well men," the "General Sedgwick" not having the conveniences of the larger steamers for the care of the sick. If those placed in our charge were the *well men*, how wretched must have been the condition of the sick!

While I was busily engaged providing clothing for the destitute, and the officers of our steamer were busy preparing for our departure, a number of these half-famished men entered the hold and broke open several boxes of army crackers, or "hard-tack," which had been placed on board by the Sanitary Commission. The scene that ensued was indescribable. Rendered wolfish by hunger, they fought savagely for possession of the food. Now and then one would climb on deck with a few crackers in his hands, devouring them with an eagerness that was pitiable to behold. He would soon be surrounded by his equally hungry comrades and compelled to relinquish his food. And thus the strife was continued. Those who gorged themselves with hard tack, and then drank freely of water, were soon afterwards great sufferers from cramping pains, their weakened stomachs being unable to dispose of its heavy load.

I never saw a happier body of men than these five hundred prisoners were while partaking of their first full meal. *Full meal?* Hardly. Long after our three tierces of "Sanitary soup" had been emptied, like Oliver Twist, they kept calling for "more."

On personal inspection I found that nearly all these so-called "well men" were more or less afflicted with scurvy and a complication of other disorders; and that there were more than a score of them so feeble that it was doubtful about their being able to survive the ocean voyage to Annapolis.

On the afternoon of the 22d, we started down the river. Putting out to sea, we encountered a severe storm. Our little craft rolled and pitched furiously. The surgeon and his other assistants were soon on their backs, seasick, and the care of the released prisoners devolved wholly upon me. Passing frequently through the cabins, I found nearly all suffering terribly from sea-sickness, their weakened frames fearfully racked with frequent vomitings. In several cases, I momentarily expected death would ensue. But, fortunately, the wind went down at midnight; and, though the sea continued quite rough nearly all the next day, the worst was over, and the condition of the men steadily improved.

The remainder of the trip was delightful—the ocean nearly a dead calm. On the voyage I made the acquaintance of many of the men; and from all I learned the same sad story—of crowded and shelterless quarters,

of exposure to the hot sun by day and chilling winds by night, of ~~ma~~ from adjoining swamps, of impure water, insufficient and unwholesome food, of frequent tragedies enacted along the dead-line, of efforts to escape made futile and sometimes fatal by the tracking of blood-hounds; stories which the recent false assertions of ex-Confederates Hill and Davis have, in most instances, brought into public notice for the first time. (See the reports that are now constantly coming to the surface, written by survivors of these cruelties.)

Of the numerous instances of rebel cruelty that came under my own observation on that return voyage, I will relate but two.

An Englishman, a resident of Lawrence, Massachusetts, who rendered us valuable assistance in caring for the sick in our charge, showed me the prints of teeth on his cheeks, and arms, and legs, and informed me that these scars were the imprint of the teeth of blood-hounds that had been set upon his track after his attempted escape from Andersonville, some months before. He, and his comrades in this dangerous venture were tracked to the heart of a woody swamp several miles away, and were there recaptured while engaged defending themselves from the infuriated animals. His story was confirmed by several of his fellow-prisoners who stood by as he narrated it.

A New Hampshire lad of 19, whose name I cannot now recall, was among the sick on board. Before we left the Savannah river I

discovered him lying upon a heap of canvas on the forward deck. He was wasted and haggard in appearance—a mere skeleton in fact. As I drew near he turned his eyes languidly toward his naked right arm, on the elbow-joint of which I discovered an old sore that had broken out afresh. On examining, I also found sores upon his hips and shoulder-blades, which his friends informed me were occasioned by the heat of the sand in which he had lain for some time at Andersonville. Around these sores, like cattle at a trough, countless body-lice had collected and were feeding upon the matter exuded. I had him taken below, cleansed, clothed and placed upon a comfortable couch; and everything was done for him that could be done under the circumstances. The storm told fearfully on his wasted frame. After the wind went down he rallied somewhat. On the last day of the voyage he talked with me of home, and of his father, and mother, and sister. At his request I wrote a letter informing them that he was on his way north, and hoped soon to reach home. Poor lad! The fatigue of the voyage, and of the ride to camp after landing at Annapolis was more than he could endure. A few hours after our arrival at Annapolis it became my painful duty to add a postscript to my letter, informing those at home that he was dead, and requesting to be informed by telegraph as to what disposition I should make of his remains.

JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

WATKINS, N. Y., March 1, 1876.

THE GRAY BENEATH THE BLUE.

Some one has recently given expression in very musical rhyme to the aversion naturally felt by the veteran Unionist, especially the ex-soldier, at being asked to vote for the men who don the blue in order to hide the gray that they are really clad in and cherish also. These brevet-Confederates are numerous, and on the whole the best specimen recently exhumed is Daniel Marcy, recently Democratic candidate for Governor of New Hampshire.

His disloyalty is more pronounced and malignant, but no more dangerous or sincere, than are the opinions held by Mr. Speaker Kerr, who was selected because he is the extremist partisan among Northern Democrats of the pro-Southern State sovereignty dogmas. Mr. Morrison, the Democratic leader of the House, shows his subserviency to the same influences by appointing,

at the bidding of Gordon, the notorious Hambleton to the clerkship of the chief committee of the House. He clenches this subserviency by expunging his Union war record from the Congressional Directory, while Senator Gordon, to show his contemptuous appreciation of the fitness of things, inserts his record as a rebel general, having in a previous Congress had the good taste to withhold the same.

Mr. Marcy is only later, but no meaner, in his Southern proclivities than Representative George M. Beebe, of New York, who, when a fresh-fledged lawyer and politician, went to the Territory of Kansas in quest of fame and fortune. He settled in a Democratic county, and was elected to the Territorial Council. This was in 1860. February 11th he made a minority report against abolishing slavery. The bill was vetoed by Governor

Medary. Mr. Beebe voted to sustain the veto, and was complimented by a Democratic convention for doing so, and on the 7th of May rewarded by President Buchanan with the appointment of Secretary of the Territory. On the 10th of January, 1861, Mr. Beebe, then acting Governor, sent a message to the Territorial Legislature, in which he made the following recommendation: "If God in his wrath shall tolerate the worst portent of this tempest of passion, now so fiercely raging, Kansas ought, and I trust will, declining identification with either branch of a contending family, tendering to each alike the olive offering of good-neighborship, establish under a constitution of her own creation a Government to be separate and free among the nations."

This sort of thing can only be alluded to in the way Victor Hugo makes Cambronne reply to the English demand for the Old Guards' surrender at Waterloo. These be the men, though, that get into power as Democracy reasserts itself. Look at the record of their candidate in New Hampshire: Daniel Marcy was elected in March, 1863, to Congress from the First New Hampshire district. He took his seat December 7, and on the 9th he gave his first rebel vote in voting against Washburne's resolution approving the Administration for asking to effect an exchange of prisoners. Five days afterward he voted for Fernando Wood's resolution requesting President Lincoln to appoint three commissioners empowered to open negotiations with the authorities at Richmond, to the end that this bloody, destructive, and inhuman war shall cease, and the Union be restored to terms of equity, fraternity, and equality under the Constitution. Three days later he voted for the Edgerton resolution to censure President Lincoln for his Emancipation Proclamation, and for the Harrington resolutions denying the right of the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. On the same day he dodged the vote on two resolutions, one of which declared it to be the duty of Congress to pay all necessary bills to support the war, and the other returned thanks to the Union soldiers for gallantry in the field.

It is not necessary to go through Marcy's record in detail, but an examination of the *Globe* of that period will show that on

December 21, February 1, February 15, March 28, April 8, May 2, June 4, June 6, June 13, June 15, June 29 July 2, during that session of Congress he so acted and voted as to give aid and comfort to armed rebellion. But his most infamous act was on January 18, 1864. On that day Hon. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, introduced the following:

"Whereas, A most desperate, wicked, and bloody rebellion exists within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the safety and security of personal and national liberty depends upon its absolute and utter extinction: therefore

"Resolved, That it is the political, civil, moral, and sacred duty of the people to meet it, fight it, crush it, and forever destroy it, thereby establishing perfect and unalterable liberty."

The great body of the Democrats voted in the affirmative, but sixteen, among whom was Daniel Marcy, were so wedded to the cause of the rebellion that they voted in the negative. Among his companions were Benjamin G. Harris, of Maryland, and Alexander Long, of Ohio, the first of whom was afterward expelled, and the latter censured for treasonable utterances on the floor of the House.

Marcy made but one speech in Congress and that was on the 14th of June, 1864. Then he said to the Southern rebels that "the great loyal Democratic party would guarantee to them the pure administration of the law of the land; they should enjoy without further molestation their full and equitable rights under the Constitution. If the disloyal abolition party would humble itself in dust and ashes and purge itself from the monstrous iniquities and wash away the stains which disfigure its infamous brow, and swear that from this time henceforth and forever it would never seek to interfere with the administration and regulation of the internal police of the Southern States or of any State, and act with the Democratic party, peace would once more return to bless the land." He also had a decided opinion of President Lincoln, for he said: "I believe the name of the President will go down to posterity along with the deep execrations of all who revere and love the Union as our fathers gave it to us." Is there room or place for such as Marcy? It is not to be believed.

THE LOSS OF LABORERS TO GEORGIA.

The unsatisfactory condition of affairs in many of the Southern States presses hard upon the colored citizens. Especially is this the case in Georgia. It is said that during one week in February last the Western railroad office at Columbus, Georgia, sold 299 tickets to parties bound for the western cotton States—middle and western Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. This makes 3,345 which have been sold from that office since December 1. In addition, 200 have been sold from the Mobile and Girard office, making a total of 3,545 which have left this section, included in a radius of fifty miles in two and a half months. Of this number not 250 were whites. This compilation embraces as many from Alabama as Georgia, as the river is the dividing line between the two States.

If the political leaders in Southern States under Democratic control imagine that they can do without the labor of colored men, what becomes of the argument urged on behalf of slavery that colored labor in the South was a necessity? The wealth of the South, especially in the cotton States, has been built up by colored labor; and now the freedmen are industrious and earn wages, that class of whites which can never look upon a black man without a desire to enslave him, makes his residence so intolerable and dangerous that he prefers to leave the State rather than endure it.

It is high time that the South should cease to be a disturbing element in politics. It is high time that the idea of good citizenship in the South should cease to be different than elsewhere. The "peculiar institution" no longer exists. What reason, then, is there for the existence of that barbaric claim to superiority which is constantly at work to depreciate the colored man, while selfishly securing all the advantages of his labor? The colored man is a citizen; and the Southern white is no more. Both claim their rights on the same ground, and both are the creatures of the law. If the law makes no distinction in the color of a man's skin, it seems strange that the country should be shocked so repeatedly by hearing that one class of citizens in the

South is forced to suffer at the hands of another. The blacks are the victims of the whites, and if the truth be told, have abundant reason to complain. Is there no sense of justice in the South, no sentiment of duty between man and man, that would lead to an adjustment of differences in the interests of peace?

It is quite clear that where there is injustice there can be no prosperity. The white people of the South are injuring themselves whenever they make the colored citizens suffer. As the Southern whites constituted the Slave Power, and kept their slaves ignorant and degraded that they might never be free, now that they are free, one would suppose that their education would have been provided for as a prime necessity. But Democrat leaders do not look with favor upon educating colored men. They prefer to keep the country in hot water by denouncing the blacks as ignorant, thriftless, and idle, and either decline to collect the school tax or spend it on something else if collected. Anything rather than educate. Are not the Southern leaders getting tired of a condition of affairs in their locality which reflects no credit upon them as men or citizens? and is there not sufficient manliness in the South to lead to a change which shall put the colored people at their ease, permit them to exercise the franchise they possess, and earn their wages in peace and quietness?

Centennial.

On the 4th of July, 1776, George Washington was 44 years old; Martha Washington, 43; Sam. Adams, 54; John Adams, 41; Abigail Adams, 32; John Quincy Adams, 9; Thomas Jefferson, 33; Patrick Henry, 40; James Madison, 25; Thomas Paine, 39; James Otis, 51; Fisher Ames, 18; William Pitt, 68; Josiah Quincy, Jr., 32; Nathaniel Greene, 34; Edmund Burke, 46; Jonathan Turnbull, 36; Roger Sherman, 55; Aaron Burr, 20; Benedict Arnold, 36; George Clinton, 37; Alexander Hamilton, 19; Robert R. Livingston, 29; Philip Livingston, 60; Philip Schuyler, 43; Benjamin Franklin, 70; Benjamin Rush, 31; Robert Morris, 42; Charles Carroll, 39; Cæsar Rodney, 46; Edward Rutledge, 27; William Moultrie, 45; Horatio Gates, 48; John Rutledge, 37; Thomas Sumter, 42; Charles C. Pinckney, 30; Charles Pinckney, 18; James Monroe, 18; Tim. Pickering, 31; Anthony Wayne, 31; Israel Putnam, 58; Rufus King, 21; John Hancock, 39; Elbridge Gerry, 32; Richard Stockton, 46; George Wythe, 50; Marquis La Fayette, 19; Francis Marion, 44; Henry Knox, 26; Richard Henry Lee, 44; John Jay, 31.

WAS SECESSION TREASON?

Sometimes it is desirable to look back and learn of the past. It is only youthful arrogance and egotism which forbids us doing this. Nations like individuals may learn of their duty, take warning from mistakes, or see where they failed to grasp a situation clearly. In view of recent developments, indicating definitely the intention of the surviving defenders of the late civil war to indict the National Union and its defenders before the bar of public opinion, present and prospective, it is within the compass of fair play to bring out all the facts which will help to make the case. "Ben" Hill, Mr. Lamar, Mr. Tucker, Senators Gordon and Withers, with others, have explicitly declared that in the secession war no treason was committed. They claim to stand before the world; they expect to go down to history as men devoted to a grave principle of government, who solemnly risked all in an attempt to vindicate their principles through the destruction of one government and the foundation of another, more equitable and just in character and conditions. On the other hand, the Union men regard them as "traitors," more or less designed and willful in character; as men who either led or assisted in causeless war, which produced desolation and disaster, filling half a million of untimely graves, and burdening unborn generations with debt and sorrow. Further, it is held that the war was not for the vindication of so-called Constitutional principles, but to defend and arrogate an institution—that of slavery—repugnant to all sense of right and justice, the existence of which made the United States a scorn in the nostrils of the nations, and against which all the forces of civilization had instinctively combined.

To those holding this view, the rebellion of 1861 was nothing less than treason. The Constitution not only defined the crime of the rebellion, but bestowed the power punishing rebels.

Article III, Section 3, says:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or

in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

"2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted."

In exercising this power Congress passed the act of April 30, 1790, in which it is declared:

"If any person or persons owing allegiance to the United States of America shall levy war against them, or shall adhere to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort, within the United States or elsewhere, and shall be thereof convicted on confession in open court, or on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act of treason whereof he or they shall stand indicted, such person or persons shall be adjudged guilty of treason against the United States, and shall SUFFER DEATH.

"If any person or persons having knowledge of the commission of any of the treasons aforesaid shall conceal, and not, as soon as may be, disclose and make known the same to the President of the United States, or some one of the judges thereof, or to the President or Governor of a particular State or some one of the judges or justices thereof, such person or persons, on conviction, shall be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and shall be imprisoned not exceeding seven years, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars."

Chief Justice Marshall, a name revered by every American as a lover of his country, and who adorned the bench of the highest court in the Union, took occasion in administering the act, thus to interpret it:

"It is not the intention of the Court to say that no individual can be guilty of this crime (treason) who has not appeared in arms against his country.

"On the contrary, if war be actually levied—that is, if a body of men be actually assembled for the purpose of effecting by force a treasonable purpose—all those who perform any part, however minute, or however remote from the scene of action, and who actually leagued in the general conspiracy ARE TO BE CONSIDERED AS TRAITORS."

In view of the wide-spread knowledge of the long prepared and impending rebellion which existed among the Democratic

statesmen, politicians, and party leaders, North as well as South, there can be no doubt that they, too, were guilty of "misprision of treason," as defined by the foregoing law. On the 10th of January, 1861, two resolutions were passed unanimously by the Central Republican Club of the city of New York as the sentiment of the great mass of the people. They were as follows:

"Whereas, a band of traitors in the Cabinet at Washington, in both houses of Congress, and in several of the Southern States of this Republic have made war against the United States; have seized forts, arsenals, and other public property; robbed the Treasury, obstructed the telegraph, and committed other acts of violence, in combination and conspiracy against the people of the United States and their Constitution of Government for the purpose of introducing slavery temporarily or permanently into every State or Territory of this Union: therefore

"Resolved, That the Constitution as it is provides the most perfect system of government known to man; that it needs no amendment, and shall have none at the beck and call of traitors, or their insolent mouthpieces.

"Resolved, That we hold ourselves ready, and tender our services to the State, or the National Government, or both, to aid to the extent of our power in crushing this formidable and wicked rebellion, determined, at

at all hazards, that the Constitution shall be 'preserved, protected, and defended,' peace restored, and the blessings of liberty, of liberty of speech, and the press, fully and amply vindicated and secured."

A week after this, on January 16, 1861, Mr. F. C. Treadwell, of New York, proceeded to Washington to enter formal complaint against a large number of rebels. This complaint, legal and *pro forma* in its nature, was returned by the clerk of the United States Supreme Court, with the message from Judge Taney, not the written indorsement, for that would have been written evidence of his own complicity, as such cases required—that "they were improper papers to be presented to the court." The United States Supreme Court thus acted before the conspirators to give them immunity from arrest. Is it any wonder that President Buchanan hesitated when even the Supreme Bench offered sympathy to treason? By giving no warning of what they knew, the leaders of the Democracy have been guilty of misprision of treason, and have become liable to imprisonment not exceeding seven years, and to the payment of a fine not exceeding \$1,000. This is the penalty of the law for such criminal delinquency.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTIONS.

The "staff correspondent" of a leading brevet-Democratic journal, with others of the same ilk, were very busy, as soon as it became evident that the Republican party was to be crowned with victory in New Hampshire, at the recent election, is endeavoring to prove that, if so, it must be in the main due to a regular traffic in votes, which it was charged is carried on in the Granite State. To establish this charge, attention was called to the large percentage of votes cast as per population when compared with the electoral totals in other New England States. Reference was also made to the disparity of the sexes, as to numbers, known to exist in New England, as another reason for alleged frauds. The New York *Tribune*, editorially and by "staff" correspondence, gave wide currency to these allegations. In one letter the correspondent makes the following comparison of percentages, which, he states, was made from the "Tribune Almanac," taking in each case

the highest number of votes cast at any election since 1871: "New Hampshire, one voter to 4.02 inhabitants; Connecticut, one voter to 5.32 inhabitants; Vermont, one voter to 5.63 inhabitants; Maine, one voter to 5.68 inhabitants; Massachusetts, one voter to 7.78 inhabitants; Rhode Island, one voter to 9.76 inhabitants." The authority is at fault. A better one was at hand, if a fair statement had been the object. That was the United States Census of 1870. According to that document, whose reliability even the "staff correspondent" will not assail, the total population was in that year 318,300. Of this total the males were 155,640, and the females 162,600. The number of male adults is stated as 91,016; of male citizens (voters) as 83,361. A cursory arithmetical examination will establish that, instead of the voters being, as the "staff correspondent" puts it, at the rate of one in 4.02 of the inhabitants, the ratio is really about the

citizens. The frequency of elections has very much to do with the large vote, as also has the fact that nearly all offices are elective in character. Again, New Hampshire fosters State pride, by allowing her citizens liberal opportunities for retaining a domicile within her borders. This feeling is encouraged by both political parties; and the young men and others who, for business purposes, &c., are temporarily living elsewhere, do their best, as a rule, to meet the requirement of the State laws and maintain their home citizenship. It is not necessary to argue the wisdom of this policy. There are excellent arguments on both sides. It is only referred to because it is alleged to be a source of corruption. As a matter of fact, the larger proportion of such voters are Republicans. The Democrats are too unenterprising to venture far from their bleak hill-fields, and, when they do, often become converts to broader views.

That the charge of bribery and fraudulent increase of the vote is, in the main, baseless, may be seen from the following table:

Voting population of New Hampshire, according to the United States Census of 1870..... 83,361
Male adults of civic age, not voters, according to the United States Census of 1870..... 7,655

Votes from 1870 to 1876.

	Total.	No. of votes less than total of Census.
1870.....	68,471	14,890
1871.....	69,729	13,632
1872 { Governor.....	76,355	7,006
{ President.....	68,893	14,468
1873.....	67,804	15,557
1874.....	71,861	11,500
1875.....	79,206	4,155
1875—For Congress..	79,281	4,080
1876.....	80,322	3,039

The political activity and interest felt and manifested in New Hampshire, as compared with that of other New England States, will be readily seen by the following table:

The trouble with all the accusations and criticisms indulged in by the so-called "independent" press is that its chief aim is to make "points." It is conducted on the Irishman's idea of the use to which a stick should be put at Donnybrook Fair—that of hitting a head wherever you see it. The idea of a judicial judgment is a farce, and the journalist is a fool who should govern himself by any such standard. In this case the figures show that in New Hampshire political parties do not attempt to manufacture votes, but rather to animate and inspire to duty those citizens who possess or are entitled to the right of suffrage. So successful are they in this that it will be seen that the percentage of abstention from the polls is very much less, in the dullest years, in the Granite State, than it is in any one of the other five embraced in New England. The highest votes from 1870 to 1875 have already been given. The following table gives the lowest votes cast since 1870:

	Year.	Lowest vote since 1870.	No. of votes less than the Census total.
Connecticut.....	1873	86,845	40,654
Maine.....	1873	80,490	72,670
Massachusetts...	1873	131,543	171,227
New Hampshire..	1873	67,804	15,557
Rhode Island.....	1873	13,442	30,554
Vermont.....	1870	45,425	29,442

Apart from the special purpose of the foregoing, the recurrence of the lowest vote at certain periods indicates with great clearness, the rule in regard to "off years." Another could be established if the investigation were pushed further, and that is, that in every instance of Democratic victory in the New England States it comes, not as the growth of that party, but as the neglect, indifference, or anger of the Republicans, manifested, in the main, by absence from the polls, or occasionally by the growth of one or more "parasite" parties, such as the Temperance or Labor Reform movements. These merely represent ideas and questions whose germs are in or naturally belong to the great party of National Unity and Universal Liberty.

LABOR AND WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES— PROTECTION VERSUS FREE TRADE.

There is no other country in the world where labor is paid so liberally as in the United States. By many this is attributed to vastness of territory and sparseness of population. But these conditions apply also to countries where labor is poorly paid, such as Canada, Mexico, and South America. We must find a more substantial cause, and this we have in the American system of protection to home industries, which checks foreign competition and increases the demand for mechanical skill and labor at home. This policy has never been lost sight of—though sometimes thrown in the shade—since the organization of the Government. It was never more popular with the people than at present. It sustained the Government, by providing generous revenues during the trying years of the wicked rebellion and costly civil war. It secured to the industrious populations abundant employment and liberal remuneration up to the year 1872, when, under the pressing demands of a Democratic minority Congress yielded to reductions in the tariff to the extent of \$30,000,000, which reduced our industries from a condition of great prosperity to extreme prostration, and deprived thousands of workmen of employment.

With these facts before them, the Democratic majority in Congress have now under consideration a bill in which another radical reduction in the duties is contemplated, with the view of destroying, as far as it is possible, the protective features of the tariff. It is hoped however that this fatal blow at our industries may be averted, and the country saved from further prostration.

If any changes in the tariff are required they are in the direction of a ten or fifteen per cent. increase in the rates, on certain articles now paying a moderate duty, and by a transfer of other commodities from the free to the dutiable list. Our imports during the last fiscal year of eight classes of dutiable goods amounted in value to \$140,000,000. These were silks, woolens, cottons, linens, leather, iron and steel in their various forms,

and gloves. An increase of 10 per cent. in the duties on these goods would secure their manufacture, to a large extent, at home, and give employment to thousands of now idle workmen and women. Of goods free of duty the last year's importation amounted in value to \$167,180,644. A duty of 10 or 15 per cent. would cause many of the articles included in this free list to be produced at home, and prevent our gold from going abroad to pay for importations of articles we can produce ourselves. If we wish to retain a larger portion of our gold at home we must import fewer goods of foreign manufacture.

But against these heavy importations labor is still better paid in the United States than in England or elsewhere. This is significantly shown in Dr. Edward Young's remarkable book on "Labor and Wages in Europe and America," which is attracting no little attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The *London Times* has given it a critical examination; and, though the editor does not seem pleased at the exposure of the drinking habits and other weaknesses of our English cousins, he fails to discover inaccuracies in the figures showing the rates of wages, cost of provisions, clothing, and house rent in that country. The work is commended as a remarkable compilation of valuable statistics.

In the United States it has been generally indorsed by statesmen and journalists. Based upon its statistical tables, the following figures, showing the average rates of wages paid in the United States, may be accepted as reliable. They afford, in compact form, a large amount of valuable information. Examined in connection with the statistical tables summarized from the same work and published in the January number of *THE REPUBLIC*, they will show at a glance the wide differences in amount between the wages paid in the two countries, England and America. The first two tables treat of mechanical, and the third of farm labor, and embrace the entire range of the Union:

MECHANICAL LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages, without board, paid in the several States and Territories to persons employed in the under-mentioned trades in the respective years 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Black-smiths.		Brick-layers or masons.		Cabinet makers.		Coopers.		Carpenters.		Painters.		Plasterers.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.														
Maine.....	\$1 97	\$2 37	\$2 30	\$3 50	\$1 88	\$2 12	\$1 74	\$2 12	\$2 00	\$2 75	\$1 92	\$2 50	\$2 27	\$3 50
New Hampshire.....	2 08	3 44	2 50	3 87	1 63	3 00	1 75	2 67	1 75	2 94	1 75	3 75	2 00	3 69
Vermont.....	2 21	2 88	2 63	2 75	2 19	2 88	2 13	2 75	2 05	3 00	2 04	2 62	2 65	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 91	2 83	2 42	3 67	2 00	3 16	2 25	2 37	1 98	3 02	1 94	2 83	2 42	3 38
Rhode Island.....	1 50	....	1 75	....	2 00	....	1 50	....	1 50	....	1 50	....	1 75	....
Connecticut.....	1 67	....	2 00	....	1 75	....	2 00	....	1 67	....	1 67	....	1 92	....
MIDDLE STATES.														
New York.....	1 66	2 64	2 02	3 23	1 77	2 55	1 64	2 19	1 74	2 65	1 77	2 63	2 11	3 07
New Jersey.....	1 48	2 96	1 58	3 34	1 32	2 65	1 34	3 00	1 60	2 75	1 75	2 92	1 84	3 17
Pennsylvania.....	1 47	2 32	1 82	2 89	1 32	2 91	1 31	2 22	1 59	2 37	1 85	2 42	1 76	2 74
Delaware.....	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 50	1 50	3 00	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 75
Maryland.....	1 50	2 50	1 50	4 00	2 50	3 00	1 50	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 25
West Virginia.....	1 69	2 50	2 06	2 95	1 66	2 81	1 53	2 19	1 73	2 50	1 84	2 40	2 08	2 58
WESTERN STATES.														
Ohio.....	1 75	2 30	2 18	3 06	1 99	2 24	1 58	2 12	1 78	2 33	1 94	2 29	2 08	2 64
Indiana.....	1 93	2 00	2 60	3 25	1 84	2 62	1 62	2 25	1 83	2 33	1 96	2 37	2 33	3 00
Illinois.....	2 02	2 81	2 73	3 69	1 97	2 83	2 00	2 75	2 03	2 87	2 02	2 56	2 49	3 38
Michigan.....	2 10	....	2 41	....	1 88	....	1 70	2 50	1 90	....	1 90	....	2 30	....
Wisconsin.....	2 28	2 50	2 54	3 00	2 01	2 00	2 03	2 00	2 13	2 50	2 08	2 75	2 49	4 00
Minnesota.....	1 90	3 00	2 41	3 00	1 96	2 50	1 86	3 00	1 89	2 50	1 96	3 00	2 33	....
Iowa.....	2 17	2 50	2 47	3 50	2 10	2 50	1 95	....	2 01	3 00	1 93	2 50	2 47	3 00
Kansas.....	2 69	....	3 17	....	3 00	....	2 88	....	2 75	....	2 55	....	2 69	....
Nebraska.....	2 50	....	3 50	....	2 50	....	....	....	2 50	....	2 50	....	4 00	....
Missouri.....	2 03	3 50	2 71	4 00	2 10	3 00	2 00	2 50	2 05	3 00	2 46	3 00	2 71	3 50
Kentucky.....	2 03	2 63	2 68	3 50	1 84	2 75	1 88	2 90	2 28	3 20	2 17	2 90	2 37	3 10
SOUTHERN STATES.														
Virginia.....	1 40	2 20	1 75	2 00	1 68	1 88	1 55	1 63	1 74	1 70	1 80	1 63	1 71	2 00
North Carolina.....	1 50	2 50	1 83	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 00	....	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	1 67	3 00
South Carolina.....	1 67	2 50	1 71	2 50	2 17	....	1 56	....	1 90	2 50	1 85	2 50	1 90	2 50
Georgia.....	1 88	3 00	2 58	2 50	2 08	2 75	1 44	3 00	2 13	2 75	2 13	2 75	1 94	2 50
Florida.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Alabama.....	2 30	....	2 25	....	2 83	....	2 50	....	2 25	....	2 50	....	2 67	....
Louisiana.....	2 70	4 00	2 60	3 50	2 12	2 50	2 50	3 00	2 70	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	3 00
Texas.....	2 66	3 00	3 33	3 75	3 50	2 50	2 37	....	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 87	3 50
Mississippi.....	2 50	3 00	2 94	3 00	2 25	....	2 50	....	2 12	2 50	2 00	....	3 50	3 00
Arkansas.....	2 60	3 50	2 83	4 50	2 71	3 00	2 25	3 00	2 41	3 00	2 42	3 00	2 67	3 00
Tennessee.....	2 03	3 25	2 28	4 08	2 29	2 83	1 78	2 50	2 29	2 75	2 36	2 83	2 32	3 16
PACIFIC STATES.														
California.....	4 22	3 00	4 96	5 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	....	3 95	3 00	4 06	4 00	4 75	5 00
Nevada.....	6 80	6 00	6 80	6 00	6 88	....	....	....	7 00	6 00	7 80	5 00	7 80	6 00
Oregon.....	4 50	5 00	5 42	5 00	4 41	4 00	4 12	4 00	4 50	4 00	4 34	4 50	5 60	5 00
TERRITORIES.														
Washington.....	8 50	4 00	8 00	5 00	6 00	3 00	5 00	3 00	6 00	4 50	6 00	5 00	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	5 25	....	6 50	....	4 87	....	....	....	4 38	....	4 37	....	5 87	....
Dakota.....	2 25	3 50	3 25	3 50	....	3 00	....	....	3 25	2 50	2 50	3 00	3 00	3 50
Idaho.....	....	3 75	....	5 50	....	5 50	....	....	....	5 00	....	5 00	....	6 00
Arizona.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Montana.....	....	4 00	....	5 00	....	4 00	....	....	....	5 00	....	4 00	....	5 00
New Mexico.....	2 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	2 50	2 75	3 00	....	3 00	4 25	3 00	3 50	4 00	3 00
AVERAGES.														
New England States.....	1 89	2 88	2 27	3 45	1 91	2 79	1 90	2 48	1 83	2 93	1 80	2 67	2 17	3 38
Middle States.....	1 55	2 65	1 83	3 32	1 68	2 82	1 46	2 43	1 61	2 59	1 70	2 73	1 97	3 09
Western States.....	2 13	2 66	2 67	3 37	2 11	2 56	1 95	2 50	2 10	2 72	2 13	2 67	2 57	3 23
Southern States.....	2 12	2 99	2 41	3 20	2 31	2 95	1 95	2 63	2 13	2 52	2 16	2 59	2 37	2 85
General average.....	1 92	2 79	2 30	3 33	2 00	2 78	1 82	2 51	1 92	2 69	1 95	2 66	2 27	3 14
Pacific States (gold).....	5 17	4 67	5 73	5 50	5 01	3 50	4 06	4 00	5 15	4 33	5 40	4 50	6 05	5 33
Territories (gold).....	4 63	3 80	5 19	4 60	4 46	3 65	4 00	3 00	4 16	4 25	3 97	4 00	4 72	4 50
Average.....	4 90	4 23	5 46	5 05	4 74	3 57	4 03	3 50	4 66	4 29	4 69	4 25	5 39	4 91

*Piecework.

MECHANICAL LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages paid, &c.—Continued.

STATES.	Shoe-makers.		Stone-cutters.		Tailors.		Tanners.		Tin-smiths.		Wheel-wrights.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 70	\$2 50	\$2 32	\$3 50	\$1 86	\$3 50	\$2 09	\$2 50	\$1 82	\$2 25	\$1 80	\$2 50
New Hampshire.....	1 84	2 50	2 12	3 75	1 75	3 75	1 80	3 25	1 50	3 19	1 75	3 12
Vermont.....	1 44	2 50	2 25	3 00	1 65	2 50	1 70	2 75	1 88	2 88	1 83	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 72	2 25	2 50	3 94	1 80	2 87	1 94	2 38	1 85	3 05	2 01	2 37
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	2 00	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....
Connecticut.....	1 37	.....	2 13	.....	1 37	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 50	.....
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	1 52	2 36	2 17	3 15	1 66	2 26	1 71	2 22	1 74	2 52	1 90	2 95
New Jersey.....	1 83	1 96	1 92	3 00	1 92	2 25	1 59	2 08	1 33	2 50	1 85	2 30
Pennsylvania.....	1 35	1 78	2 01	2 28	1 34	2 14	1 40	2 05	1 37	2 15	1 59	1 92
Delaware.....	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 00	(*)	2 50	1 50	2 00	.....	2 50	.....	2 50
Maryland.....	2 00	2 50	2 00	3 50	.....	1 75	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 25	2 00	2 50
West Virginia.....	1 57	3 62	2 18	3 23	1 42	2 72	1 50	2 44	1 75	2 38	1 86	2 75
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	1 59	2 08	2 28	2 89	1 59	2 30	1 74	2 16	1 72	2 00	1 96	2 38
Indiana.....	1 64	2 25	2 25	3 08	1 76	1 92	1 61	2 08	1 90	2 17	1 96	2 21
Illinois.....	1 98	2 31	2 40	3 50	1 80	2 33	1 95	2 50	2 01	2 25	2 25	3 75
Michigan.....	1 54	.....	2 25	.....	1 69	.....	1 79	.....	1 79	.....	2 08	.....
Wisconsin.....	3 13	1 25	2 75	4 00	2 30	1 50	2 36	2 00	2 24	2 50	2 23	2 00
Minnesota.....	1 86	2 50	2 43	3 00	1 64	2 50	1 93	.....	1 54	2 50	1 78	.....
Iowa.....	1 85	1 50	2 36	3 00	1 95	1 75	2 00	.....	1 86	2 00	2 51	2 50
Kansas.....	2 12	.....	3 25	.....	3 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 17	.....	2 50	.....
Nebraska.....	3 00	.....	4 00	.....	2 75	.....	.....	.....	2 87	.....	2 88	.....
Missouri.....	2 00	2 50	2 92	3 50	2 10	2 50	2 00	2 00	2 17	2 75	2 85	2 75
Kentucky.....	1 96	2 50	2 65	3 10	2 13	2 95	1 88	2 75	2 00	2 25	2 15	3 33
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	1 44	1 59	2 00	3 38	1 74	2 00	1 67	1 75	1 66	1 75	1 61	2 20
North Carolina.....	1 06	3 00	1 58	.....	1 25	3 00	1 17	.....	2 00	2 75	1 58	2 50
South Carolina.....	1 88	2 50	2 67	2 50	2 10	2 50	2 38	.....	1 65	2 50	2 15	2 00
Georgia.....	1 75	2 50	2 18	3 50	2 00	3 50	2 50	.....	2 27	2 50	2 28	2 75
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 00	.....	3 50	.....	1 94	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	2 42	.....
Louisiana.....	1 90	2 00	3 50	2 00	2 12	2 00	.....	2 50	2 38	2 50	2 50	2 50
Texas.....	2 33	.....	3 17	3 75	1 92	.....	3 12	.....	2 50	2 75	1 75	2 50
Mississippi.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 80	.....	3 00	.....
Arkansas.....	2 08	2 00	2 42	5 00	1 83	3 00	1 90	.....	2 17	4 00	2 17	.....
Tennessee.....	2 20	2 33	2 53	3 42	2 03	3 22	1 75	2 50	1 75	2 62	1 85	2 50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	3 88	.....	4 95	5 00	3 60	.....	4 00	.....	4 04	3 00	4 75	.....
Nevada.....	5 88	4 00	7 00	6 00	6 00	3 00	5 60	.....	6 00	5 00	8 75	7 00
Oregon.....	3 95	3 50	5 40	5 00	3 80	3 50	4 10	4 00	4 25	4 50	4 67	5 00
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	5 00	.....	6 00	5 00	.....	3 00	.....	3 00	6 00	2 50	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	4 00	.....	5 87	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	4 50	.....	5 00	.....
Dakota.....	3 50	3 00	.....	.....	.....	3 00	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	.....	3 00
Idaho.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 50
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	4 00	.....	8 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	5 50	.....	5 00
New Mexico.....	.....	2 50	4 00	3 00	.....	3 50	.....	.....	.....	3 25	.....	3 00
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 61	2 44	2 22	3 55	1 74	3 03	1 84	2 72	1 75	2 84	1 82	2 75
Middle States.....	1 65	2 20	1 96	2 86	1 59	2 27	1 62	2 05	1 64	2 38	1 74	2 49
Western States.....	1 97	2 11	2 69	3 26	2 09	2 22	1 97	2 25	2 02	2 30	2 24	2 70
Southern States.....	1 81	2 27	2 51	3 36	1 84	2 75	2 06	2 25	2 07	2 67	2 14	2 42
General average.....	1 76	2 25	2 35	3 26	1 82	2 57	1 87	2 32	1 87	2 55	1 99	2 59
Pacific States (gold).....	4 57	3 75	5 78	5 33	4 47	3 25	4 57	4 00	4 76	4 17	6 06	6 00
Territories (gold).....	4 17	3 44	5 29	5 25	4 00	3 37	3 00	3 00	5 25	3 70	5 50	4 30
Average.....	4 37	3 59	5 54	5 29	4 24	3 31	3 78	3 50	5 00	3 93	5 78	5 15

*Piecework.

FARM LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages paid for Farm Labor in 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Experienced hands. Summer.				Experienced hands. Winter.				Ordinary hands. Summer.			
	With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 07	.....	\$1 49	.....	\$0 81	.....	\$1 09	.....	\$0 94	.....	\$1 10	.....
New Hampshire.....	1 04	\$1 75	1 38	\$2 25	75	\$1 00	1 06	\$1 50	88	\$1 25	1 25	\$1 69
Vermont.....	94	1 44	1 13	2 12	72	1 06	1 00	1 62	75	1 00	1 01	1 62
Massachusetts.....	1 06	1 50	1 40	1 87	73	1 05	1 05	1 50	79	87	1 13	1 50
Rhode Island.....	75	.....	1 00	.....	42	.....	75	.....	50	.....	83	.....
Connecticut.....	1 13	1 25	.....	1 50	75	1 00	.....	1 50	1 00	1 00	.....	1 50
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	89	1 48	1 21	2 00	67	96	90	1 48	68	1 18	99	1 71
New Jersey.....	79	1 65	1 16	2 00	54	1 00	85	1 42	73	1 13	1 09	1 58
Pennsylvania.....	84	1 13	1 22	1 57	62	84	94	1 25	63	89	95	1 25
Delaware.....	75	1 00	.....	1 25	50	75	.....	1 00	50	88	.....	1 00
Maryland.....	38	.....	63	.....	25	.....	50	.....	38	.....	62	.....
West Virginia.....	77	1 03	95	1 46	61	74	86	1 15	52	64	76	93
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	89	1 03	1 16	1 48	65	90	92	1 25	68	82	96	1 07
Indiana.....	96	1 13	1 26	1 47	71	86	99	1 11	71	84	96	1 23
Illinois.....	1 02	1 33	1 32	1 68	75	97	1 00	1 39	78	1 06	1 06	1 43
Michigan.....	93	1 25	1 22	1 75	70	1 25	1 05	1 75	73	1 00	1 02	1 40
Wisconsin.....	1 27	.....	1 66	.....	83	.....	1 20	.....	1 01	.....	1 41	.....
Minnesota.....	1 42	1 00	1 73	1 50	88	75	1 14	1 25	1 10	75	1 38	1 00
Iowa.....	1 06	78	1 34	.....	70	78	1 00	.....	76	70	1 01	.....
Kansas.....	1 25	.....	1 75	.....	1 15	.....	2 37	.....	1 08	.....	1 50	.....
Nebraska.....	1 00	.....	1 38	.....	75	.....	1 25	.....	1 00	.....	1 25	.....
Missouri.....	81	1 50	1 12	.....	69	1 00	99	.....	67	1 00	93	.....
Kentucky.....	77	.....	1 08	.....	60	.....	90	.....	64	.....	89	.....
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	60	64	1 02	80	47	47	69	67	52	54	66	76
North Carolina.....	60	1 00	63	1 25	36	75	52	.....	33	.....	47	.....
South Carolina.....	53	1 00	73	1 25	40	75	60	1 00	34	75	58	1 50
Georgia.....	55	.....	81	.....	50	.....	71	.....	47	.....	68	.....
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	63	75	88	1 00	55	50	80	75	47	75	70	1 00
Mississippi.....	60	75	75	1 00	52	.....	60	.....	48	50	81	75
Louisiana.....	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	.....	75	.....	1 25
Texas.....	66	87	1 00	1 25	58	75	81	1 00	54	50	75	75
Arkansas.....	75	.....	1 03	.....	63	.....	92	.....	55	.....	81	.....
Tennessee.....	74	.....	97	.....	55	.....	75	.....	51	.....	71	50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	2 07	1 50	2 50	2 50	1 89	1 00	2 13	2 50	2 00	1 00	2 17	2 00
Nevada.....	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 00	1 50	4 00	2 50
Oregon.....	2 14	1 00	2 50	1 60	1 51	1 25	1 94	2 00	1 61	1 00	1 88	1 60
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	3 12	2 25	4 12	.....	2 25	1 50	3 00	.....	2 25	.....	2 75	.....
Colorado.....	2 17	.....	2 83	.....	1 50	.....	2 00	.....	1 75	.....	2 75	.....
Dakota.....	1 50	1 00	2 00	1 25	1 25	75	1 50	1 00	1 25	.....	1 50	.....
Idaho.....	.....	1 50	.....	2 12	.....	1 12	.....	1 25	.....	1 25	.....	1 75
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	75	1 00	1 13	2 50	50	1 00	1 00	1 50	60	1 25	1 00	1 75
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 00	1 48	1 28	1 93	70	1 03	99	1 53	61	1 02	1 07	1 58
Middle States.....	74	1 26	1 03	1 66	53	86	81	1 26	57	95	88	1 30
Western States.....	1 03	1 15	1 37	1 58	77	93	1 17	1 35	83	88	1 12	.....
Southern States.....	67	81	91	1 09	56	69	77	89	47	63	69	.....
General average.....	86	1 17	1 15	1 56	64	88	94	1 26	67	87	94	.....
Pacific States.....	2 57	1 67	3 53	2 53	2 13	1 56	3 22	2 67	2 20	1 17	2 68	.....
Territories.....	1 89	1 44	2 52	1 95	1 38	1 09	1 88	1 25	1 46	1 25	2 00	.....
Average.....	2 23	1 55	3 03	2 19	1 76	1 33	2 55	1 96	1 83	1 21	2 34	.....

AVERAGE WAGES IN COTTON MILLS.

The average weekly wages paid in cotton mills varies somewhat in the different States. By grouping the States in three divisions, viz: New England, Middle, and Southern—the latter including Missouri—we have the following results as the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	In New Eng- land States.	In the Middle States.	In Southern States.
Carding:			
Overseer.....	\$19 38	\$14 00	\$19 28
Picker tenders.....	7 38	6 88	6 19
Railway tenders.....	5 13	3 75	3 67
Drawing-frame tenders..	4 56	4 88	3 89
Speeder tenders.....	6 70	5 13	4 29
Picker boy.....	5 19	3 25	3 75
Grinders.....	9 60	7 38	7 14
Strippers.....	7 18	6 75	5 87
Spinning:			
Overseer.....	20 18	13 25	18 75
Mule spinners.....	9 99	7 75	9 90
Mule backside piecers...	2 65	2 75	3 01
Frame spinners.....	4 51	3 25	3 20
Dressing:			
Overseer.....	18 35	15 00	14 69
Second hand.....	12 17	10 50	7 68
Spoolers.....	4 58	4 33	4 25
Warpers.....	6 37	6 25	5 53
Drawers and Twisters...	5 81	6 50	4 66
Dressers.....	12 06	9 00	8 88
Weaving:			
Overseer.....	20 97	16 50	20 09
Weavers.....	8 05	8 38	6 17
Drawing-in hands.....	6 95	5 00	4 32
Repair shop, &c.:			
Foreman.....	19 57	15 00	23 00
Wood-workers.....	14 99	14 25	11 33
Iron-workers.....	14 01	13 88	14 94
Engineer.....	15 07	11 75	18 00
Laborers.....	8 56	8 80	6 01
Overseer in cloth room...	15 13	8 50	14 13

BOOT AND SHOE FACTORIES.

The following were the average weekly wages in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Cutters.....	\$21 37
Stock-fitters.....	16 62
Sole sewing machine operators	16 33
Other sewing machine operators	14 00
Lasters.....	18 83
Second lasters.....	17 00
Heelers.....	23 25
Trimmers.....	19 33
Burnishers.....	18 83
Finishers.....	19 50
Hand-sewers.....	27 50
Shoe-cleaners.....	18 25
Packers.....	16 00
Laborers or unskilled workmen.	18 50
Apprentices or boys.....	7 00
Foremen or overseers.....	27 50
Crimpers.....	
Treers.....	
Bottomers.....	

GENERAL AVERAGE WAGES IN WOOLEN MILLS.

The following table shows the general average weekly wages paid in woolen mills in 1869 and 1874:

Occupation.	1869.	1874.
Wool-sorters.....	\$10 86	\$10 94
Wool-washers	8 26	8 21
Dyers.....	11 38	10 50
Overseers.....	18 44	19 17
Carding and spinning:		
Pickers.....	7 03	6 68
Carders.....	6 07	6 34
Spinners.....	11 20	8 85
Warpers and beamers.....	8 77	8 81
Reelers.....	4 61	5 20
Overseers.....	18 46	15 94
Assistants	9 75	.....
Weaving:		
Weavers	7 88	7 41
Burlers.....	4 92	4 98
Overseers.....	16 10	17 40
Dressing and finishing:		
Fullers	8 77	8 76
Dressers or giggers.....	8 08	8 11
Finishers.....	9 71	8 42
Press tenders.....	9 21	8 91
Drawers.....	6 12	6 91
Brushers.....	5 12	6 69
Packers	9 02	8 57
Overseers.....	17 62	19 14
Assistants.....	10 36	9 72
Engine room, yard, &c.:		
Engineers.....	12 64	12 34
Mechanics.....	15 13	15 12
Laborers, (watchmen includ- ed).....	9 88	10 73
Foremen	13 62	19 05

WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN ROLLING MILLS.

The following table shows the general average weekly earnings of workmen employed in iron-rolling mills in the United States in 1874:

Occupation.	Per week.
Puddlers.....	\$28 44
Puddlers' helpers.....	11 83
Shinglers.....	20 91
Shinglers' helpers.....	10 70
Puddle-mill roller.....	18 50
Top and bottom roller.	29 10
Forge rollers.....	17 80
Merchant-mill rollers.....	34 86
Rail-mill rollers	33 92
Sheet and plate rollers.....	26 10
Second rollers.....	24 13
Third rollers.....	18 00
Furnace men or heaters' helpers.	12 47
Shearmen.....	12 67
Billeters.....	8 92
Catchers	15 43
Roughers.....	21 23
Heaters.....	29 51
Foremen or superintendents.....	29 25
Machinists.....	18 15
Engineers.....	17 15
Carpenters.....	17 32
Blacksmiths.....	17 40
Laborers and unskilled workmen.	9 50
Teamsters.....	9 67
Apprentices and boys	4 82
Hours of labor.....	57 13-16

IRON FOUNDRIES AND MACHINE SHOPS.

The following table indicates the average rate of weekly wages paid in iron foundries

and machine shops in the several groups of States, and also the general average of all the States, in 1874:

Occupation.	Average in New England States.	Average in the Middle States.	Average in the Southern States.	Average in the Pacific States.	General average of the United States.
Iron molders.....	\$15 89	\$14 98	\$17 98	\$31 50	\$19 04
Machinists, (best).....	16 66	16 24	19 28	34 00	20 68
Machinists, (ordinary).....	13 45	13 59	14 19	27 12	16 37
Machinists, (inferior).....	10 96	10 80	11 00	18 50	12 37
Machinists' helpers.....	9 16	8 49	8 24	18 75	10 90
Boiler makers.....	21 25	15 44	19 42	28 25	19 87
Helpers.....	8 09	9 05	8 98	17 25	11 00
Riveters.....	15 00	14 63	16 17	24 58	17 20
Holders-on.....	10 63	9 22	9 64	18 00	11 90
Flangers.....	20 00	16 50	19 07	25 50	20 07
Helpers.....	9 88	9 42	9 88	15 00	10 92
Blacksmiths.....	16 17	14 91	17 45	30 88	19 25
Helpers.....	10 21	8 86	19 28	18 63	11 41
Foremen.....	22 16	22 12	28 85	42 83	27 75
Engineers.....	14 42	13 04	16 34	23 78	16 05
Pattern makers.....	16 61	14 90	17 32	31 43	19 40
Assistants.....	11 47	10 97	11 38	25 75	13 76
Laborers, carters.....	9 53	9 49	8 02	18 44	10 28
Apprentices.....	6 07	4 75	5 09	12 92	6 09
Millwrights.....	17 87	16 87	22 96	38 00	22 58
Assistants.....		8 00	15 40	19 50	14 48
Brass founders.....	16 75	13 64	18 17	33 00	19 81
Fitters.....	9 00	14 52	17 10	35 75	18 62
Turners.....	14 00	13 40	17 00	31 25	17 98
Hours of labor per week.....	59½	59 3-4	58½	60	59 3-10

MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING.

The following were the general average weekly earnings of persons employed in the manufacture of clothing throughout the States in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Head cutters for custom clothing.....	\$28 34
Cutters for ready-made clothing.....	15 06
Bushelemen.....	15 57
Machine operators.....	9 75
Finishers.....	11 22
Laborers or packers.....	10 66
Apprentices or boys.....	4 75
Ready-made clothing:	
On sack overcoats. { Fine.....	10 33
{ Cheap.....	9 33
Broadcloth frock coats.....	10 00
Cassimere business coats.....	9 33
Cassimere sack coats.....	8 92
Vests, woolen.....	4 44
Pantaloon, woolen.....	4 83
Shirts. { Muslin.....	8 50
{ Woolen.....	3 00
Custom-made clothing:	
Sack overcoats.....	22 25
Broadcloth dress coats.....	20 33
Cassimere business coats.....	20 62
Cassimere sack coats.....	18 87
Vests.....	12 62
Pantaloon.....	15 69

MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER.

The following table shows the general average weekly wages paid to persons employed in the manufacture of the various kinds of leather in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Sole leather:	
Tanners.....	\$13 28
Beam hands.....	12 75
Yard.....	9 96
Rollers and spongers.....	13 16
Bark grinders.....	9 00
Common laborers.....	9 15
Upper and calf-skin:	
.....	13 00
.....	15 40
.....	14 70
.....	17 83
nds, scourers.....	11 50
.....	12 13
.....	15 06
M Patent, and enameled leather:	
nds.....	12 50
.....	14 50
Shavers.....	17 25
Sewing girls.....	6 50
Finishers.....	18 25
Colorers.....	17 25
Sheep-skins, skivers, &c.:	
Engineers.....	12 27
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	9 46
Apprentices or boys.....	4 75
Foremen or overseers.....	16 85

MANUFACTURE OF FURNITURE.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Cabinet makers.....	\$15 45
Chair makers.....	11 00
Carvers.....	16 50
Turners.....	13 50
Painters.....	10 00
Upholsters.....	17 50
Varnishers.....	13 50
Scroll sawyers.....	12 16
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	11 95
Apprentices or boys.....	16 00
Foremen or overseers.....	25 00

CARRIAGE AND CAR FACTORIES.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Body makers.....	\$18 46
Carriage-part makers.....	16 70
Wheelwrights.....	16 33
Coachsmiths.....	17 50
Helpers.....	9 50
Finishers.....	15 55
Ornamenters.....	19 73
Painters.....	14 65
Trimmers.....	16 06
Stitchers.....	13 16
Engineers.....	27 00
Laborers.....	8 33
Apprentices.....	4 25
Foremen.....	23 00
Car builders:	
Wood-workers.....	13 75
Blacksmiths.....	16 33
Helpers.....	6 54
Painters.....	14 25
Hours of labor per week.....	.....

FORGE AND BESSEMER PIG-IRON WORKS.

The following table shows the average weekly wages of persons employed in the Neutral Foundry (forge and Bessemer pig-iron) in Harrisburg, Pa.:

Occupation.	Wages
Clerk.....	\$12 00
Foreman or founder.....	28 00
Engineer.....	17 34
Engineer's assistant.....	11 90
Blacksmith.....	12 15
Carpenter.....	12 16
Keepers.....	11 00
Keepers' helpers.....	10 00
Fillers and cinder-men.....	9 44
Iron-weigher.....	10 11
Carters.....	7 51
Laborers.....	7 24
Conductors on ore-trains.....	9 75

COMPARATIVE RESULTS.

From the preceding tables the reader will be enabled to gather correct information showing the general average of wages paid for farm, mechanical, and factory labor in the United States. In *THE REPUBLIC* for January a series of tables were published showing similar results in England. The tables in both cases, are based on the larger and more complete statements presented in Dr. Young's recent work on "Labor and Wages in England and America." By a careful comparison the reader will see that, when reduced to a gold basis, the wages paid in the United States vary from fifty to one hundred per cent. above the amounts paid for similar work in England. For example, we find that the wool-sorter in Bradford receives \$6.77 per week; in the United States \$10.91. A wool-washer \$5.08, against \$8.97 in this country. For drawing and spinning wool the wages are \$9.07 in Bradford, against \$18.61 here. The weaver receives \$7.25 in England, against \$9.84 in this country, while the overseer has only \$7.56, against \$18.05 in the United States. In woman's labor, in woollen mills, there is an equal advantage in this country, the American factory hand usually receiving double what the English woman can earn. And the result shows about the same difference in the wages paid in the respective countries indicated through the entire range of industries.

PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

In order, however, to complete the comparison, the cost of provisions, clothing, rents, &c., must be taken into consideration. By referring to Dr. Young's work for data, which, for want of space, has been omitted in the *REPUBLIC* articles, significant results are obtained. On comparing two manufacturing centers, such as Bradford, England, and the leading towns of Pennsylvania, in the United States, the values in all cases being expressed in gold, it will be found that the laborer in Bradford in 1874 paid \$7.35 for his barrel of flour; in Pennsylvania \$7 for the same quality. The Englishman's beef for roasting cost him 21 to 24 cents per pound, the American's 17; the English veal, the best cuts, was 24 cents, American, 18. English

leg of mutton 24 cents, American, 16 cents. The great stand-by of the laborer, corned or salted pork, was 16 to 20 cents in Bradford, 13½ in Pennsylvania. Butter was 35 to 38 cents for the English laborer, 35½ for the American. Milk and eggs were about the same in the two countries.

In the above and other articles of provisions the American workman has a very considerable advantage. In the cost of groceries he is not so fortunate. The Englishman's Oolong tea costs him from 36 to 80 cents, the Americans 40 to 90; green Rio coffee is only 16 to 20 cents in Bradford and 26½ in Pennsylvania. Good brown sugar costs the Englishman 7 to 8 cents, the American 9½. Coal is more expensive in Pennsylvania than in the English manufacturing town, being \$5.60 per ton in the former and \$4.38 in the latter. In dry goods the Englishman has no advantage, his brown shirtings being 12 to 16 cents per yard, while the American's are 13 1-5; the English brown sheetings are 42 cents, the American's very much cheaper, 17 1-3. Cotton flannel is 30 to 36 cents in Bradford, only 19 in Pennsylvania. In prints the American has an advantage, his being 11 cents, against 10 to 16 for the English. Medium satinets are, however, much more expensive in America, being 58 cents to about 40 in Bradford. Boots are cheaper to the Englishman, being \$2.88 to \$3.84, against \$4.40 in Pennsylvania. In house rent and board the Englishman's wages will go about fifty per cent. further than the American's, four-room tenements costing the Bradford laborer \$5.76 to \$8.20 per month, while the American must pay \$9.37. If a single man he can board himself in the English manufacturing town for from \$2.88 to \$3.60 per week; in the Pennsylvania town, if a mechanic, he must pay \$4.75. If the boarder is a woman she must pay in England \$1.68 to \$2.16 per week; in Pennsylvania, if a factory hand, \$3.50.

It will be seen from these figures that the purchasing power of money in the two countries is not materially different in regard to provisions, groceries, fuel, and domestic dry goods, the low prices of some articles in one country being counterbalanced by the higher

prices of other articles in the competing country. But when the matter of house rent and board is estimated the Englishman has a very considerable advantage, though he probably gets less for his money; that is, the American laborer gets better lodging and food than the English.

The condition, then, of the English factory laborer in a woolen and steel manufacturing region like Bradford, and also generally in other parts of England, as compared with manufacturing States like Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, would seem to be this: His money has about the same purchasing power in each country, excepting in house rent and board; in these the American is at a disadvantage of fully one-half, while on the other hand his average wage is nearly one hundred per cent. greater than his competitors. The ultimate superiority seems, then, to rest with the American factory laborer.

It may be argued by some that provisions are materially lower in England than in the United States. But when we recall the fact that about two hundred million dollars worth of provisions and bread stuffs are shipped annually from this country to England, the claim that board is cheaper in England than in the United States is shown to be without a basis. Included in these exports there is an average of one hundred million dollars worth of wheat and flour, and from thirty to forty million dollars worth of butter, cheese, and lard. These are articles that reach the table of every family, and must, of course, after paying transportation over three thousand miles, insurance, exchange, commissions, and two or three profits between the producer and the consumer, cost more in England than they do in America.

The evidence is conclusive, therefore, that labor is better paid by nearly one hundred per cent. in the United States than in England, or in any other portion of the world. And in this fact we have the secret of the constant flow of immigration from almost every other section of civilization to the United States.

Dr. Young in his recent work remarks, (page 820,) that "the great advantages enjoyed by the working men in the United States, as compared with those of the same

class in the Old World, are sufficiently attested by the deep and steady current of emigration which sets toward our shores. One of the most conspicuous of these advantages consists in the equality of political rights with which the working man is here invested, and the comparatively high respect and dignity attached to his calling; but not less solid and decided are the advantages connected with abundant employment, good wages, and the substantial comforts of life. It is true that, in common with other countries where the system of credit has been largely developed, our country has had its occasional financial crises, accompanied with serious interruption to the ordinary course of commerce and industry; but such effects have been comparatively transient in their duration, and the normal condition of the country has been marked by a degree of prosperity rarely, if ever, enjoyed elsewhere; and rarely, if ever, in the history of the world has national prosperity been so largely shared by those usually denominated the working classes."

And why is labor better paid here than elsewhere? As stated in the commencement of this article, it must be traced directly and mainly to the *American System of Tariff Protection* to our manufacturing and agricultural industries, which secures to our own workmen the manufacture and production of nearly everything required for home consumption. We say nearly everything, although the language may be considered too sweeping while our annual imports still continue to amount in value to about \$600,000,000 per annum. Still the tariff secures to our own workmen the preparation of the largest portion of the commodities consumed at home.

But with the tariff reduced, as proposed by the Morrison bill, what will be the result? Our imports will soon go up to eight or nine hundred million dollars in value per annum, taking just so much more work out of the hands of our own people, and so many more millions of gold out of the country to pay for the manufacture of these goods abroad. This will be the result, and the only result of the Democratic Free-Trade policy. Do the people wish to try the experiment?

OUR CURRENCY—BANKS AND BANKING, PAST AND PRESENT.

The medium of exchange adopted upon the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, 1620, in their traffic with the natives, consisted of beads or wampum, made from the periwinkle and clam-shell. There was neither restriction upon nor limitation to its manufacture, and it was received as legal tender to the amount of 12*d.* Afterward it became the prevailing currency among the pioneers, and affords the first example we have of the evil results arising from inflation, though in a very primitive degree. The shell substitute was soon over-abundant, depreciated in value, then worthless, and abolished as a nuisance in 1650.

From beads the colonists took to barter to supply the deficiency; and at one time musket-balls were used for change, at a farthing apiece. These were legal in any sums below 12*d.*

There were some features in the barter currency of that day peculiarly characteristic of a much later period. When the common products of the land were made legal tender, no one would pay specie. This was hoarded for exports, which nothing but coin would satisfy, and the lesser value applied to liquidate indebtedness; thus steadily and surely impoverishing the standard of circulating medium. Or, if any one commodity lawfully paid a certain obligation to individual, State, or nation, the poorest article of the kind was selected. Many amusing incidents in this connection are related of those early times.

The urgent need of the new country was capital—solid substantial money for the legitimate transaction of business; and having but little of this, the momentous problem, even with Mr. Winthrop, was whether, being unable to have both, it were not better to do without foreign luxuries and retain the specie. This view has its application in many a financial stress long subsequent to the colonial day.

It has been often reiterated, and it appears incontrovertible, that the losses occasioned by irredeemable currency largely exceed the gains derived from importation. The surest

protection to industrial interests, to the general weal of the people, to the greatest good to all, is to keep a proper amount of national capital in coin circulation, and manufacture, or learn to do without such articles as are obtained only at the risk of crippling the resources, the energies, the progressive features of the country.

Massachusetts, in 1652, started a mint at Boston, to make what is known as "Pine Tree" coinage. The metal was chiefly procured through traffic with the buccaneers of the West Indies, who at that early date carried on a profitable trade with the colonies. This coin was below the standard of European money, the issue illegal, and though continued in operation thirty years the coins were all dated 1652.

A mint was established in Maryland in 1661, but nothing is known of its history. A bank was proposed in Massachusetts in 1686, but this, also, is obscure. In Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, however, it is recorded that this colony, in 1690, issued "paper notes" to defray the expenses of an expedition against Canada. The issue at first was moderate, and promptly redeemed upon maturity; but in 1704 the redemption was postponed two years, then indefinitely. Upon this, other issues were made for the current expenditures of the colony, and still others to loan to less fortunate communities. When once the scheme was in operation, and the tone of the people in harmony with the movement, the cost of production being light, it was deemed well enough to make the amount sufficient to cover all purposes. The ability to pay coin for this currency never once entered into the calculation, and the result was in keeping with the circumstances. Mr. Hutchinson, in his chronicle of that period, tells us, "there were special hard times in Massachusetts in 1715." He further asserts, "that of all those issues not one dollar in one hundred was ever redeemed."

This was the first experiment with a paper substitute for coin, and though this proved

disastrous, the country still smarting under the depression, steps were immediately taken to repeat the hazard.

Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey issued paper money in 1709; Pennsylvania in 1723; Maryland in 1734, while Virginia used tobacco warehouse receipts for currency till 1755. North and South Carolina also issued paper notes early in their history.

Of all the issues at that time put in circulation Massachusetts alone attempted to meet her obligation, and she only at eleven to one.

The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and deliberately proceeded to do what many a Congress has since done—just what it should not. With no plausible excuse, trade was thrown away when it should have been retained. It was decided that after December, 1774, nothing should be imported to any part of the British Empire, and from September, 1775, nothing should be exported from the same.

The short-sightedness of this legislation was soon apparent. On the eve of a great war English goods were needed for the army, and came around from the Continent and West Indies, while tobacco and lumber in exchange took a similar roundabout course.

The Second Congress, May 10, 1776, made war, but had no power to tax or borrow, and as the only available means, notwithstanding past experience, resorted to paper currency. The first issue was ordered June 23, 1775, and accompanied with a promise to pay 2,000,000 Spanish dollars. This issue was apportioned among the colonies, which were expected to redeem their quota by levying taxes. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire did this entirely. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia did so in part. This issue, however, went on, and in January, 1777, the depreciation commenced.

Every possible means were resorted to by public officers and private committees to enforce the legal tender character of the bill, but with indifferent success. In 1779 the issue was \$160,000,000. At this time the

notes were twenty-eight to one; and in 1780 they were worth only two cents on the dollar.

In 1781, when Morris took charge of the finances, the notes were regarded as utterly worthless, and yet some eventually were redeemed at one hundred to one, in Hamilton's funding scheme.

This was the third attempt at a substitute for coin, and a much greater calamity than either that had preceded it. To enhance the sufferings arising from a general suspension of business, throwing thousands of men out of employment, there was an almost total failure of crops in 1779 and 1780.

In 1780, several wealthy men of Philadelphia, entering into a specific arrangement, took Government bills of exchange, and issued their own notes to purchase supplies for the army. December 31, 1781, this company was incorporated by Congress as the Bank of North America. The validity of this act being questioned, a charter was obtained from Pennsylvania, in 1783, for ten years, with a monopoly. In 1785 the State charter was repealed, but in 1787 renewed without the monopoly.

This enterprise being apparently successful, other States adopted a similar method. Massachusetts Bank was chartered in 1784; then, immediately one in New York, and another in Maryland. These temporarily relieved the pressing need of the country, and business began to revive. The industrial interests assumed a more healthful appearance, and this would have continued uninterrupted had the currency been based upon a coin valuation.

In 1787 the Federal Constitution was framed and contained this clause: "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts." Thus did the wise men of that day express their condemnation of the paper system of money, and the people, groaning under recent experience, acquiesced.

The finances of that period, however, were in a deplorable condition. There was enough currency, but it had an uncertain value. The Confederation was little more than a shadow. It could not collect revenue or adjust its accounts. These were in inextric-

cable confusion, with no one on whom to charge the responsibility.

September 2, 1789, the Treasury Department was established, with Alexander Hamilton as Secretary. His report of the national debt, January 14, 1790, was \$42,000,000 domestic; \$11,000,000 foreign; States, \$25,000,000.

With this formidable array of figures, and no coin sufficient for needed purposes, Hamilton proposed a National Bank. There being no other alternative, this was incorporated by act of March 3, 1791, with a capital of \$10,000,000—\$8,000,000 subscribed by individuals (one-fourth in specie, three-quarters in United States stock) and \$2,000,000 by the Government. The charter was for twenty years, and no notes below \$10 were to be issued.

Soon afterward the Government sold its interest at 20, 25, and 40 per cent. premium. This was a wonderful incentive, and speculation ran high. From 1792 to 1812 one hundred and three banks were chartered, and expansion began.

In Massachusetts this took the form of "Wild-Cat." The new financial machine was powerful, in fine condition, and worked to its utmost capacity. The stock of specie was insignificant, but this did not check the issues. The precious metal was indeed scarce, and the little that could be collected under a combination of bankers was stealthily moved from bank to bank just in advance of the inspector.

A crisis under these circumstances was inevitable. It came in 1809. Some of the banks are reported as having \$20 to \$40 in specie, with circulation of notes ranging from \$100,000 to \$500,000. Not a few of the banks had not a dollar in specie, and none of them had any very considerable amount.

The Farmers' Exchange Bank of Gloucester, Rhode Island, chartered in 1804, was a fair representation of the class, as operated at that time, and we give a citation of facts relative to this from which to reach a proper understanding of the others.

Its capital stock was put down on the record at \$1,000,000. Only \$19,141, however, were ever paid in, and of this the directors drew out until there was a working capital

of only \$3,081. One Dexter, so we are told, bought up eleven of the directors at \$1,300 apiece, paying from the bank funds. He then borrowed of the bank \$760,265. This was a sharp trick of a stock gambler, and threw the concern into bankruptcy. When it failed it had \$86.46 in specie, with an outstanding circulation of not less than \$580,000.

Similar facts were developed all over the country, and the distress was universal. A few individuals, perhaps, had made vast fortunes, but the great mass of people were thrown into a financial crash from which it took years of patient toil to extricate themselves.

The question of coinage was taken up in 1781, and August 8, 1786, a general mint law was passed; yet silver was not coined till 1794, and gold in 1795.

Coin, however, was more difficult to be obtained than paper money, and the slow but sure road to solid substantial prosperity through a currency based upon an actual gold and silver basis, redeemable at par, was not suited to the progressive ideas of those who could discern more rapid wealth through a system of fraud as practiced by banking institutions of that period. Coin could only be manufactured as the metal was obtained; but paper notes could be printed in sums to meet the wants of all.

In the midst of these reckless financial theories there were a few good men who foresaw inevitable ruin from again flooding the country with a cheap substitute for money, and did all in their power to thwart a return to the previous irresponsible banking system. Governor Snyder, of Pennsylvania, in 1813 vetoed twenty-five bank charters, but in 1814 forty were passed over his veto.

Banks now multiplied on every hand, and the chief occupation of those in the Middle States was speculating in Government stock. This was a huge swindle, carried to the fullest extent, and laid the foundation for another collapse. Had the result fallen upon these banks, or the Government, it would have been a righteous retribution; but they escaped with coffers full, while the honest hard-working people—the mechanic, farmer, and tradesman—were the principal sufferers.

New Orleans banks refused to redeem in April, 1814; those of Philadelphia in August of the same year. The Southern States went with the rest, but Ohio and Kentucky paid specie till early in 1815, and the only bank then in Tennessee continued to redeem its circulation till August, 1815.

Directly upon this, the country staggering under a worthless currency, banks increased more rapidly than ever before, and this, too, while the notes of even the new banks required elaborate quotations. Brokers had a rich harvest negotiating them.

Niles' *Register*, from 1814 to 1820, is full of bitter denunciation against the system of "shaving" practiced upon the people. Many incidents and illustrations might be introduced, showing the baneful influence upon the best interests of the country growing out of this inability to redeem.

In this condition of the currency, October 17, 1814, Dallas, then Secretary of the Treasury, proposed a national non-specie-paying bank. Calhoun proposed a bank on Treasury notes, which should not suspend specie payment. Dallas' scheme passed the Senate, but was lost in the House. Then a plan for a bank that should be prohibited from suspending passed both houses, and was vetoed by the President January 30, 1815. Dallas' scheme again passed the Senate February 17, 1815, but as before was defeated in the House.

Calhoun, at the next session, reintroduced the bank proposition, and assisted by Dallas, a charter was passed April 10, 1816. This bank was to have \$35,000,000 capital, \$7,000,000 to be subscribed by the Government in five per cent. stock; \$28,000,000 by the public. Of this, \$7,000,000 was to be specie, \$21,000,000 six per cent. United States stock, and to issue no notes below \$5. This bank Calhoun and Dallas boastfully asserted "was established to correct the currency, and be a financial providence to the country."

See how well they kept the promise. Three brief years of existence, and upon the supposition the affairs of the bank were not properly conducted, Congress appointed a committee to investigate January 16, 1819; this committee made its report, fully sustaining the charges. Thereupon the President and

managers resigned, and Langdon Cheves took charge of the bank. He found the institution insolvent, and the liabilities not less than \$3,000,000.

This was the key-note of another general suspension—another strain upon the country's honor, and it came with a vengeance. Twenty thousand persons in Philadelphia alone were thrown out of employment. New York, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh—great manufacturing centers—were in the same condition. The entire industrial interests of the nation were paralyzed—hopelessly prostrated through this curse of cheap substitute for money.

Niles, under date of May 17, 1823, in his *Register*, alluding to this period, says: "The banks were gambling hells." He further tells us that there were three grades of paper "called money" afloat at that time. The first was notes of incorporated companies that still retained some pretense to solvency; the second was notes of banks which had no local habitation, save in a name, the bills being printed in some obscure counting-room, known only to the initiated, and invariably circulated at a distance, so that by the time they reached home for redemption the bank had ceased to exist, or could not be found; the third consisted of counterfeits, and of these there was a bountiful stock.

The total amount of the three species in circulation cannot even be approximated, but the number of banks was not far from three hundred and ninety-seven.

Notwithstanding these salutary lessons, which should have taught the people better than again venturing upon the sea of an uncertain circulating medium, in 1824 all the banks expanded. Pennsylvania re-chartered its banks of 1814; a better tariff was obtained, duties rose, and a feeling of security gave to business renewed life.

In the spring of 1825 fifty-two bank charters were petitioned for in New York alone. Alabama and Tennessee were still struggling with the past, but putting forth every effort to sustain their bank circulation. Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were hampered by the "relief" system, a code of stay laws against the collection of debts. New York and Boston were fighting these banks, hoping

to obtain a monopoly, and the United States Bank increased its issue \$3,000,000.

English manufacturers were prosperous, and the demand for raw material unprecedented. Cotton reached twenty-seven cents, and corn was pulled up to plant cotton. Speculation was rife, and the excess of exports over imports, in 1825, was \$2,646,290.

In July the prices in England fell. It created a panic here. Fifty failures took place in New York before December. Banks failed by the score, and even the United States Bank was in trouble. The Government had \$7,000,000 in coin to pay, and the money was to come through this bank. The payment was delayed. When paid, the bank was debtor to the State banks, and could not redeem its circulation. Then followed a repetition of 1819.

Niles, in his *Register*, under date of May 9, 1835, says that new banks opened and a period of speculation began in 1834. In 1835, he adds: "This became wild, seizing upon cotton, lands, negroes, city lots, western lands, and every form of stock;" but the administration having learned wisdom from experience, foreshadowing the inevitable result, induced most of the States to forbid notes under \$5.

At that time there was supposed to be \$64,000,000 of specie in the banks. In the winters of 1835-36, however, indication of weakness became apparent, and quotations began to fluctuate. A feeling of uneasiness pervaded the masses—especially affecting manufacturing and agricultural interests.

July 11, 1836, the Secretary of the Treasury issued a circular forbidding the receipt of anything but specie for public lands. Congress, fearful of the consequences, at once passed a resolution practically rescinding this order, which was sent to the President, and by him forwarded to the State Department, where it was filed March 3, 1837. But the crisis was at hand.

Early in March, 1837, an important firm in New Orleans failed, because of decline in cotton. An equally extensive establishment in New York closed its doors immediately upon the receipt of this news. This was the beginning. The whole southwest was at once prostrated, and May eighth, of the same

year, a run was made on the Dry Dock Bank of New York, causing its suspension. The other banks throughout the country were forced to succumb. Gold went up to 107; all specie had disappeared, and the market was once again flooded with worthless paper.

To present in detail a description of the various effects these monetary disasters produced, the sufferings of the poor, the destruction of industrial schemes, the injury to husbandry, to every species of individual and national interests, would fill volumes. It is, however, surprising with what wonderful persistency the country, emerging from one of these reckless schemes, plunges headlong into another.

In 1838 business again revived, and a moderate feeling of security took possession of the masses. There was, however, a disposition to enter upon a more careful system of banking; but a proper solution of the currency problem had not yet been made, and further experience was necessary.

Scarcely had the country settled down from the previous shock when the United States Bank became involved in cotton speculation, and there was again symptoms of trouble in the finances. The old bank worked hard to sustain itself, but there was no coin, and the notes were sold in New York and Boston at 18 to 24 per cent. discount.

Upon this several banks failed in different parts of the country. Throughout the Western States, especially Michigan and Illinois, suspensions were numerous. The notes of several joint-stock companies were discounted at 25 to 60 per cent.

Alabama, during 1838, created a debt of \$15,000,000 to found banks. This was nearly all lost. Mississippi, the same year, borrowed \$7,000,000 for similar purposes, and the whole debt eventually was repudiated.

September 10, 1839, a draft of the United States Bank was refused in Paris. A respite, however, was obtained through small loans. This could not long continue. The bank owed \$20,000,000 in New York, \$800,000 in Boston.

A spirit of rivalry seems to have always existed among banks, and this indebtedness was promptly brought home for payment.

The pressure was too great, and October 10, 1839, the doors were closed.

This event was followed by the suspension of nearly every bank in the South and West. New England held out for a time, but finally suspended wholly or in part. Three hundred and forty-three banks, out of eight hundred and fifty, closed entirely, sixty-two partially, and over \$2,000,000 Government deposits were lost.

Again we have an instance of the recuperative powers of the nation. There was a period of universal prosperity from 1841 to 1853. Business men had regained confidence and all classes expanded their engagements, many, however, going far beyond the protection of their resources. This was particularly the case of those engaged in banks and bank speculation.

The first alarm came from the discovery of the Schuyler frauds. At this time Ohio had a large circulation of bank notes, mostly of what was known as "free banks." When the contraction began, these notes came in only to find the banks unprepared to redeem them. Stronger indications of the shock were felt in 1857, upon the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, of Cincinnati, with liabilities upward of \$7,000,000; and the loss of the steamer "Central America," with a million of specie, enhanced the stringency.

Following this were several failures of more or less importance, and in September a large number suspended. Stocks fell 40 to 50 per cent., and a panic ensued. This was short, sharp, and severe, but did not reach the productive powers of the country. The recovery was rapid, the reaction healthy. The losses were immense, but, as Professor Sumner says, "it was only a bad stumble in a career of great prosperity."

The public debt, January 1, 1861, was \$90,500,000. There were 1,605 banks, with \$429,600,000 capital, \$207,200,000 deposits, \$91,300,000 specie, \$202,000,000 circulation, and \$695,700,000 loans. The number of failures during 1861, consequent upon the seceding of the Southern States and the political excitement of the period, was 5,935, for \$178,600,000.

February 25, 1863, a bill proposing the

present system of national banks passed and became law, fixing the bank capital at \$300,000,000. An act approved July 12, 1870, increased this \$45,000,000, and January 14, 1875, all restriction on the amount was removed.

October 5, 1865, there were 66 banks in operation. December, 1874, the Comptroller of the Currency reported 2,200 banks as having been organized. 35 of which had failed, 137 closed business, and 2,028 remaining. December 31, 1874, there was one less—2,027.

The bank capital at this time was \$495,800,000; loans, \$955,800,000; bonds to secure circulation, \$412,900,000; specie, \$22,400,000; United States Treasury certificates of deposit, \$133,500,000; legal tenders, \$82,700,000; five per cent. redemption fund, \$76,900,000; circulation, \$332,000,000; deposits, \$682,800,000.

July, 1864, gold reached its highest—235. May, 1865, it was down to 140.

The same startling premonitions preceding the financial disasters of the past were apparent in 1871-2, and were significant of the approaching absorption by expanding credit of the legally limited amount of paper currency.

September 8, 1873, the New York Warehouse and Security Company failed. Then one or two firms involved in railroad speculation. Confidence was at once shaken, and banks known to be carrying this species of stock were subjects of suspicion. With past experience in such matters, to suspect was to act, and a run on the deposits of these doubtful concerns was made. September 18, 1873, Jay Cooke & Co. fell under this demand, and a panic ensued.

The crisis was ominous in its effects, producing a general and widespread doubt and want of confidence, and a stagnation of business was the result. Wages were at once reduced, and workmen by the tens of thousands discharged or put upon half time. The poor, as is ever the case, were the first to suffer. There has been a marked lack of reviving courage and enterprise the past two years. Millions upon millions of money are lying idle in banks or hoarded away, held back through fear to enter upon any commercial or manufacturing engagements.

June 30, 1875, the total paper currency in circulation was: National bank notes, \$351,869,008; old demand and legal-tender notes, \$375,841,687; fractional currency, \$42,129,424. Total, \$769,840,119.

In preparation for the redemption provided for in act of June 20, 1874, there has been deposited with the United States Treasurer, for purposes of retiring bank circulation, \$19,709,666.

The operations of the three mints—Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Carson City—in total for the year ending June 30, 1875, were as follows: Gold, \$33,553,965; silver, \$10,070,368.

Professor Sumner says: "For us the currency question is of the first importance, and we cannot solve it nor escape it by ignoring it. We have got to face it and work through it, and the best way to begin is, not by wrangling about speculative opinions as to untried schemes, but go back to history and try and get hold of some firmly established principle from which we can proceed with

some degree of confidence and a certain unanimity."

Hon. John Sherman says: "Convince the commercial world that you will redeem this currency in gold when presented, and it becomes par in gold. It will then buy as much food and clothing as the best gold coin issued from the mint. Then the note and the gold will circulate side by side, the one interchangeable for the other. To accomplish this is now the highest object of statesmanship and the greatest good to all classes."

In view of the past, as we have it from history, and in the presence of the present, seen and comprehended through enlarged experience and through tests, can there be any doubt, any hesitancy, in the proper action to be taken? No man possessed of his reasoning faculties, having the indisputable proofs accumulated through a period of two hundred and fifty years without a single deviation in results, and having the best interests of his country at heart, will pronounce in favor of inflation.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

SMALL PROGRESS.

April 17, 1876.—Another month is gone, and of the fourteen regular appropriation bills only the fortification bill and the diplomatic bill have passed both houses of Congress; meanwhile some of the appropriations of the last year have run out, with no provisions for the continuance of the work to which they were applied, and thus the legitimate business of the Government has been arrested, hundreds turned out of employment and plunged into the greatest distress. The public accommodation has been interfered with, and propositions have been suggested to supply the lack and avoid the wide-spread inconvenience by a resort to private contributions, in default of the most-needed and legitimate action of Congress. That such an abnormal state of things should exist is due wholly to the selfish and obstinate perversity of the Democratic majority in the House.

PROPOSALS IN CONGRESS.

The principal subjects which have claimed the attention of Congress during the last

month, aside from the numerous investigations now on foot, are as follows: A vast number of petitions, memorials, reports of committees, and bills for private claimants; declaratory statements of the nationality of the Republic; final action of Congress providing for payment of interest on District bonds; discussion of the Government policy in regard to the interests of the Sioux reservation; action of the House on various matters pertaining to the District of Columbia, its railroads, business companies, and charitable institutions; debate on a proposed plan of government for the Indian Territory; debate on a post route bill in the Senate; making April 14th a holiday; discussion on the resumption of specie payments; debate on commerce, navigation, and the regulation of steam vessels, with a bill passed in the House in relation thereto; debate on the pay of army officers, also with a bill passed in the House; elaborate discussion by Senator Sherman on the value of the trade-dollar; appropriation of forty thousand dollars in aid of the Government exhibition

at the Centennial Exposition; protracted debate against the confirmation of the Hawaiian treaty; memorial of the women of America who are urging the question of female suffrage, praying that in the formation of a government for the District of Columbia this feature may be incorporated; proposed amendment of the bankrupt law; proposition to restore pensions to the soldiers of the war of 1812 in the rebel States, with a bill to this effect passed in the House; a full statement of the increasing troubles on the Texas frontier, and the wrongs inflicted on property and person by Mexican invaders; appropriation for Treasury expenditures; for gas, fuel, &c., in the Government buildings throughout the country; action in regard to the receivers of national banks; debate on the proposal of a national rate of interest accordant with the exigency and demands of the times; the exposition of affairs of the mint at San Francisco; proposed action in regard to the tax on tobacco; strong debate and protest against the further granting of subsidies to railroad and other corporations; discussion on the duty of the Government to foster the interest of agriculture; action in regard to the improvement of Pennsylvania avenue; protracted debate on the proper disposition of the public lands, and introduction of the deficiency bill in the House. From such an enumeration of subjects some idea may be obtained of the immense pressure of business upon Congress and of the value of time and its economy in the progress of legislation.

SET SPEECHES.

A very large number of carefully-prepared speeches have been made, on a variety of topics, during the last month. On Tuesday, March 21st, Mr. Hubbell spoke on the question of the tariff, criticising the features of the proposed bill of Mr. Morrison, and showing, by a great variety of statistics, the wisdom of the policy of protection. On Wednesday, March 22d, Mr. Philips made a speech on party politics and the Federal Constitution, in which he attempted to show that there is a strong tendency under Republican rule toward the centralization of Federal power, to the detriment of the rights of the States guaranteed by the Constitution. On

Friday, March 24th, Mr. White delivered a speech on standard money and low salaries, in which he urged that the public faith is pledged to the resumption of specie payments, and that there should be a reduction of all salaries alike. The speech was full of the sentiment of the early and economical days of the nation. On Thursday, March 23d, Mr. Durham made a speech on honesty, reform, and economy, replete with valuable statistics, showing that the annual expenses of the Government had steadily increased from 1789-1791, when they were \$1,919,589.52, to 1874-1875, when they were \$171,529,848.27; and that, while this was indicative of a monstrous growth of the country, it gave rise likewise to thoughtful suggestions upon the wide-spread extravagance, speculation, and temptation to fraud from which so many evils flow. On Wednesday, April 5th, Mr. Cox made a speech on the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, in which he argued strongly against the proposed transfer, and attempted to show how detrimental the change would be to the 300,000 Indians scattered over 200,000 square miles of our territory. He proceeded at great length, and adduced a variety of considerations of a telling kind against the proposition. On the same day Mr. Sparks also delivered a speech on Indian affairs, in favor of the transfer, contending that in the last two hundred and fifty years the red man has faded away before the advance of the white man, and that the present system of peace and civilization under missionary agents has proved a practical failure. On Friday, April 7th, Mr. Stone delivered a speech on "straw bids" in the contracts of the General Post Office Department, attempting to show a loss to the Government arising from abuse and irregularity in the letting of contracts. But the speech was behind the time, since months ago the Postmaster General had investigated and exposed the facts, and adopted a safer policy on the whole subject. On April 6th Mr. Gibson delivered a speech on the Hawaiian treaty, and on April 8th elaborate speeches were made by Mr. Joyce on the resumption of specie payments, by Mr. Williams on the reduction of salaries, and by Mr. Dibrell on river and harbor improvements. This range of subjects will serve to give some a more

adequate idea of the vast amount of work performed, and the information collected upon the state of the country in the wondrous progress of our civilization, in the midst of conditions never before combined on so great a scale in the history of nations. Party considerations of course enter into these investigations, but it may be even doubted whether this is an unmixed evil. It is better that there should be diversity of views than unbroken despotism.

THE PAY OF WITNESSES.

The Democratic majority of the House have been so eager to hunt out fraud by the wholesale, they have summoned so many witnesses from every quarter of the country, that in the midst of their professions of retrenchment and reform they have incurred a bill of expense which is growing to be formidable, and they have asked for an appropriation of sixty thousand dollars to meet the exigency. But this item, large as it is, will be augmented to a sum far greater before the matter is ended. It seems somewhat strange in connection with this lavish expenditure on investigations that Congress should have agreed to cut down the President's salary again to twenty-five thousand dollars, besides abolishing many useful offices, and grinding the faces of Government employes to a still greater extent.

THE INDIAN DEFICIENCY BILL.

This appropriation was finally disposed of, Tuesday, March 28th, by the adoption of the report of the conference committee of the two houses, and is one of the very few appropriations which have received the sanction of law during the present session.

TEXAS PACIFIC RAILWAY.

A strong case in argument has been made in behalf of this grand enterprise, but as yet without avail. On Wednesday, March 15th, Mr. Atkins, in a carefully prepared speech upon the subject, stated that within the last year a railroad convention had been held at St. Louis, composed of representatives from thirty-one States and Territories, and comprising the leading business men of the nation, and that this convention had given expression of its conclusion to Congress that there should be an open highway for all time to come for the Government and

people from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This fact, together with many others, was argued in support of the project. It was stated that from the foundation of the Government to the present time the enormous sum of \$104,705,163.43 had been appropriated for railroads, canals, and wagon-roads throughout the older portions of the country, and on April 8th Mr. Woodburn followed up the subject in a speech of remarkable power, but the temper of Congress does not seem to be favorable to any present action in the premises.

FRACTIONAL CURRENCY AND SILVER COIN.

Much discussion has risen in both branches of Congress upon the proposal to retire a portion of the fractional currency and to substitute silver in its stead. On Wednesday, March 27th, Mr. Payne introduced in the House a bill to provide for the gradual resumption of specie payments, involving in part the principle of the substitution of silver for legal-tender notes, but the House refused to suspend the rules to take it up. The discussion on this subject ran through several successive days, embracing every conceivable theory for the remedy of our financial difficulties, till at length a bill providing for the deficiency in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving and for the issue of silver coin in place of fractional currency passed the House and was sent to the Senate. On April 10 Senator Sherman called up this bill, and after having explained its provisions and shown the necessity of immediate action it was put upon its passage, so that the functions of this bureau of the Treasury Department which have been for some time suspended may be resumed and a partial remedy applied to the general distress.

THIRD CLASS MAIL MATTER.

A modification of the law concerning the carrying of books, magazines, and heavy matter of all kinds by the United States mails has occupied the time of Congress. On Wednesday, April 5th, Senator Hamlin called up the bill upon this subject.

The first section declares that mailable matter of the third class shall embrace all pamphlets, occasional publications, regular publications devoted primarily to advertising purposes or for free circulation or for

circulation at nominal subscription rates, prices-current, catalogues, annuals, handbills, posters, unsealed circulars, prospectuses, books bound or unbound, book-manuscripts, proof-sheets, maps, prints, engravings, blanks, flexible patterns, samples, merchandise, sample cards, phonographic paper, letter envelopes, postal envelopes and wrappers, cards, plain and ornamental paper, photographic representations, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, scions, and all other matter which may be declared mailable by law, and all other articles not above the weight prescribed by law which are not from their form or nature liable to destroy, deface, or otherwise injure the contents of the mail-bags or the person of any one engaged in the postal service. All liquors, poisons, glass, explosive materials, and obscene books or papers shall be excluded from the mails.

Section 2 provides that packages of matter of the third class shall not exceed four pounds in weight, and shall be subject to examination and rates of postage as hereinafter provided. The postage on mail matter of the third class is to be, for all distances of one thousand miles or less, one cent for each ounce or fractional part thereof; for all distances over one thousand miles, two cents for each ounce or fractional part thereof. Every package of the third class of mail matter is to bear the post-mark of the office at which it shall be mailed for transportation.

By the third section, postages on third-class matter are to be prepaid by stamps. If, however, the postages on third-class matter mailed at an office be less than the full amount prescribed, in cases where the sender is known he shall be notified of the fact and the amount of postage due be collected from him. In case the sender is not known, and where it has not been the evident intention of the party so depositing the package to place less than full postage thereon, the package shall be forwarded, and double the amount of deficient postage shall be collected from the party to whom it is addressed or delivered at its proper destination.

Section 4 provides that the sender of any article of the third class of mail matter may write his or her name and address therein or on the outside thereof, with the word "from" above or preceding the same, or may

write briefly or print on any package the number and names of the articles inclosed. Publishers of newspapers and periodicals may print on the wrappers of newspapers or magazines sent from the office of publication to regular subscribers the time to which subscription therefor has been paid.

Section 5 provides that transient newspapers and magazines shall be admitted to, and transmitted in, the mails at the rate of one cent for every three ounces or fractional part thereof, and one cent for each two additional ounces or fractional part thereof.

By section 6 the act is to take effect on and after the 1st day of July, 1876.

A number of amendments have been proposed and the question having been daily discussed by several Senators is still unfinished.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ELECTION FUNDS.

On Tuesday, March 21st, Mr. Caulfield, from the Committee on the Judiciary, in the House, reported to the House a bill, with an amendment, making political contributions for the purposes of elections a misdemeanor, and punishing the same by fine and imprisonment. This measure has called forth a spirited discussion, and seems to be an attempt to regulate a subject so ramified and shaded off by fine degrees that any practical control of it would appear impossible. On Wednesday, March 22d, the bill was called up in the House, and, after a spirited and brilliant discussion and some amendment, was passed by a vote of 175 to 8—106 not voting.

THE LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION BILL.

This bill, which is one of the largest appropriation bills for annual expenses, embracing a great variety of subjects, has been more or less daily discussed in the House for a month past. Over every department and almost every office of the Government a contest arises as to the necessity of continuing it, or, if this be conceded, as to the feasibility of cutting down the salaries and expenses pertaining to it. One of the most amusing as well as suggestive features of the debate is that which exhibits the honorable gentlemen discussing the propriety of cutting down their own salaries. This, of course, is a delicate matter, and it may turn out at last that the whole Democratic majority of

the House will wheel directly about and go in for double appropriations as a measure of popularity and political effect in the country. The bill is still pending, with no prospect of conclusion.

MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

Senator Morton, after having struggled for days and weeks to bring the deplorable state of things in Mississippi, as evinced by the last State elections, to the notice of the Senate, and after having encountered a strong opposition from Democratic Senators, has at length succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a committee of five Senators to investigate these frauds, with plenary powers to go into the State and to send for persons and papers. On Tuesday, April 4th, this committee, consisting of Messrs. Boutwell, Cameron of Wisconsin, Oglesby, Bayard, and McDonald, was appointed.

COUNTING ELECTORAL VOTES.

Early in the session Senator Morton introduced a bill providing for the counting of electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States. It is in effect the same bill which passed the Senate in the last Congress and would no doubt obviate many of the difficulties which might prove very serious in certain contingencies. This bill has been very thoroughly discussed, and was finally passed in the Senate, Friday, March 24th. But a motion to reconsider it was subsequently made by Senator Thurman, and so the matter remains. This, no doubt, is one of the most important subjects of legislation and the final action of Congress should make such provision as will render it impossible for any serious disorder to arise in case of a contested election.

HALLET KILBOURN.

The case of this gentleman bids fair to become one of the celebrated cases of personal rights and Congressional power in the history of the country. Called before the House investigating committee on the case of what is now known as the real estate pool, he was required to produce his private books, papers, and documents that the committee might rummage them over and see if they could find anything to criminate anybody. This was on the pretext that the house of Jay Cooke & Co. having failed and being a

debtor to the Government of the United States, it is legitimate to trace any transactions of the said Company with "the real estate pool" to see if any of the money belonging to the Government had been there swallowed up. No one asserted that such was the fact, nor has any one claimed a knowledge of any transaction on which such an inquiry could be based. In these circumstances Mr. Kilbourn refused to produce his books. He was brought to the bar of the House and required by its authority to produce his books or show cause for his refusal. To this demand he replied in an elaborate statement setting forth the facts of the case, at the same time signifying his willingness to answer any questions pertinent to the legitimate purpose of the investigation, and claiming the right to protection as an American citizen, under the Constitution and laws, against improper search and seizure of his person and effects. This reply was not satisfactory to the Democratic majority of the House, and they forthwith, in violation of a specific statute provided for such cases, turned him over to the sergeant-at-arms of the House to be confined in the common jail. Soon after an indictment was found against Mr. Kilbourn by the grand jury of the District of Columbia, under the statute for recusant witnesses; and then the question arose between the right and authority of the court and of the House of Representatives as to the custody of the prisoner. The House refused to turn the prisoner over to the court; whereupon the Chief Justice of the court issued a writ of *habeas corpus* upon the sergeant-at-arms of the House to produce the body of Mr. Kilbourn, that he may show cause, if any he has, why he should not be detained in the custody of the House. The issue of this writ and the power of the House in the premises has just been fiercely discussed in the House, and has resulted in a vote directing the sergeant-at-arms to obey the writ. Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 18th of April, Mr. Kilbourn was brought before the court to show cause why he should not be kept in the custody of the House. This is the condition of the case at the present writing.

To all unprejudiced minds the House has been acting in direct violation of an express

law by which Mr. Kilbourn should have been turned over to the court; and he has thus been unlawfully confined for several weeks by the mere arbitrary will of the House. It is a case in which the rights of all citizens are involved, and ought to be a warning to the American people, who are ever jealous of such unwarranted encroachment on their constitutional prerogatives.

IMPEACHMENT OF W. W. BELKNAP.

During the last month the Democratic leaders in the House have been busy in preparing the articles of impeachment against the late Secretary of War, and after all the preliminaries had been arranged on Monday, April 17th, the Senate was constituted as a High Court of Impeachment, and the parties all appeared amid a great concourse of spectators. The proceedings were opened in due form and General Belknap was called to respond to the charges exhibited against him.

He answered by his counsel that he was a private citizen and denied the jurisdiction of the Senate in the premises. To this pleading the managers on the part of the House replied by requesting an adjournment of the court to Wednesday, April 19th, in order to prepare the answer of the House. Thus to-day the matter stands.

From this review it may be seen how small a portion of the necessary legislative business of the present Congress at the end of four and a half months has been accomplished. Meanwhile the country is becoming more and more demoralized and sickened. It is a strange spectacle for the thoughtful and patriotic citizens in this Centennial year of the Republic. But we still have faith in "the sober second thought" of the people. We believe in the perpetuity of our institutions and in the theory of our civilization.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...It is gratifying to observe how steadily the Republican press, especially that portion of it which is sometimes sneered at by the self-righteous metropolitan journals as "provincial," keeps in mind the real character of the present campaign of slander and scandal waged under pretense of investigation by the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives. A great mistake is made in supposing that the dozen newspapers which are so euphoniously and egotistically styled the "great dailies" either lead or represent public opinion. They are sometimes able to pervert and mislead it, and sometimes, it is to be said with truth, to concentrate and intensify its force. A notable illustration of this may be recalled in the downfall of the Tweed *regime* mainly through the vigorous editorial assaults of the New York *Times*, and the very graphic and powerful satire embodied by Thomas Nast in wonderful cartoons which were, like Luther's words, "half battles." He made the crimes of Tammany so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, might understand. But it remains true that the editorial departments of the great dailies do not either

lead or represent the average public opinion of the masses. This is true of both parties, but especially so of the Republican organization. The American people are not cavers and critics; they are creators and believers. They know well that there is not the reckless corruption charged, and a large majority have a sufficiently intelligent knowledge, of contemporaneous history at least, as to be fully aware of the fact that the affairs of the United States are, as a rule, more honestly conducted than are those of other leading nations. They know the law of cause and effect quite enough to understand how much of individual malfeasance is due to the corrupting influence of a false and speculative money-making era, and how much of it is due to the demoralizing tendencies which inevitably follow in the train of a great war. If history is philosophy teaching by example, daily journalism has become the best teacher of the inductive process the world has seen since Francis Bacon formulated his great theory into a scientific method of thought. The power of the leading dailies lies not in their editorial incubations, which, except under special conditions, have nowadays but very little weight with intelligent

readers, but is found in news-gathering and news-presenting functions. Given a certain line of facts bearing on some obscure issue likely to become of importance, and let some one or more of the prominent journals present them day after day *as news*, apparently or actually without comment, and it will not be long before it will become apparent that the obscurity vanishes, and that the public is becoming cognizant of what they convey or teach. The power of the leading dailies, then, is no longer that of journals either of opinion or convictions, but that of the *news* paper only. This truth has been evident for some years past, to some at least of the more unscrupulous managers of such papers; and, as a consequence, we have witnessed the most adroit prostitution of this important function of the journalist and journal that the history even of the American press contains. It is a far more dangerous method of assault on not only party, but national character, than the editorial fashion of a former generation, so mercilessly satirized by a Trollope and a Dickens.

The people begin to understand this quite fully, and everywhere it is manifest by the care which the local press observes in sifting the facts from the insidious garb of slander and innuendo wherewith they are presented, and the hesitancy displayed in quoting, as formerly, from any one of the dozen papers whose names naturally come to our pen's tip in this connection.

THE REPUBLIC can judge fairly as to these tendencies, receiving and examining as it does over a thousand papers each week. They come from all sections, and represent various opinions, though mainly belonging to the national party. It is gratifying, therefore, to find how steadily most editors keep in view and discriminate the false and the true in the present condition of general politics. The "country" press, so called, is the best possible mirror of neighborhood opinion to be found. One statement will prove this to the dullest person. Suppose oneself to be living in an interior town of some distant State or rural district, able to subscribe to two papers and no more. What are the probabilities? Why, that one would be a daily or tri-weekly from some one of the large cities and the other the local paper.

In subscribing for the first the effort will be to obtain that paper which is most enterprising and presents the largest amount of news. This, too, without regard to its political views. At any rate, if there is a choice, it will be decided in favor of the best *news* paper. As to the local paper, the subscription will invariably be for that one which advocates opinions harmonious with those of the patron. Herein lies the reason for asserting that the local press best represents the average opinion. What, then, are the current opinions thus represented? They may be emphasized in this form:

A clear comprehension among all Republican and loyal newspapers, outside of the commercial center, of the fact that the vital and overshadowing issue in the pending campaign is, whether *the party policies and principles which saved the Union, or those which deliberately attempted to destroy it, are or not to control its immediate future*. It is clearly understood that the election in November next decides, for a decade at least, whether the pestilent doctrine of State sovereignty, with its inevitable tendencies to disruption of the Union, or that superb unifying and creative spirit and philosophy of national sovereignty which was animated into activity and vigor by the crimson forces of the struggle for liberty and union, and by which alone the Continental Republic can be preserved intact, shall be or not the permanent moulder and controller of our public affairs and administration.

Next there is equally as clear an apprehension of the necessity of honest government, the checking of abuses, the correction of systems which tend to evil results, and an honest determination to make all needed reform *from within* and through trusted hands—hands that have heretofore saved and never sought to destroy.

Another important fact, incidental though it be, is found in the readiness with which the Democratic thieves who are crying "stop thief" so lustily are discomfited by the reproduction of their party's own infamous record. The "country" press everywhere shows that the people know who are to be trusted by the manner in which all these pertinent facts are recalled.

...There has been a marked improvement in the tone and ability of the local press everywhere, during the past year especially. Their editors are doing their own thinking. The change in the attitude of the two *Tribunes*, New York and Chicago, of late years has done very much to emancipate the rural Republican journalists. In former days an editorial cue was too often implicitly followed; now, however, it is combatted. The Republican masses have not followed them since 1868; and the country press looked more to their own resources to conduct the new discussions that arose. Mr. Greeley's candidacy completed an emancipation already begun, and there is no return to the same sort of dependency that once existed.

CONGRESS.

...It is many years since the public business has dragged behind so far as at the present time. Only ten weeks of the current fiscal year remain, and not a single one of the important appropriation bills have become law. The policy which controls the Democratic majority is simply infamous in its spirit. Messrs. Randall and Holman are responsible for shaping it, and their followers are obedient, even in face of better impulses. As shown elsewhere in the present number the aim of the reductions attempted in force and salaries is not that of economy and good Government, but only to obtain a rallying cry for the canvass, or, worse still, to cripple the Administration and render it impotent to carry on the work of government. The earnestness manifested in applying party discipline and forcing the bills through the House without amendment is based upon the expectation of making party capital out of the resistance which the Republican Senate will necessarily make to such reckless legislation. The Democratic leaders and their following appear to have no other aim than that of making party capital. The Northern managers hope to repair the breaches in their fortunes constantly made by the Southern hot-spurs like Hill, Tucker, Blackburn & Co., by means of the slanderous investigations they are carrying on in secret, and though the *eclat* they expect to gain by their pretended economy

and cutting down. They will fail of both. There never was a more pitiable illustration of demagogism than the manner in which they treat the character and reputation of gentlemen distinguished in the public service and honored in private life. It is a base and contemptible partisanship which turns aside from discussion of principles or policy and rakes the slums of slander and the sewers of defamation to assoil with filth gentlemen whose crime it is that they are political opponents, and have been or are still trusted by the American people. Secretary Bristow is the latest target. He fitly improves the malignantly discourteous spirit referred to in the following words extracted from a letter addressed by him to Representative Caulfield, of Ill., chairman of the Committee on Expenditures of the Department of Justice, before which it was reported certain accusations had been made. Mr. Bristow very pointedly writes:

"It is difficult to credit the statement that an officer of the Government who could be reached by your committee in a few minutes should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the exact character of such testimony for nearly a week, and that no opportunity to meet charges of so serious a nature should be afforded him."

...In the British House of Commons no member can be assailed in his personal or legislative honor and integrity, either by petition or direct attack on the floor, without having first been notified and being himself present and ready to respond. No petition can be read, if it makes charges against a member of either the government or the opposition, if the party assailed has not been duly notified and is present. In the American House of Representatives, however, under the guidance of the Democracy, members, either of the House or of the Executive branch of the Government, are assailed in secret, and evidence taken by inquisitorial committees from the veriest *mouchards*, and the first knowledge obtained by either the public or the accused is through some sensation paragraph in journals whose agents are engaged in the work of systematizing public libel. But there is a difference. In Great Britain all parties seek to conserve the honor and characters of their public men,

believing that thereby the national reputation is ennobled. In America it would seem to be a Democratic rule never to avoid an opportunity to blacken the reputation of a public man, provided only he is not a Democrat, no matter what may be the effect of the slander on personal or national character.

...Two important issues are on trial at the present writing. One is involved in the impeachment proceedings against Mr. Belknap, and the other in those against Mr. Kilbourn over the writ of *habeas corpus* issued by Chief Justice Cartter, of the District Supreme Court. In the first, apart altogether from the questions of fact and personal or official character which are involved, an important precedent is to be made, and the Senate, sitting in its high judicial character, will decide whether or not a citizen can, now or hereafter, escape trial by impeachment by resigning an office pending the examination into alleged malfeasance and corruption. In the other case it is to be considered whether or not the Congress of the United States is the only function or body in this Government wherein rests absolute power, even though it is restrained only to the imprisoning of a contumacious witness. The President can exercise the power of pardon on his own will and motion, but he may be impeached for its misuse or abuse. The Supreme Court has the power of review, and may declare laws to be unconstitutional, thereby nullifying the work of legislation, but its members may be impeached, or Congress may so legislate as to increase their numbers or otherwise modify the adverse *dicta*, by changing the *personnel* or duties of the court itself. But the plea of the extreme defenders of parliamentary power would, in cases like that of Kilbourn, leave no review or recourse except that of the popular vote. It is to be noted that the larger portion of the votes given in support of legislative omnipotence come from the Democratic supporters of the extreme States' rights school. This fact illustrates a criticism often made on them, and that is, that when in control of the Federal Government or any portion thereof they have always been found ready to strain their powers to the utmost.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

...The result in Connecticut could not have been unexpected by any close observer of current politics. The Republican canvass seems to have been characterized chiefly by indifference and want of skill in conducting a campaign. The Democracy shrewdly concentrated themselves on the doubtful towns in order to secure the Legislature, the election of a United States Senator being in the balances. In this policy they were successful, gaining 22, and carrying all but eight of the doubtful towns and districts. The total vote this year was but 99,600, as against 100,966 in 1875, or 1,366 less. The Republican vote was 43,516, or 1,236 less than in '75; the total Democratic vote was 51,136, or 2,132 less than the year before. The greenback vote was 2,038; the prohibition 1,910—a total "parasite" vote of 3,948. The voting population of Connecticut cannot be less than 137,000 at the present time, adding the natural increase since 1870, when, according to the census, it was 127,499. On this estimate the recent vote was 37,400 less than the full vote of the State. One fact should be noticed, and that is that the Republican vote increased in all the large towns. A canvass half as active as that in New Hampshire would have given the Nutmeg State to the Republican candidates, and the grounds whereon that statement is based justify belief in a Republican victory there next November.

[It is proper at this point to correct a blunder accidentally made in a table contained in an article to be found elsewhere in this number of THE REPUBLIC on the New Hampshire election. The male adult population of Connecticut is set down, by a mistake in copying, at 265,270. It should be 150,415.—*Ed.*]

...The election in Rhode Island resulted in a large Republican majority to the Legislature, but no election of Governor by the people. The majority last year against the Republican nominee, General Lippitt, was 5,522. This year he has a considerable plurality, and will be chosen Governor by the Legislature, which is five-sixths Republican, and likely to return its present influential and accomplished Senator, H. B. Anthony, to the seat he so well fills. The vote stood,

Lippitt, 8,212; Howard, (temperance) 6,277; Beach, (Democrat) 3,472; a total vote of 17,961. The total vote for Secretary of State (only two candidates) was 18,334. The Legislature stands:

	Repub.	Dem.
Senate	27	9
House	63	9
Total	90	18

Republican majority on joint ballot, 72.

...From every quarter the municipal elections have been largely favorable to the Republicans. In 45 counties of New York the returns show a gain in supervisors of 186, and of 133 towns over similar elections in 1875. During April, the Republicans carried the municipal elections in Jersey City; Lockport, N. Y; Cleveland, Dayton, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio, the latter city for the first time. In Cincinnati "honors were easy," the Democrats electing a majority of the aldermen and board of works, the Republicans a majority of the common council and school board. About one-third more of the municipal elections in Ohio went Republican than usual; a number of Democratic towns were divided. Atchison and Topeka, Kansas, were carried by the Republicans, the former having usually been close or uncertain. At Denver, Colorado, the mayor elect is a Democrat, a majority of the aldermen being Republicans. In the Illinois elections the Republicans gain considerably, especially in the South and West. The Chicago city election was fiercely contested. It was crowned by a Republican triumph. In Michigan the result is the same, party lines being closely drawn. At Albany, New York, the result was a divided election. The election at St. Louis was non-political in character, and the nominees were nearly evenly divided. In nearly all the close or divided municipal contests it is a noteworthy fact that the school boards invariably remain in Republican hands.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

...The Republican State Convention of New York, meeting at Syracuse March 22d, attracted very general attention, owing not only to the high representative character of its membership, but also as to the earnest discussion over the question of a direct pre-

sentation of the name of Senator Conkling as the choice of the Empire State Republicans for President. Mr. G. W. Curtis led the opposition, and made a very brilliant and able speech. The Convention finally adopted a resolution presenting the name of Mr. Conkling to the Cincinnati Convention. The resolutions adopted reaffirmed Republican principles, charged the Democracy with reasserting and applauding the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion, with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front, with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government, with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions, with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation, with proving itself utterly incompetent to administer the Government, and warned the country against trusting a party alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable. A resolution warmly commending the President was adopted.

...The Pennsylvania Democrats met at Lancaster on the 22d of March. A platform was adopted demanding general amnesty, and stating that the statute for the resumption of specie payment on the first day of January, 1879, is impossible, and ought to be forthwith repealed. The name of Jeremiah S. Black as a candidate for President was laid on the table. The delegation was not instructed.

...Gov. Hendricks was indorsed as a Presidential candidate by the Indiana Democratic Convention, and the following State ticket put in nomination: For Governor, James D. Williams; Lieutenant Governor, Isaac P. Grey; Judge of the Supreme Court—1st district, S. H. Buskirk; 2d district, A. G. Downey; 3d district, John Pettit; 4th district, James L. Worden; Secretary of State, John E. Neff; Auditor, E. Henderson; Treasurer, Benjamin C. Shaw; Attorney General, C. A. Buskirk; Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. H. Smart; Clerk of Supreme Court, Gabriel Schmuck; Reporter of Supreme Court, Augustus N. Martin. The platform favored the Holman money policy, and demanded the repeal of the resumption act.

...The Ohio Republicans have indorsed Governor Hayes as their choice for the Presidency, and placed the following nominations before the people: Secretary of State, Milton F. Barnes; Supreme Judge, W.W. Boynton; Member Board of Public Works, James C. Evans; Presidential Electors, Aaron E. Perry and E. H. Bohm.

The resolutions adopted sustain the Republican party, its national policy, and the Administration; demand that corruption be exposed and punished; the national credit be maintained; currency placed on a gold basis; favors a revenue tariff with incidental protection, and defends the free-school system. The second resolution reads, that the citizens of the several States of the Union are also citizens of the Nation, and are equal under the Constitution and laws in all rights of citizens, and are entitled to full and equal protection in their exercise. Among the delegates at large to Cincinnati are ex-Senator Wade and Gen. B. F. Noyes.

...The Eleventh Annual Labor Congress met at Pittsburg April 18th. One hundred and forty-five delegates were present. John M. Davis was elected President. The platform adopted urges the necessity of revoking the Burlingame treaty, characterizing its effects as little better than slave trade, and requests Congress, in order to give the co-operative scheme a fair trial, to select some branch of industry, such as that of miners and iron-workers, to which to apply such system, and appropriate therefor a loan, payable in twenty years, at a low rate of interest, not exceeding three per cent. It demands a strong protective tariff, and asks that duties be such as to protect home industry against foreign competition; declares in favor of the election of President of the United States by the popular vote of the people; demands the strict enforcement of the eight-hour law and of Congress of the enactment of stringent usury laws; heartily condemns the "store-order" system, as practiced by manufacturers, and also the prison contract system of labor; asks that Congress shall enact laws to give money due for labor precedence over all other claims; that Governments, both State and National, shall pass laws against all discriminations by common carriers, under penalty of forfeiture of charter; recommends a liberal system of internal improvement, and urges upon different State legislatures to pass such apprentice laws as will insure competent workmen in every branch of industry. After considerable discussion the convention declared against the organization of a third political party, but

appealed to all workingmen to unite so as to attain the advancement of the class through existing political parties. The power of calling future conventions was delegated to a committee appointed for that purpose, and after passing a vote of thanks to the officers the convention adjourned *sine die*.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS FOR MAY.

May 4.—Maryland Republican Convention, Frederick City.

May 10.—Michigan Republican Convention, Grand Rapids.

May 10.—Independent Reform Convention, Des Moines, Iowa.

May 16.—Alabama Republican Convention, Montgomery.

May 17.—National Greenback Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.

May 17.—National Prohibition Convention, Cleveland, Ohio.

May 17.—Tennessee Republican Convention, Knoxville.

May 18.—Delaware Republican Convention, Dover.

May 18.—Kentucky Republican Convention, Louisville.

May 23.—Nebraska Republican Convention, Fremont.

May 24.—Kansas Republican Convention, Topeka.

May 24.—California Democratic Convention, San Francisco.

May 24.—Alabama Republican Convention, Montgomery. (Minority call.)

May 24.—Illinois Republican Convention, Springfield.

May 31.—Missouri Democratic Convention, Jefferson City.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

...Political observers and workers will find the following of use:

States.	Electoral vote.	Delegation instructed for.	Candidate approved.	
Maine.....	14	Blaine.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin ..	20	.....	Blaine.....	.....
Indiana.....	30	.....	Morton.....	.....
New York...	70	.....	Conkling.....	.....
Pennsylv'a..	54	Hartranft.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	44	Hayes.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	22	.....	Blaine.....	.....
Mississippi..	16	.....	.....	Unin-
Texas.....	16	.....	.....	structed
Connecticut.	12	.....	.....	"
Vermont....	10	.....	.....	"
S. Carolina...	14	.....	.....	"
Rhode Island	8	.....	.....	"
Dist. of Col..	2	.....	.....	"
Wyoming Ty	2	.....	Bristow.....	.....
Montana Ty.	2	.....	Blaine.....	.....
Colorado Ty.	2	.....	.....	"

The above list includes all the conventions up to date, April 20th.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

CLERK AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

Mr. C. L. Chapman, one of the most efficient clerks of the pay department of the army, has been detailed by the Secretary of War for service as executive clerk at the Executive Mansion. Mr. Chapman excels in penmanship, and possesses the ability of writing rapidly as well as beautifully. He will have abundant opportunities for the display of his powers in his new office.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

NATIONAL DEBT STATEMENT FOR MARCH.

The following is a recapitulation of the debt statement issued on April 1 :

Debt bearing interest in coin:	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$984,999,650 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	710,037,600 00
	<u>\$1,695,037,250 00</u>

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:	
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent,	\$14,000,000 00

Debt on which interest has	
ceased since maturity.....	\$9,183,360 26

Debt bearing no interest:	
Old demand and legal-tender	
notes.....	\$370,823,645 50
Certificates of deposit.....	34,230,000 00
Fractional currency.....	42,604,893 71
Coin certificates.....	32,337,600 00
	<u>\$479,996,139 21</u>

Total debt.....	\$2,198,216,749 47
-----------------	--------------------

Interest.....	\$26,455,110 94
---------------	-----------------

Total debt, principal and in-	
terest	<u>\$2,224,671,860 41</u>

Cash in Treasury:	
Coin.....	\$73,756,794 42
Currency.....	5,965,626 11
Special deposit held for redemp-	
tion of certificates of deposit	
as provided by law.....	34,230,000 00
	<u>\$113,952,420 53</u>

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
April 1, 1876.....	\$2,110,719,439 88

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
March 1, 1876.....	2,114,960,306 80

Decrease of debt during the past	
month.....	<u>\$4,240,866,92</u>

Decrease of debts since June 30, 1875	<u>\$17,969,286 44</u>
---------------------------------------	------------------------

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway compa- nies, interest payable in lawful money—Prin- cipal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$969,352.68; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,513.06; interest re- paid by transportation of mails, &c., \$6,781,012. 55; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,360,500.50.

U. S. CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION.

The following is an official statement of United States currency outstanding March 31, 1876 :

Old demand notes	\$68,397 50
Legal-tender notes:	
New issue	\$29,678,748 00
Series 1869.....	238,981,212 00
Series 1874.....	61,749,777 00
Series 1875.....	40,345,511 00
	<u>370,755,248 00</u>
One-year notes, 1863... ..	62,695 00
Two-year notes, 1863... ..	19,450 00
Two-year coupon notes	
1863	28,000 00
	<u>108,145 00</u>
Compound interest	
notes	340,420 00
	<u>340,420 00</u>
Fractional currency:	
First issue.....	4,297,610 46
Second issue.....	8,119,186 99
Third issue.....	3,086,071 34
Fourth issue, first	
series	4,788,490 24
Fourth issue, second	
series.....	1,218,034 05
Fourth issue, third	
series.....	2,860,062 75
Fifth issue.....	23,235,437 88
	<u>42,604,893 71</u>
Total.....	<u>\$413,877,104 21</u>

COINAGE FOR MARCH.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold—		
Double eagles.....	188,974	\$3,679,480
Half eagles.....	4,000	20,000
	<u>187,974</u>	<u>\$3,699,480</u>
Silver—		
Trade dollars.....	728,200	\$728,200
Half dollars	78,200	39,100
Quarter dollars.....	2,672,200	668,050
Twenty cents	10,200	2,040
Dimes	3,290,200	329,029
	<u>6,779,000</u>	<u>\$1,766,410</u>
Minor—		
Cents.....	1,470,000	14,700

Recapitulation.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold coinage		
Trade dollar.....	728,200	\$728,200
Subsidiary silver	6,050,800	1,038,210
Minor	1,470,000	14,700
	<u>8,436,974</u>	<u>\$5,480,580</u>

IMMIGRATION INTO NEW YORK.

Official returns made to the Bureau of Sta- tistics show that during the month ended March 31, 1876, there arrived at the port of New York 4,881 immigrants, of whom

3,400 were males and 1,481 females. The total number of arrivals at the port during the quarter ended March 31, 1876, was 9,056, as compared with 12,449 during the corresponding period of 1875—being a decrease of 3,393. Of the total arrivals in March, 1876, there were from England, 1,068; Scotland, 209; Wales, 15; Ireland, 691; Germany, 1,732; Austria, 229; Sweden, 114; Norway, 6; Denmark, 59; Switzerland, 67; Spain, 8; Italy, 217; Holland, 70; Belgium, 13; Russia, 47; Poland, 27; Hungary, 84; China, 9; Canada, 6; Nova Scotia, 3; Mexico, 5; Venezuela, 4; Cuba, 5; Chili, Barbadoes, Curacao, and Asia, 2 each; Portugal, Finland, Turkey, Greece, West Indies, Antigua, Nassau, Bermuda, Persia, Australia, Africa and born at sea, 1 each.

REFUND OF DUTIES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others:

The Department has been informed that there is a lack of uniformity at the various ports in the manner of refunding duties levied in excess on imported merchandise.

To render the practice uniform, it is hereby directed that, when duties have been once liquidated and paid, no refund of any portion of such duties, decided by this Department, *on appeal*, to have been exacted in excess of the amount imposed by law, shall be made, except on certified statement forwarded to the Department, for examination and settlement by the accounting officers, according to the usual course of procedure.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

ACCURATE STATISTICS OF EXPORTS REQUIRED.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs:

The attention of the Department has been called to the imperfection of the statistics of our exports, which is said to arise from erroneous manifests, shippers often clearing only approximate amounts of the goods on board, notwithstanding the penalty attached to such violations of law.

In order to put an end to such practices, and to obtain full and accurate statistics of the exports of domestic and other merchandise to foreign countries from your port, you are directed to require the masters and shippers of such goods to comply strictly with the Regulations of 1874, (Art. 964.) And in the case of those lines of

steamers sailing under special regulations with a view to avoid detention and to facilitate their business generally, you will see that correct manifests of the cargoes they take shall be lodged at the custom-house.

It is important that every effort should be made, under the law, to render our statistics of this trade as perfect as practicable, and it is your duty to assist in making them so. The Department, therefore, expresses the hope that you, and the other officers of the port, will exercise due vigilance and remove all cause of complaint in the future.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF SILVER COIN OF THE UNITED STATES IN PLACE OF FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

Washington, D. C., April 18, 1876.

By virtue of the authority vested in the Secretary of the Treasury by the second section of an act entitled "An act to provide for a deficiency in the Printing and Engraving Bureau of the Treasury Department, and for the issue of silver coin of the United States in place of fractional currency," approved April 17, 1876, the several officers below named are hereby authorized, upon the presentation at their respective offices, for redemption, of the fractional currency of the United States, in sums of five dollars, or multiples thereof, assorted by denominations, and in amount not to exceed one hundred dollars, to issue therefor a like amount of the silver coin of the United States of the denominations of ten, twenty, twenty-five, and fifty cents; and furthermore, upon the presentation for redemption, at the office of the Treasurer of the United States in this city, of any amount of such currency, properly assorted, and in sums of not less than five dollars, the Treasurer is authorized to issue silver coin therefor to the amount of the currency presented, or he may issue his check therefor, payable in silver at either of the offices hereinafter named, at the option of the party presenting the currency, as far as may be practicable, from time to time.

Fractional currency redeemed in silver under these instructions by any of the assistant treasurers or designated depositaries of the United States will be sent in sums of one thousand dollars, or multiples thereof, to the Treasurer of the United States in this city, the amount to be charged in the Treasurer's general coin account as a transfer of funds, and any amount of such currency, for which silver has been paid, remaining at any time in the cash of the several offices will be treated as coin assets, and in no case will such fractional currency be reissued.

Fractional currency sent by express, or otherwise, to the officers below-named for

redemption in silver, under the provisions of this circular, should be accompanied by a letter of advice, stating fully the address of the sender, and how the remittance in payment therefor is desired, and, if by Treasurer's check, the office at which the check should be made payable.

The Government will not pay express charges on the silver issued, or the fractional currency presented for redemption under the provisions of this circular.

The officers herein referred to are as follows:

The Treasurer of the United States, Washington, D. C.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Boston, Mass.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New York City, N. Y.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, St. Louis, Mo.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Charleston, S. C.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New Orleans, La.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Chicago, Illinois.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, San Francisco, Cal.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Baltimore, Md.

The United States Depositary, Buffalo, N. Y.

The United States Depositary, Pittsburg, Pa.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

COLLECTION OF TEN PER CENT. ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others:

The following instructions are issued for the information and guidance of customs officers:

1. Upon the expiration of one year from the date of importation of merchandise remaining in warehouse under bond, the collector and naval officer, if there be one, will cause a memorandum to be made in red ink upon the debit side of the bond account in the warehouse ledger, showing the amount of additional duties which would accrue upon the withdrawal of such merchandise for consumption.

2. In case of the withdrawal of such merchandise, or any portion thereof, for transportation to another port, a memorandum of the ten per cent. additional duties will be made upon the transportation entry sent to the collector of the port of destination, such

memorandum to be entered upon his warehouse ledger in the manner above prescribed.

3. When merchandise has remained in warehouse beyond three years, and is sold pursuant to the provisions of Section 2972 of the Revised Statutes the ten per cent. additional duties will be added to and included in the duties, charges, and expenses required to be deducted from proceeds of sale before payment thereof to the owner, consignee, or agent, of such merchandise, the Department having heretofore decided that the sale of such merchandise at public auction after three years is equivalent to a withdrawal thereof for consumption after one year, and, hence, that the additional duty necessarily accrues, and must be deducted from the proceeds as provided in Article 764, General Regulations.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

ATTORNEYS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1876.

In order to secure uniformity of practice throughout the several offices and bureaus connected with this Department, hereafter no person will be prohibited from practicing as an attorney before any such office or bureau, except upon the order of the Secretary.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

KEEPERS AND CREWS OF LIFE-SAVING STATIONS.

In view of the recent disaster near life-saving station No. 4, district No. 6, North Carolina, at the wreck of the Italian bark Nuova Ottavia, off Currituck beach, in which the keeper and his crew of five of the surfmen belonging to the station, and one volunteer from the party engaged in constructing the lighthouse at Whale's Back, in addition to nine of the crew of the Nuova Ottavia were drowned, the Treasury Department calls the attention of keepers and surfmen to the importance of always wearing, when using the boats, the cork life-belts furnished for them. While commending the brave and eager spirit of the crews, the Secretary enjoins prudence in availing themselves of all the means provided for success in their perilous service, and says: "Keepers are strictly charged to see that every member of their respective crews is properly equipped with his life-belt before taking his place in the boat on occasion, and they will be held responsible for any infraction of this order."

WAR DEPARTMENT.**ARMY HEADQUARTERS.**

The order issued from the War Department transferring army headquarters from St. Louis to Washington has been amended so as to direct the Adjutant General and Inspector General to report to the General of the Army. The following is the order, as amended :

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1876.

The Adjutant General will promulgate the following order for the information and guidance of all concerned :

The headquarters of the army is hereby re-established at Washington city, and all orders and instructions relative to military operations or affecting the military control and discipline of the army held by the President through the Secretary of War shall be promulgated through the General of the army, and the departments of the Adjutant General and the Inspector General shall report to him and be made under his control in all things relating thereto.

ALPHONSO TAFT, *Secretary of War.*

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.**GREAT INCREASE OF BUSINESS IN THE PATENT OFFICE.**

The receipts at the Patent Office for January, February, and March of the present year were, respectively, \$72,070.40, \$74,651.62, and \$80,459.07, making an aggregate of \$227,181.09. This is, by far, the largest amount of money received in any one quarter since the office was established, and the earnings of each of the three months are larger than those of any of its predecessors. The greatest number of patents ever issued in any one week was 482 for the week ending Tuesday, February 22, 1876. The balance standing to the credit of the patent fund on the books of the Treasury Department January 1, 1876, was \$886,909.62, and must, at the present time, be not short of \$900,000.

To show the astonishing increase of the business of the Patent Office, it is only necessary to make a few comparisons. The whole number of patents issued in the year 1840 was 473, being nine less than the issue of the week in February above referred to. The entire receipts for the year 1849 were \$80,752.98, being only about \$300 more than the amount received during the past month.

In view of the foregoing facts and figures, which have been obtained from official

sources, will not Congress be liable to cripple the capabilities of the only profitable bureau of the Government, and of throwing obstacles in the way of the inventive minds of the country if it gives its approval to the reductions in the Patent Office contemplated by the appropriation bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives?

THE NEW PENSION COMMISSIONER.

Hon. John A. Bentley, the newly-appointed Commissioner of Pensions, assumed his duties on April 1st. Mr. Bentley is one of the foremost lawyers of Wisconsin, was formerly attorney for the Sheboygan railroad, served four terms in the State Senate, and has held many other prominent and responsible positions. Those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance say that a better selection could hardly have been made.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT. FEES, ETC., OF THE MONEY-ORDER OFFICES NOT REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the case of the United States against Norton the Supreme Court of the United States held that the money-order act being expressly intended for the convenience of the public, and for the better security of money sent through the mail, and directing that all moneys transferred in the administration of the act should be regarded as money in the Treasury, fees, etc., received in such offices were not revenues within the meaning of the act of 1804; and that therefore Norton, who was indicted for embezzlement of such moneys in the New York office, could not be tried under that act, which prescribed a limitation of five years; and that, as the indictment was not within two years from the date of the offense, it could not be tried under the act of 1790; so Norton goes free. Mr. Justice Swayne delivered the opinion.

THE RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the case of Kohl and others against the United States it was held that the Government of the United States is vested with the right of eminent domain by the Constitution, so far as is necessary to enable it to acquire real estate within the States for purposes of forts, arsenals, armories, post offices, etc., and that a citizen or a State cannot be permitted by any act to prevent the exercise of this power.

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REFERENCES.—Hon. H. M. Atkinson, Commissioner of Pensions; Hon. H. B. Strait, M. C., 2d Minn. Dist.; Samuel Ramsey, Esq., Chief Clerk Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. A.; Darling & Soule, Publishers and Proprietors of the U. S. Record and Gazette, Washington, D. C.

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WAR DEPARTMENT.**ARMY HEADQUARTERS.**

The order issued from the War Department transferring army headquarters from St. Louis to Washington has been amended so as to direct the Adjutant General and Inspector General to report to the General of the Army. The following is the order, as amended :

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1876.

The Adjutant General will promulgate the following order for the information and guidance of all concerned :

The headquarters of the army is hereby re-established at Washington city, and all orders and instructions relative to military operations or affecting the military control and discipline of the army held by the President through the Secretary of War shall be promulgated through the General of the army, and the departments of the Adjutant General and the Inspector General shall report to him and be made under his control in all things relating thereto.

ALPHONSO TAFT, *Secretary of War.*

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.**GREAT INCREASE OF BUSINESS IN THE PATENT OFFICE.**

The receipts at the Patent Office for January, February, and March of the present year were, respectively, \$72,070.40, \$74,651.62, and \$80,459.07, making an aggregate of \$227,181.09. This is, by far, the largest amount of money received in any one quarter since the office was established, and the earnings of each of the three months are larger than those of any of its predecessors. The greatest number of patents ever issued in any one week was 482 for the week ending Tuesday, February 22, 1876. The balance standing to the credit of the patent fund on the books of the Treasury Department January 1, 1876, was \$886,909.62, and must, at the present time, be not short of \$900,000.

To show the astonishing increase of the business of the Patent Office, it is only necessary to make a few comparisons. The whole number of patents issued in the year 1840 was 473, being nine less than the issue of the week in February above referred to. The entire receipts for the year 1849 were \$80,752.98, being only about \$300 more than the amount received during the past month.

In view of the foregoing facts and figures, which have been obtained from official

sources, will not Congress be liable to cripple the capabilities of the only profitable bureau of the Government, and of throwing obstacles in the way of the inventive minds of the country if it gives its approval to the reductions in the Patent Office contemplated by the appropriation bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives?

THE NEW PENSION COMMISSIONER.

Hon. John A. Bentley, the newly-appointed Commissioner of Pensions, assumed his duties on April 1st. Mr. Bentley is one of the foremost lawyers of Wisconsin, was formerly attorney for the Sheboygan railroad, served four terms in the State Senate, and has held many other prominent and responsible positions. Those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance say that a better selection could hardly have been made.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT. FEES, ETC., OF THE MONEY-ORDER OFFICES NOT REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the case of the United States against Norton the Supreme Court of the United States held that the money-order act being expressly intended for the convenience of the public, and for the better security of money sent through the mail, and directing that all moneys transferred in the administration of the act should be regarded as money in the Treasury, fees, etc., received in such offices were not revenues within the meaning of the act of 1804; and that therefore Norton, who was indicted for embezzlement of such moneys in the New York office, could not be tried under that act, which prescribed a limitation of five years; and that, as the indictment was not within two years from the date of the offense, it could not be tried under the act of 1790; so Norton goes free. Mr. Justice Swayne delivered the opinion.

THE RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the case of Kohl and others against the United States it was held that the Government of the United States is vested with the right of eminent domain by the Constitution, so far as is necessary to enable it to acquire real estate within the States for purposes of forts, arsenals, armories, post offices, etc., and that a citizen or a State cannot be permitted by any act to prevent the exercise of this power.

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APRIL, 1876.

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In view of the Presidential election, which takes place in 1876, the REPUBLIC desires to increase its field of usefulness by adding to its list of subscribers. It already numbers among its readers, many of the most thoughtful and intelligent citizens of the country. The deep interest expressed by them in the work, is to the publishers, evidence of an appreciation that thousands of others would entertain of the REPUBLIC, could it be brought to their attention. Will not our friends take upon themselves the slight labor of inviting other good citizens to add their names and their influence to a magazine that is published in the interest of public morality and good government.

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It will give to its readers a clear insight into the various branches of Government, by a faithful record of their doings.

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To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL, 1876.

No. 4.

JENKS' BABY.

Ginx's baby cried so piteously in England that the English, in a moment of maudlin compassion, sent its father to the British Parliament. That baby was the ruin of its parent. It turned his head. He is to-day the butt of the House of Commons, where no progenitorial merit is tolerated unless it "hails" from Windsor Castle—or "reigns" there.

There is another Jenks, who is envious of his namesake's political renown. He is in the House of Representatives. He, too, has been brought to bed of a baby. He calls it a Statement. Appended to it is the "testimony" of the men on whom he relies to prove that, as the Southerners say, he has a "sure-enough baby this time." This Jenks, too, has had his head turned. Turned to the rebels—in wooing mood. Will they kindly consent to make him their tool? That is his high ambition. To secure this favor he is ready to throw suspicions of fraud on honest and loyal men, who are honestly, and in a loyal spirit, doing their duty to the honest and loyal men who were wounded in driving back the rebels whose smiles cravenly he craves.

Leaving the Confederates, who *created* our vast pension list, who sent three hundred and sixty thousand of our soldiers into untimely graves, to do as they please with, to use or to abuse this their willing vassal, it becomes a public duty to arraign him as a bearer of false witness against the faithful servants of the Government which they so earnestly sought to destroy.

Mr. Jenks' statement is No 93 of the House Miscellaneous Documents. The reader who is in possession of it should carefully

compare it line by line with this review. For the author is a man of such exact, extensive, and explicit misinformation that an exposure, to be effective, should follow every sentence of his essay on "The Transfer of the Pension Bureau to the War Department." Necessarily the answer must be longer than the charges, for his report is a sort of Leibig's Essence of Errors. It is a compact sample of every form of misstatement—by misconception, by direct assertion of what is not correct, and by ingenious indirection and implication.

I. His first misstatement is by the implication that the accounts of the Pension Bureau are not carefully kept. He says:

"\$2,885,189 are claimed to be paid on arrears of pensions granted during the year, of which no separate account is kept."

"*Claimed to be!*" That is, it is probable that this amount is not correct—that the officers of the Bureau misrepresent the sum total, or embezzle it, or so complicate the accounts with others that it is impossible to discover any fraud—if there is fraud. It shows looseness of administration. That is the inference. What are the facts?

The truth is that arrears of pensions are not "separate accounts" by the very nature of them. When a pension is granted it dates back to the period prescribed by law. The first payment to the pensioner includes the total amount that he is entitled to from the date of his pension, precisely as if the payments had been regularly made each quarter, during the whole of the time. The payments of these arrearages, that is to say, are made in the same way, the accounts are kept in the same way, and all the business is

conducted in the same way—by the same officers, with the same forms and with the same vouchers given—as the regular quarterly payments of all pensions. To keep a separate account of arrearages would only involve addition clerical work, while no new security and no further checks would be given, and no practical purpose would be served by it.

II. Mr. Jenks' second point is ingeniously involved, and is a jesuitical example of indirection. He says:

"\$488,580 is paid to the officers and employees of the Bureau proper; \$40,000 to the detection of fraud; \$33,800 to contingencies in the office; \$57,291 to examining surgeons; \$427,257 to fifty-eight disbursing agencies; and \$23,278 for stationery and postage of the agencies, of which \$10,448 is for postage. While by law it is provided that a fee of twenty-five cents on each voucher shall be in full compensation for all services, including postage, for mailing vouchers and checks, the amount of fees paid annually by the Government for those vouchers to the several agents is \$214,523."

This is masterly both in its indirection and misstatements, both in its sins of omission and commission. Let the reader note the effect of these statements in his own mind before reading the reply. A Democratic paper thus translates it:

"This item (of \$10,448) is outrageously large in view of the law which prescribes a fee of 25 cents on each voucher as full compensation for all services, including postages, for making vouchers and checks. But notwithstanding this provision of the law the agents charge postage, and the Government pays them in fees for these vouchers \$214,523 annually."

Now here is the impression left on the mind of any reader not familiar with the facts, that the Government is robbed out of three distinct amounts: 1st, \$10,448 for postage; 2d, of \$23,278 for stationery; and 3d, of \$214,523 for agencies every year. This was obviously the intention of Mr. Jenks in thus presenting the statements.

What is the truth?

The items for stationery and postage, "of which \$10,448 is for postage," are *not* on account of "vouchers and checks" mailed to pensioners, as Mr. Jenks could easily have ascertained, but are exclusively on account of the general correspondence and work of

the agencies outside and independent of the business of "mailing vouchers and checks." The Bureau has the charge of 234,821 pensioners, all of whom, from time to time, have more or less incidental correspondence with the agencies. The agencies also communicate regularly with the Commissioner of Pensions, with the Third Auditor, and with the Second Comptroller. Previous to the repeal of the franking privilege the official correspondence of the pension agents with the Government Departments passed through the mails free of postage. Now such correspondence involves a nominal charge for postage. That is, the Treasury is charged, and the Post Office Department is credited with \$10,448, and this postal account, it will be seen, is nominal rather than real. It costs the Government very little to carry this correspondence, because all the machinery of the post office must run whether there are many letters or none.

The postage of the agencies for mailing vouchers and checks is paid by the agencies—not by the Bureau; but exclusively from the fees allowed by law "for mailing vouchers and checks." Now, it is evident that the impression sought to be created is that the sum of \$214,523 is paid to the pension agents *in excess* of the amount authorized by law. The truth is, that it is \$67,262.20 *less* than the amount authorized by law. It would interest the reader to figure out this result—for no such result was ever before possible in America. No Democratic bureau ever spent less or took less than the law allowed. When salaries are due the Democrats are very loyal. They yield ready and full obedience to every statute that authorizes them to take money from the treasury.

There are 234,821 pensioners. They are paid quarterly. This involves the posting of four times that number of vouchers annually, and an equal number of checks, or 1,878,568 letters. The Revised Statutes (*Sec. 4782*) authorize the agents to collect, not 25 cents, but 30 cents for each voucher. Multiply 939,284 by 30 and the result is \$281,785.20; while the agencies charge the Government only \$214,523, or \$67,262.20 less than they are legally entitled to demand!

III. Without omitting a single word, the

next succeeding sentences of Mr. Jenks' statement are these :

"These officers of the pension service are 58 in number, who, by law, are entitled to an annual salary of not exceeding \$4,000 each, and by a subsequent enactment 25 cents for each voucher paid by them. Each of these agencies, on an average, costs the Government about \$7,700 annually, while several of the agents disburse less than the average salary. The income of many of these agencies exceeds \$10,000, and quite a number almost reach \$15,000, exclusive of contingencies."

No merchant ever heard of anybody paying a voucher; but Mr. Jenks, perhaps, has a wider knowledge of commercial transactions. But let that pass. Let us look at the separate misstatements of this passage:

"Several of the agencies disburse less than the average salary."

Does the reader observe how ingeniously constructed this sentence is? One would think that whereas the average salary is \$7,700, many of the agents received, at least, \$4,000 for disbursing less than that amount.

This is not only not true, but it is impossible.

All the money for pensions and salaries and allowances are sent to the pension agents, and their accounts are audited by the Treasury Department. They cannot retain amounts they are not entitled to, because they are disbursers and not collectors of public money. Indeed, they are not paid a salary at all; but [*Sec. 4781 Revised Statutes*] "two per centum on all disbursements made by them to pensioners." Here is the section:

"SEC. 4781. Agents for paying pensions shall receive two per centum on all disbursements made by them to pensioners. There shall be allowed, however, over and above such compensation, to every pension agent disbursing fifty thousand dollars annually, not exceeding five hundred dollars a year for clerk-hire, office-rent, and office expenses; to every agent disbursing one hundred thousand dollars annually, not exceeding seven hundred and fifty dollars a year; and for every fifty thousand dollars additional, not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars a year for like purposes. But in no case shall the aggregate amount of compensation to any one agent, paying both Army and Navy pensions, exceed four thousand dollars a year."

Now, unless the disbursements made by a

pension agent amount to \$200,000 he does not receive \$4,000, but only 2 per cent. on the amount actually disbursed—which for \$50,000 would be one thousand dollars, with \$500 added for clerk-hire, office-rent, and office expenses. If, on the other hand, he disbursed a million of dollars his compensation would be no more than \$4,000, with a small allowance for clerk hire and other contingencies. If, therefore, the nominal "income" of any pension agent is \$10,000 it represents, not compensation, but the fees allowed by law for preparing and mailing checks and vouchers—which is no more, or but little more, than the cost of postage, additional clerk-hire, and other expenses.

IV. Mr. Jenks, after thus raising a spectre by the old and black art of misstatement, thus, with wizard wisdom and face grave as the skull of Mr. Yorick, deceased, proceeds to explain how the dread phantom may be sent back to its sepulchre.

"By having the pensions paid from the Bureau this whole branch of the service, involving an expense of \$449,541, could be dispensed with without material detriment to the service, which, if we may judge by the past history of the Bureau, might easily be done without any increase of force; as since 1866 the force has been increased from 175 to 420 in 1875, exclusive of the disbursing agents, while the labors done by an inverse ratio has diminished in about the same proportion."

Before following the conjunctive Jenks, (who joins error to error as if afraid that each would fall if left unsupported,) into the discussion of the methods needed to secure exactness, which he opens in the last clause of this sentence, let us examine the preliminary error in this extract, and admit that "this whole branch of the service could be dispensed with, and without any great detriment to it." Why? Because the 58 agents and their clerks, or an equal number of officers, could be stationed in Washington, and the pensions could be transmitted through the Washington post office by money orders. But does not Mr. Jenks understand that there are two fatal, or at least Democratic objections to this system? Their dread names are—Centralization and Benjamin F. Butler! General Butler proposed that method, and it was rejected by Congress.

Observe : all the clerical force in the Pension Bureau in Washington is fully employed. The number of clerks should be doubled. Seventy thousand cases stand unadjudicated for want of force to examine them. Further on, Mr. Jenks says :

"Of the 70,000 applicants standing before this tribunal, hundreds, and perhaps thousands are now paupers, maintained at public charge, a standing monument of disgrace to the country which permits the wheels of justice to move so slowly."

It is even so. And the disgrace is one which Mr. Jenks now seeks to perpetuate by reducing the force under the pretext of reform. This charge will be pointed out again, and clinched, after examining a number of Mr. Jenks' other errors.

So, also, are all the pension agents kept busy, and many of them over-worked. Now, if these offices were abolished, their offices would have to come to Washington. It is only a question of locality. The work they do must be done by some one, and somewhere, and whether it shall be at Washington in one building, or in different cities, is simply a consideration of convenience.

But this is the new system of reform that Mr. Jenks has invented ; for he recommends it again in his plea for the transfer of the Bureau to the War Department.

V. Before examining his great plan of economy by taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another, it seems to be expedient to expose his additional preliminary misstatements. After the preceding question, not yet fully answered, he says :

"What should be an exact duplicate of the rolls kept at these agencies is now kept in the office of the Pension Bureau and in the office of the Third Auditor of the Treasury, thus involving triplicate labor, with no appreciable advantage to the Government or the pensioners."

This "duplication of the rolls" which so troubles the uninformed mind of Mr. Jenks is but the smallest portion of the necessary work of the financial department of the Pension Bureau. This branch of the service, which Mr. Jenks in his ignorance alike of the laws of his country and of the existing system of checks and balances devised for the security of public accounts, would peremptorily abolish upon the fictitious plea

of "economy," is established under the requirements of section 3622 of the Revised Statutes, as follows :

SECTION 3622. Every officer or agent of the United States who receives public money which he is not authorized to retain as salary, pay, or emoluments, shall render his accounts monthly. Such accounts, *with the vouchers necessary to the correct and prompt settlement thereof*, shall be sent by mail, or otherwise, *to the bureau to which they pertain*, within ten days after the expiration of each successive month, *and after examination there*, shall be *passed to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury* for settlement. * *

Without this "triplicate labor" there would be no guarantees against fraud or blunders. Does Mr. Jenks desire to remove checks in the hope that his party will succeed in the next election ?

VI. Mr. Jenks now moves up his artillery. He says ;

"In the Pension office in the year ending June 30, 1866, with a clerical force of 175, about 50,000 original cases, or their equivalent, were adjudicated, being an average of about 284 to each employe. During the year ending June 30, 1875, with a clerical force of about 420, about 12,800 original claims, or their equivalent, were granted—being an average of about 31 to each employe, while 66,000 original and about 7,000 increase claims are awaiting action."

Before noticing Mr. Jenks' statement of the cause of these evils, let the facts be examined, not in the light of partisan disingenuousness, but of the published Pension Bureau records.

In 1866, as he states, there were about 50,000 cases adjudicated. But he forgets to add that the war had then just ended, and that the requirements of the law were few and simple, and that the evidence was easily accessible. These cases were mostly for gunshot wounds, and very few papers were needed—one from the War office showing that the claimant was enrolled in the service; another from the Surgeon General's office showing that he was wounded in the service; and a third from an examining surgeon defining his present disability. It was easy for a clerk to dispose of several such cases every day, especially as nearly all the States had agencies in Washington, which furnished most of the evidence without the aid of the Bureau, or in co-operation with it.

Difficult and doubtful cases were pigeon-holed to await action, when the Bureau should have more time to make careful examinations. As time went on the laws became more exacting in their demands for evidence. The State agencies disappeared, and inadmissible claims multiplied to an extraordinary extent. Rigid examinations became necessary.

In 1875, it is true that only 12,800 original cases were *granted*; but (and here Mr. Jenks shows his disingenuousness) it is *also* true that *ten thousand* cases were *rejected*, each rejected case involving even more examination than an admitted case, and that upwards of 70,000 additional claims were examined, corresponded with, and passed through a greater or less number of the stages that the law requires as leading to a final adjudication.

In 1866 most of the cases consisted of three papers. Now, before a case is settled or *can be* adjudicated without danger of fraud, the evidence often accumulates until it would fill an octavo volume. As time goes by it becomes more and more difficult to obtain trustworthy evidence—for now come up the complicated questions of marriage and divorce, of the legitimacy and identity of children, of the qualifications and honesty of guardians, of the dependence of surviving relatives on the dead soldier's services when he enlisted, as well as the necessity of ascertaining the medical history of the volunteer before and after he entered the army. The laws require these facts to be known before a pension can be granted. In addition to all this new work it should be remembered that every case, from the first to the last, settled or unsettled, is under the charge of the Bureau; that deaths and other events are all the time changing the character of the settled cases, and require, therefore, constant watchfulness and work. From Mr. Jenks' statement it might be inferred that the 50,000 cases adjudicated in 1866 were settled in every way—that they were not adjudicated only, but that they needed no further care, nor superintendence, nor work. The truth is, that every case admitted, whatever its character, is an addition to the work to be done by the Bureau.

It should be remembered, also, that most of the evidence now demanded is wholly outside and independent of any papers to be found in any Department of the Government, and that it must be examined and tested by educated, skillful, and trustworthy men; while the voluminous and constantly increasing correspondence and the routine work of the Bureau take up the entire time of the lower class clerks and copyists, who constitute the numerical majority of the force in the offices.

VII. Mr. Jenks then states that the delays arise from the location of the Bureau and the mode of its administration. They arise from one cause only—the want of an adequate force in the Bureau. He recommends the transfer of the Bureau to the War Department, “the source from which the greater part of the evidence comes.” Now, to begin with, this is not the fact; and, in the second place, wherever the Bureau shall be situated, not a line of copying nor other work can be saved by any transfer of it. The “weight of the evidence on which each claim is or should be granted or rejected” is *not* to be found in the War Department or the Surgeon General's office at all; the questions now to be settled are not wholly military, but *chiefly* legal questions; and even if the Bureau was *in the same room* in the War Department in which the “rolls” and “records” are kept, the evidence required in *every* case would have to be copied just as much as if it were a thousand miles away, because every case must contain, *not* references to other papers, but the complete record in itself. There is no other plan even *possible*, with a list of over three hundred thousand cases on file. An hour's examination in the Bureau will convince any business man of this fact—at least any competent and honest man of affairs—that when Mr. Jenks asserted that “the duplicate labors now performed by the War Department and the Surgeon General's office can be avoided” *in any way*, he showed an ignorance of the methods absolutely necessary to “insure efficiency, integrity, and intelligence,” which was not only complete and exhaustive, but dishonorable and unworthy as well, because to make it he was led to charge fraud and in-

competency on men with personal and official records which need fear no comparison with his own or with those of any other member of either house of Congress.

VIII. Even the military records that are "mainly relied on" to grant a pension are not on file in the War Department, but those found in the pay-rolls that are kept in the Second Auditor's office in the *Treasury* Department! So that Mr. Jenks does not even know where the evidence exists. Shall the Pension Bureau be removed to the Treasury? His logic demands that course where it is confronted, not with his statements, but with the facts. Nay, more; after having been removed to the War Department because "pensions are military affairs," the Bureau should next be split in two, and one-half sent to the Navy Department because sailors are pensioners; then joined together again, and forwarded with care to the Treasury, because the chief military records are there, and because pensions are also financial affairs; and then again it should be transferred to the Department of Justice, because most of the questions to be decided require judicial examination. To satisfy Mr. Jenks it would be a bureau on wheels!

IX. Having shown that Mr. Jenks is a living encyclopedia of useless misinformation, it remains to prove that his remedies are as puerile as his statements are erroneous. The Department of the Interior was established to incorporate under one executive direction such bureaus as the Government needed which yet did not especially appertain to any of the older Departments. The Pension Bureau has relations with four Departments—War, Navy, Treasury, and Justice; but not one of them covers its whole field of work and inquiry, and not one of them is adapted by its organization to do the service that is needed for a proper discharge of the special duties that the rebellion created toward our disabled soldiers and their orphans and other dependants. If the Pension Bureau was attached to any other Department it would necessarily become an independent bureau, over which the head of the Department would have only a nominal supervision. Each of them is already large

enough or its machinery is too expensive. No one thinks of transferring it to the Department of Justice, and therefore objection need not be urged to such a proposition. Every one knows, who knows what our Government is—we do not say that Mr. Jenks is aware—that the Treasury Department is now too cumbersome, and has too many interests to control, to be available for the pension service.

How is it with the War and Navy Departments? Mr. Jenks states as one having authority and knowledge, that "The duplicate labor performed by the finance division of the Pension Bureau and the pension agencies can be done by the Paymaster's Department of the army with very little addition to its present force."

Having already shown that no duplicate labor can be saved in adjudicating claims by any transfer, it remains to consider whether the army paymasters could do the duties and avoid the expense of pension agencies. Army paymasters are now stationed chiefly at military posts on the frontier—far away, for the most part, from the residences of pensioners, who chiefly live in the States where there are few soldiers and rarely a regular garrison. The transfer of the duties of the pension agencies, therefore, would require the appointment of a large number of additional paymasters, who must perform their duties according to the methods of the War Department, which were not adopted for such a service, and are entirely unfitted for it. They are so little adapted, indeed, for this duty that the War Department itself does not employ them for the payment of bounties, but uses the Post Office Department for that purpose. It can be demonstrated that it would need at least one hundred and fifty new paymasters to fill the duties of the fifty-eight pension agencies, and that each paymaster would cost the country more money than the average compensation of the pension agents. Nor is this all. Paymasters are life appointments, whereas pension agents can be removed at any time.

Mr. Jenks could easily have ascertained these facts, and in all probability knows them. It is not ignorance nor a desire for reform that has urged this change. There is

too much method in the madness to justify a plea of political insanity. The purpose is twofold. By reducing the force of the Pension Bureau the arrearages will increase so much and so fast that the country, it is hoped, will one day be willing, in order to secure justice to its heroic wards, to add to the pension rolls the men who were wounded or otherwise disabled, in fighting to destroy the Republic. This is the hidden purpose of this specious plan. Again, by appointing paymasters the Confederate Democracy hope, if they can carry the coming Presidential election, to appoint to life offices a large number of ex-rebel soldiers and their allies in the North. This is the plot. It is in truth an insidious attack on the loyal pension system.

X. Mr. Jenks by elaborately erroneous evidence having convicted the Bureau of inefficiency—to his own satisfaction—ventures, but this time gently, to accuse it of deliberate fraud. "In some instances, at least," he says, "fraud prevails." But when he begins to specify he confines himself to cases of alleged inefficiency, which arise, he says, "from the want of experience in the head and employees of the office consequent upon the Bureau being administered as a political one." He then says that with each Congress new appointments must be made—that the most experienced are discharged to make way for new ones.

Supposing that this allegation were true, —it is not true, but let that pass—does not Mr. Jenks know that the same reason would require him to remove all the Treasury, Department of Justice, Department of State, and Post Office employees to the War Department? For all these Departments—and all the State governments in the United States—are administered as "political" institutions. It happens to be the American system of Government. It may be bad—Austria, Russia, and other European nations may have wiser methods—but the people of this country prefer their own system, and Mr. Jenks will find that he cannot convince them that a permanent Bureaucracy is desirable. The army by its nature is organized on despotic principles, and therefore it is filled with officers having life appointments. But the

people would not tolerate this necessary evil to be made the rule in the civil departments.

Mr. Jenks states that a large number of discharges have been made since the 4th of March last, and, a few lines afterwards, complains that the number of clerks employed is larger than the law allows, and that they were not proportionally of the classes provided by law. Nothing will satisfy him. By increasing the number of lower-class clerks to hasten the adjudication of pending claims, (without thereby increasing the expense,) the Bureau, he asserts, has infringed on the law, and yet he depreciates the large and constantly augmenting number of arrearages! Again: the recent discharges have been mainly made by the present Secretary to improve the force—by the elimination of clerks who were reported to him as incompetent. But the changes are not chiefly attributable to the action of the heads of Bureaus or Departments. It requires business talent of a high order to be an efficient clerk, and many men who come well recommended and are otherwise able, prove incompetent when brought to the test. They must resign or be discharged. Others accept clerkships, and some find that they can command higher salaries in business, and leave the Bureau for that reason.

But how comes it that a Democrat should complain of rotation in office? What party first unfurled that banner? Who was it that declared the axiom that to the victor belongs the spoils? Why, it is a cardinal principle of Confederate Democracy. Who was it that turned out the crippled soldiers in the Capitol?

Mr. Jenks' illustrations of inefficiency are uncommonly ill-chosen. He solemnly declares, as if he had discovered a new outrage, that Mr. Atkinson confessed "with great frankness" that he had no experience whatever in the duties of Commissioner *prior* to his appointment. "Oh, my!" This is a novelty. What experience as a Congressman had Mr. Jenks himself *prior* to his election? What experience has any officer *prior* to his appointment? What experience had Captain Boynton as a swimmer before he went into the water? No man can have ex-

perience in an office before he is put in it. The question is, is he competent? Mr. Atkinson's evidence as brought out by Mr. Jenks shows that he *was* competent and did credit to the President's selection of him. As the one instance of Mr. Atkinson's incompetency Mr. Jenks says that he appointed Governor Furnas, of Nebraska, as a special detective. This is a cowardly mode of attack. It insinuates that Governor Furnas was not competent. Now, the truth is, that the ex-Governor has been one of the most efficient officers that the Bureau has ever commissioned. Mr. Jenks does not dare to deny this fact. The Commissioner, he says, turned off a number of skilled and experienced hands. The truth is, some were discharged for incompetency, and some resigned on account of the reduction of salaries, and that none were "turned off" without cause.

Mr. Jenks makes another general specification:

"The duties a number of others performed were very uncertain and ill-defined; but when they seemed as far as human observation could detect to be doing nothing, they would be found to have been detailed in

the secret service division of the Department."

This is false. This response may seem rude, but it represents the fact.

But Mr. Jenks gloats over the discovery that two clerks were employed for a short time by the Republican Congressional Committee. This offense consists in rendering political service to a party when in Government employment. There is a Scripture which saith "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye," and there is a member of Congress from Pennsylvania by whom it should be studied. He receives \$5,000 a year, payable monthly, for devoting his whole time to the service of the Republic. He goes home after the session is over, and then, like an honest man, does he study daily the questions that demand solution in Congress? No! he attends to his own private business, and renders partisan service for months and months:—but he draws his pay regularly once a month. This honest and consistent patriot is struck with horror on discovering that a \$1,200 clerk gave a part of his time to party service! The name of this saint in Congress is—JENKS!

TREASON ON WHEELS.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

Now that the tumultuous shouts of indignation evoked by Mr. Davis have died away, will you permit me, an old abolitionist, to point out the vital issue which the old chief of the old South presented in his letter—an issue of transcendent national importance that has been entirely overshadowed by the transient personal question that was intertwined with it? I do not care to waste time nor to arouse angers by asking whether Mr. Davis was or was not responsible for the cruelties of the Confederate prisons. That is a question for the courts and for history. The action of our Government announced the verdict of "*not proven*." As a loyal citizen, I abide by it.

JEFFERSON DAVIS AS A REPRESENTATIVE MAN.

But Mr. Davis in his famous letter showed that he is still entitled to be regarded as the representative of the present ruling power of the South; for in it he reaffirms the doctrine of State Sovereignty, which Wade

Hampton, Ben Hill, Robert Toombs, James B. Gordon, Beverly Tucker, Alexander H. Stephens, and nearly all the other conspicuous Southern politicians have reannounced as their creed since their disabilities have been removed. The offense of Mr. Davis hath this extent—no more.

Mr. Davis wrote:

"The Southern people have forgotten much—have forgiven much of the wrongs they bore. If it be less so among the invaders it is but another example of the rule that the wrong-doer is less able to forgive than he who has suffered causeless wrong."

This language is not insolent, but logical. For, if the theory of State Sovereignty is right then the Nation *was* an invader and the South *was* wronged. Now, this theory rules the Southern States to-day, and it must control our Government if the Democracy succeed in electing the next President of the United States.

It sits personified in the Speaker's chair—

for State Sovereignty has no abler advocate than Mr. Kerr, nor has any disciple of that school a longer or more consistent record.

Mr. Davis, therefore, Mr. Toombs, and (less offensive in his history and his method, but equally emphatic in his utterances,) Mr. R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, each of them distinguished men, have rendered the southern people and the Nation a greater service than they dreamed of rendering, when they came out from behind the thick curtain of silence that had been drawn around them.

THE TRANSCENDENT ISSUE.

For, we must clearly comprehend the Southern creed, not in hostility, but calmly, before a peace that will endure can be made between the Nation and the recently insurrectionary States. And this is the transcendent issue of our age. Economy, the currency, the tariff, swift and trans-continental transit, taxation of ecclesiastical real estate, and even the greater issue of compulsory education—all these are important questions, worthy of the most serious study by every citizen; but they are, each and all of them, dwarfed into Lilliputian disputes in the presence of the Southern problem. These other issues will pass away and be forgotten, and leave little sign; but the future character of the whole country will be influenced for good or evil, as we shall deal to-day with Southern political pretensions.

This issue takes precedence, also, because it involves the question of the power to decide the others.

"THE SOUTH" AS A POLITICAL POWER.

Talk with any honest and intelligent Southern voter, not of the ruling class, and you will find that the term "the South" is used at one time to denote the political organization (so potent once, and now struggling to reassert itself) which was called the Slave Power, and again as indicating the People of the South—for the most part the white people of the South—who were the greatest dupes and victims of that Power. Here lies the error which is the spring of all the misapprehensions that still retard the progress of reconciliation.

"The South," as a compact political power, founded on the theory of State Sovereignty—sometimes euphemized as State rights—

should have neither courtesy nor mercy shown to it. It deserves neither pity nor respect. Its history is one long lurid chronicle of crime. It extended, defended, and "sanctified" slavery with all its wrongs and cruelties, and its rebellion. It forbade free speech, a free press, free schools in every Southern State. It kept four millions of blacks, not in slavery only, but in the most brutish ignorance. It grasped all the rich lands, and drove the poor whites to the sand hills. It kept them also in mental and social degradation. It ostracised and drove out—often murdered, oftener outraged—every Northern man who visited the South, unless he was a sycophant or a convert to their system. *That* "South" cursed both the North and the South. *That* South the Nation crushed. *That* South, now again rearing its hydra head, must be driven back into its cave at any cost. Half a million of men lie mouldering in their graves to-day by reason of the insurrection of this malevolent power. It has had human sacrifices enough.

THE SOUTH AS A PEOPLE.

The Southern People have the sympathy, and respect, and hearty good-will of the Nation. There is no hatred of them. They are entitled to our kindest consideration—but, the Spirit of Gush willing or not willing, no further and no longer than they disclaim the pretensions of the politicians who are trying to re-establish the power that has already drenched their land in blood. Northern men must be treated as well when they chose to live in the Southern States as Southern men are treated when they settle in the North. This is not the fact to-day. Nowhere in the North is the Southern man or woman, whatever may be his or her creed, treated with discourtesy, or socially ostracised. The statement is often made that Northern men *are* well treated in the South "when they don't interfere in politics." But the American who does not take an active part in politics, when there are vital principles in dispute, is unworthy of his citizenship, and voluntarily degrades himself when he permits any social power to keep him from the exercise of the franchise.

In fighting the evil power that calls itself "the South" we are fighting the battle of

the People of the South, black and white, and rich and poor; for all classes of men there, and all conditions of society, have been cursed by it, and are blighted by it to-day. No rapid or real progress is possible in that regal region of our national domain until it is rescued from the grasp of this political despotism. "Intimidation," which, as Mr. Toombs boasted, keeps the negro from voting, is equally effective in keeping the capitalist from investing.

Bearing in mind the broad distinction between the South as a political power and the Southern people as citizens of the Nation—not a distinction only, but an antagonism as well—let us examine the first great project for translating the creed of "the South" into facts, as presented by the cautious, conservative and scholarly Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, and see how he re-echoes, in more decent and decorous phrase, the sentiments of Hill and Toombs, of Georgia; and in less exceptionable and irritating terms the opinions of Davis and Gordon.

I refer to his letter in favor of

THE TEXAS AND PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Mr. Hunter addresses his letter to Representative Lamar, of Mississippi, who had expressed some interest to know his opinion. He recognizes Lamar "as the man to whom the South seems to be turning its eyes as a leader to aid her with counsel, and protect and prosecute her interests in legislation."

LAMAR'S THEORIES.

Mr. Lamar used to argue, last winter, in conversation with friendly opponents, that while Republicans might be personally honest men, yet their system necessarily bred corruption by its comprehensive schemes of internal national improvement, which were always, more or less, productive of "jobs." Democracy, on the other hand, fettered by its theory of State sovereignty, while it might sometimes or often oppose plans by which the Nation might be benefited, did not afford the opportunities for frauds or peculations on the Government.

This theory has only the facts of our history for half a century—during the whole career of Democracy regnant—to oppose it:

"Just so much, and nothing more."

It will be interesting to note how the rhe-

torical professor will explain it away when he is called on to advocate a scheme—the most stupendous job of the session—which is bottomed on the antagonistic theory. For he is relied on to "put through" the Texas and Pacific railroad job—now, if he can, or if he dare; but after the Presidential election if prudential considerations shall restrain immediate action.

THE COST OF THE JOB.

The New York *Times* has shown that this scheme, sooner or later, in all likelihood, will saddle the Nation with a debt of four hundred millions of dollars, and Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, has declared that "the South" expects Congress to adopt it.

In view of this magnificent project for proving the sincerity of the Democracy on their favorite and vaunted virtue of economy, too little attention has been paid to the arguments of its advocates, and especially to the masterly plea of Mr. R. M. T. Hunter.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY AS A RELIGION.

Mr. Hunter's letter is an elaborate plea for the prosecution of this scheme by the Federal Government, as a measure by which "the South"—not as an indivisible member of the national body, but as an independent section and an antagonistic entity—may regain its lost political power; and, therefore, it is addressed chiefly to the consideration of the theory of State Sovereignty as it affects this important project, or as it might influence the votes of its votaries. He says that he himself voted against this measure in Congress, but that although he still believes that "the harmony of the country requires the adoption of the old State rights theory," still his general views have been "modified by further experience and the results of the war." He then goes on, in sometimes indistinct but in always intelligible rhetoric, to argue that the Southern members should not let their principles stand in the way of their interests, especially on this measure—which, he says, is "one not only of a large pecuniary interest, of trade and commerce, but of empire also."

Empire—of what? of the Nation?

Hardly of the Nation; because he takes especial pains to reiterate the creed which brought it to civil war. He says:

"I hope I need not say that I mean no reproach to States' rights now, even to the Pharisees of the school, if true and sincere. I have neither the heart nor the right to cast reproach on any such. *I regard the followers of this school as the soldiers of the true Cross, politically speaking*, if I may use the term in this sense without irreverence, which I surely do not mean, and God forbid that I should cast a word of ridicule or condemnation on any, even the least of them."

Thus does the advocate of railway construction reiterate the ideas of national destruction!

Again, he says, and this time shows a cause why the true soldier of the cross should sometimes stoop to conquer:

"The hold of States' rights principles in the South ought not to be weakened, if it be practicable to prevent it, by interposing them unnecessarily to the accomplishment of an object so necessary to restore that section to its just share of power in the Government and its fair share of influence on the public opinion of the country. For upon these two things will depend the safety and prosperity of the South hereafter. To suppose that the contests for power or of interest between the different sections of this Union will not be continued, not by arms, it is true, but by policy and fair appeals to public opinion, is chimerical indeed. Here is a great and fair field for enterprise which it had been well if it had been more wrought heretofore. To maintain and nurse the political power and influence of the South in the common Government is a fair subject of aspiration for her representatives."

Still, always, everywhere—"the South," never the national welfare is considered. Still, "the South," as a "section," is to "maintain and nurse" a separate political power. Why, pray, should Virginia have more interest in Texas than in Minnesota? As a loyal State of the Union she has no more interest in Texas; but as a talon of the political "South" her greater interest in Texas is evident enough.

PLEA FOR THE SOUTHERN OLIGARCHY.

In speaking of "the South" these men never mean the Southern People—but only the oligarchy which brought on the rebellion and all its woes. Mr. Hunter makes this fact clear in another passage:

"The Texas Pacific road presents an instance in which by its completion the South will be vastly strengthened in capital and resources to develop its people, their industry and enterprise, and also increase in political

power, not only in influence, but in voting power to protect its people and their rights through the action of the common Government. Does she not need this protection and all this assistance for her material development? Is anybody caring for her now? Has she influence or power enough in the Government to enforce a demand for the supply of her very necessities?"

What rights of *all* the people of any State does the Federal Government invade? It has not even done its duty in protecting the 60,000 Georgia voters whom "the South," as Mr. Hunter defines the oligarchy, intimidated and disfranchised at the last election. It has not prevented the violence and terrorism that prevailed in Mississippi, and resulted in the election of a Democratic delegation from that State. He goes on:

"Would that be the case if Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and the whole of the rich country along the line were settled, and teeming with the resources, agricultural and mineral, which such a population would develop? The levees of the Mississippi, thrown down during the war, which for so long withstood its tide and secured from the waste of its waters vast tracts of fertile country for the use of man, are still down, and there seems to be no sufficient interest felt in the subject by those who control the Government to justify the hope that they will restore them. The moral bulwarks which are the defenses of good order in all civilized society have been prostrated as low in South Carolina and Louisiana, and, indeed, for a time, in all the old slave States, as the restraints upon the Mississippi, and the waste of its worst elements on the face of society, upon which they have been turned, from its surface to its depths, is as wild and as frightful as that of the great Father of Waters himself. Would it not be of infinite value if we had enough political power to secure the correction of these evils? Give us this, and we would right the wrong ourselves. Until this is the case, is it not probable that these or similar evils will continue to occur? What measure has yet been proposed so likely to build up the power which might insure protection as this Texas Pacific railroad, and what State or person is robbed of any power if the General Government should execute it?"

THE SLAVE-PEN VERSUS THE CARPET-BAG.

The "overthrow of the moral bulwarks of society" in South Carolina and Louisiana, singularly enough, has made it impossible in those States for men to traffic in human flesh and blood; and has, somehow, with a

God-like beneficence, enabled the black mother to clasp her babe to her bosom without the fear of the auctioneer's hungry clutch. It has built schools, and taught both the black and white-children to understand their duties and their destiny. It has made it possible, in every State, for Americans, of every color, whatever their creed, to utter their opinions with some safety. It has begun to abolish the hell on earth—the reign of merciless and rapacious power—which Hunter and his horde of the barbarians of civilization “nursed and maintained” in all the Southern States.

Do these advocates of State Sovereignty suppose that we have forgotten what the South was under *their* rule? Do they imagine, because we may believe that the negro politicians are sometimes sneak-thieves, that we have forgotten that *they* were red-handed robbers—sparing neither the cabin of the black laborer nor the cradle of his child? And does he believe that we consider it would be of “infinite value” to let the ruffians who slew our sons correct “*these evils*”—the “wrong” of establishing political approximations to just government in the South? Whatever may be the sins of the carpet-bagger they are as white as snow compared with the crimes of the oligarchy who went before them. “The South” had better not compel us to remember its history.

A DISUNION ARGUMENT.

Not satisfied with flaunting the bloody banner of State Sovereignty in our faces again, Mr. Hunter has the superlative folly to suggest, that, in the future, the construction of this Texas Pacific railway may cause a wedlock which shall produce a “vast Southern Empire,” of which it shall be the “umbilical cord.” That is to say, in non-medical language, he wants the Confederate Democrats in Congress to vote for this measure—first, because it will give “the South” greater immediate political power; second, because it will so consolidate “the South” by the creation of new States that the negro and loyal vote may be overwhelmed; and finally, because in the future these new States, backed by the power of the older Rebel States may be strong enough to secede from the American Union!

Here are his words:

“The prospect for the future, which in my opinion promises not only of harmony but of progress in the country, is that of an affiliation of friendly republics, united in the pursuit and protection of common interests and engaged in the development of peculiar interests and ideas, without let or hindrance from the common Government or the intrusion of opinion on the part of other societies, whether friendly or otherwise, to the exclusion of their own. The development of physical and moral ideas is likely to be more extensive, and the pursuit of them will be far more energetic and efficient under the influence of such friendly rivalries than if guided and directed by ideas in which the people who are most concerned do not sympathize.”

This is the general principle—here is the application:

“But there is another point of view in which this question excites what has been called the ‘land-hunger of the Anglo-Saxon,’ by which I do not mean the “union of the Roman and Sabine,” the rape of conquest, but a connection through the bonds of lawful wedlock, brought about through the easy and insensible intercourse of trade and daily social communion. *The construction of this route, it is said, will establish intimate relations of trade and commerce between eight or ten of the northern provinces of Mexico and the people of the American territory through which it will pass. A vast Southern empire may thus arise, holding new relations with the rest of the world, helping to maintain justice and create large common interests amongst the members of the present Union; or perhaps establishing a new point of departure and a new balance of interests on the North American continent.*”

And again:

“But, above all, it must be generally admitted that its effects would serve to redress the present unequal balance of power between the sections to an extent which I do not propose to measure. And all may be done, in my opinion, without an invasion of the rights of the States. For all these reasons I would give a vote, if I had it, to secure the assistance of the General Government to a route from Marshall, in Texas, to San Diego, on the Pacific. I would require the road to ‘prorate’ on fair and equal terms with all that connected with it, and all should be allowed to do so. But if the Federal Government should undertake to carry the road nearer to the Atlantic it should require it to connect with Vicksburg, Memphis, or New Orleans. *The consequence of such a measure I do not pretend to predict or describe. This road might prove to be the umbilical cord through which a nascent empire may derive its nourishment and support from these vast and fruitful wastes, until,*

matured into organized being, it loses the embryo state, and they bear it, like the wild mother of the forest, without a throe or a pang."

HOW TO BAFFLE THE PLOTTERS.

This is the scheme we are called on to adopt, and this the reason why we are expected to aid "the South" to re-establish its power!

The boldness of it recalls the days when the Southern leaders obeyed the summons of President Johnson, and came to Washington from their Provisional Governments. They coolly said then that they would never pay a national debt incurred in suppressing their insurrection; that they would be willing to pay our soldiers pensions if we would put their invalids on our rolls; but as for consenting to enfranchise the colored loyalists they would see us—but their language was not parliamentary, and it is not essential to report it. They declared with emphasis enough, and some to spare, that they would never consent to it.

And now in the Democratic ranks in Congress we no longer hear the language of the Prodigal Son, but boasts of "carrying the South solid," and denunciations of the party that saved the Nation.

It is idle to sneer at these men as "abstractionists" and "theorists." They are *concretionists*, of the most practical type, when Colonel Tom Scott is at their head; and when the negro voter is to be overawed or assassinated, or when the Northern man is to be ostracised or whipped, they are realists such as the dark ages never surpassed in stern barbarity.

We must meet the issue that all these blind leaders of the blind have raised, and before quarreling over soft or hard money settle once and forever the issue of allegiance. They always claimed—they claim still—that allegiance is primarily due, not to the Nation, but to the State; that, therefore, it was not the hero of Nashville, General Thomas, of Virginia, who was loyal, but Robert E. Lee, *the* Virginian; because Thomas did not follow his State, whereas Lee anticipated her secession, and was loyal to *her*. General Thomas was loyal to the Nation, and therefore he was a traitor to the State!

This idea underlies all Southern politics. Until it is suppressed there can be no peace. What is virtue with us must of needs be vice to them in every national controversy. Their theory teaches them to believe that the Nation invaded the States, not that the States rebelled against the Nation.

Senator Gordon, who lately tried to break the force of Mr. 'loombs' declarations, is as outspoken in what we of the North regard as treason as the more vulgar Georgian has ever been or as he is to-day. He is an honest,

candid witness, and this is what he said, under oath, to an investigating committee:

"We did not believe that the act of secession was treason. I do not believe it now. I do not expect ever to believe it.—(p. 334.)

"Question. When you surrendered did you not think you had been guilty of rebellion and treason?

"Answer. No, sir; I never had such an idea.

"Question. Did you not think that you were amenable to the law?

"Answer. No sir; not a bit of it.

"Question. As a matter of fact, did not the people of the South understand that they had been guilty of rebellion and treason, and were amenable to the law?

"Answer. No, sir.

"Question. That was not the impression in the public mind of the South?

"Answer. Not a bit of it. I do not believe there was an intelligent man in the South who believed then, or believes to-day, that he was guilty of treason, or anything that smacked of treason.

"Question. As a matter of fact, you do not think that the people down there regarded their immunity from trial and punishment, the restoration of their property, and their protection under the law, as manifestations of great clemency on the part of the Government to men who had been fighting for years to destroy it?

"Answer. No, sir, I do not think so."—[See "Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States"—Georgia, Vol. 1, page 342, 1872.]

We are told that although there are twenty-two Congressmen who now hold their seats by having overawed the negro vote, we are utterly powerless to help ourselves, or to protect our citizens thus cheated, because these wrongs were inflicted on them under the dread sovereignty of their States. But we are not *quite* powerless. Let no Republican vote a single dollar to any Southern scheme—good, bad, or indifferent—until the heresy of State Sovereignty is abjured, and until the poorest negro or the most hated native Republican is as free to cast his ballot everywhere as the ex-rebel or the copperhead is in Massachusetts or New York. If our army cannot bring unrepentant traitors to terms, our treasury has arguments that can fetch them to their knees. If muskets are unconstitutional, and it is criminal to interpose bayonets between loyal breasts and the bowie knives of the banditti, we *have* the constitutional power to refuse to aid these defyers of the national will in carrying out their plots or plans of any kind by money taken from the national Treasury. The War Power abolished slavery; let the Purse Power protect the loyalist. It is strong enough for this beneficent service!

REPUBLICAN EXPENDITURES—DEMOCRATIC RETRENCHMENT.

It may be well to remind the critics and carpers that the business of a government, speaking of it in its administrative capacity only, is not to save money, but to expend that with which it is entrusted economically and wisely. The cry of "retrenchment" is accepted by those who take the personal view of governmental action as a sure precursor of reform. A government is a trust, not a wealth-maker; it expends, but does not produce. It may be that unwise retrenchment will prove to be a very extravagant policy. Especially is this to be feared where the policy is dictated by mere greed of partisanship, and chiefly aims at crippling the administration of public affairs in order that a two-fold result may perhaps be achieved—the saving of certain sums in current appropriations, and the raising of a cry of inefficiency, when a crippled executive is unable to perform needed work in a proper manner.

The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives are engaged in a wholesale "rule and rote" process of cutting down salaries, and the administrative force required to do the necessary work of Government. As usual with that party when attempting any so-called reform, the beginning is seen in an attack on labor. The plan upon which they are proceeding seems far better adapted to promote inefficiency than it is to produce economy. Take, for instance, the proposed reduction of salaries. The highest and the lowest are to be treated alike. The efficient but poor first class clerk now receiving \$1,200 per annum is to lose ten per cent equally with the official who receives from \$3,000 to \$5,000 income, and even upwards. The laborer at \$720, and the lady copyist, or counter, at \$900 salary, are to lose proportionately the same amount as the head of the department in which they are employed. Then as to the reduction of the civil service staff. This policy again appears to be aimed at crippling the Executive much more than it does to the saving of money.

The efficient Representative from the Fifth

district of Maine, Hon. Eugene Hale, who has served for several years on the Appropriation Committee, made in the early part of the present session of Congress an exhaustive statement and defense of Republican legislation and policy in the matter of appropriations and expenditures. His facts and figures were marshaled with irresistible force. The speech gives a great deal of incisive information.

A good deal of ink as well as breath is wasted annually in Democratic criticisms of Republican extravagance. Most of this is based upon the annual estimates that are required by law to be laid before Congress. These estimates always exceed the appropriations, as actually made, by from twenty to thirty millions of dollars. It should be borne in mind, however, that administrative and executive officers are charged with continuous functions. They are often required to estimate in advance for work laid out or indicated but not yet begun. This is the case, for instance, with regard to river and harbor improvements under the direction of the army engineer bureau. Surveys are ordered to be made by every Congress, the engineer making the survey estimates, of course, for its cost. In this way the annual amount asked for swells to large proportions. The criticism of expenditures based therefore on such estimates is willfully or ignorantly at fault.

Mr. Hale claims, and justly too, credit for the Republicans in Congress, since the war, of largely reducing taxation, and also of lessening expenses, separating also to the apprehension of the public mind the expenditures created by the slaveholders' war and those directly related to the normal and current necessities of Government. How great the reduction of taxation has been may be seen by the fact that in five years, from 1863 to 1868, the American people paid in national taxes alone over \$2,200,000,000.

A valuable table of expenditures covering twenty years, from 1856 to 1876, is given. The culminating point of expenditures was in 1865, being \$1,297,565,224.41. Ten years

after, 1875, it was \$274,623,392. The ratio of decrease from 1865 has been very great, as the figures show:

Year.	Net ordinary expenditures.	Year.	Net ordinary expenditures.
1866.....	\$59,571,025 79	1866.....	\$520,809,416 99
1867.....	67,795,707 66	1867.....	357,542,875 16
1868.....	74,185,279 39	1868.....	377,840,284 96
1869.....	69,070,976 74	1869.....	322,935,277 80
1870.....	63,130,598 39	1870.....	309,653,560 75
1871.....	66,546,644 89	1871.....	292,177,188 25
1872.....	474,781,818 91	1872.....	277,517,932 87
1873.....	714,740,725 17	1873.....	290,345,245 33
1874.....	865,322,641 97	1874.....	297,133,873 17
1875.....	1,297,555,224 41	1875.....	274,623,392 84

General James A. Garfield, when serving as chairman of the Appropriation Committee in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congress, presented an analytical statement and exhibit of the cost of that civil war, and of how large a proportion of the necessary appropriations are due to that source alone. The expenses growing directly out of the war include payment of interest on the public debt; of pensions; of collecting the internal revenue, (a system unnecessary before the war,) and of the claims for supplies, damages, &c. This class forms the first portion of our national expenditures. The second classification covers the military and naval establishments, and the third is that of the civil service proper. Mr. Hale presented in a table of expenses by years both the total and the per centage in each class or group, as follows:

	1870.	1874.	1875.	
	\$147,863,024 79	\$154,171,130 50	\$157,392,415 61	FIRST GROUP.
	53.7	53.3	54.	Amount paid directly on account of the late war.....
	46,814,499 50	58,602,305 60	53,398,023 26	Per cent. of whole for each year.....
	17.5	30.4	15.	SECOND GROUP.
	78,426,936 59	74,399,476 37	79,082,347 27	Army and Navy.....
	23.6	26.9	22.	Per cent. of whole for each year.....
	974,623,892 84	927,133,909 76	920,345,245 33	THIRD GROUP.
				Civil service proper.....
				Per cent. of whole for each year.....
				Total.....

The reductions above shown are the work of Republicans. Examining a little closer, and it will be seen that a Republican Congress had provided for the covering of unexpended balances into the Treasury at the end of each fiscal year; prohibited the use of any appropriation but for the definite purpose indicated; abolished indefinite appropriations in most instances where the practice had been handed down from Democratic days took action to prevent deficiencies, and to otherwise improve the service. These were all genuine reforms in the interest of both efficiency and economy.

The following table gives even a clearer view of the reductions that were made by the Republican majority in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses. The figures justify Mr. Hale's claim for the initiation of retrenchment and reform. The items are those of the civil service estimates proper, and while the purposes are not named, the amounts being given, the necessary comparisons are made complete:

Third session Forty-second Congress—fiscal year 1874.	First session Forty-third Congress—fiscal year 1875.	Second session Forty-third Congress—fiscal year 1876.
\$6,636,074 61	34 88	\$5,224,275 36
2,888,147 42	47 56	8,906,452 39
3,743,243 87	84 13	3,417,437 43
1,374,515 00	65 93	1,420,272 80
499,660 00	47 34	455,513 03
976,620 31	91 11	1,407,433 43
230,038 57	55 86	301,315 89
36,732,025 17	22 37	30,301,332 93
22,496,620 56	46 70	17,268,100 83
8,468,977 44	74 54	5,874,558 28
30,480,000 00	90 00	30,075,000 00
20,057,182 00	96 56	8,025,542 59
6,102,900 00	00 00	6,793,517 50
1,899,000 00	00 00	895,000 00
1,962,979 59	57 70	1,865,409 99
6,496,602 00	42 00	7,390,205 00
15,674,164 29	81 53	18,103,574 47
172,290,700 82	155,017,758 30	147,714,940 61

In an elaborate table recapitulating the acts under, and purposes for which appropriations were made at the Third session of the Forty-second and at the First session of the Forty-third Congress, Mr. Hale contrasts the character of the reductions made. For the fiscal year 1875 the appropriations were reduced for "deficiencies" from over eleven millions, the preceding fiscal year, to but little over four millions. The army appropriation was reduced over five millions; the

Indian by one and three-quarter millions; for forts and fortifications the reduction was over two millions, and proportionally in other instances. The following were the totals reported, and as amended and passed:

	Total Reported.	As Amended.
Appropriations for the fiscal year 1874, passed at the 3d sess. of the 42d Congress.....	\$173,200,700 82	\$170,424,800 82
Appropriations for the fiscal year 1875, passed at the 1st sess. of the 43d Congress.....	155,080,491 27	151,106,128 27

These totals include for 1875 appropriations for postage and various definite sums heretofore embraced under the general head of indefinite.

In the following table, carefully rearranged from Mr. Hale's figures, so as to present both contrast and summary, the reader will be able to see at a glance the difference between estimates and appropriations:

<i>Estimates Over Appropriations.</i>			Excess of latter.
Appropriations 1876.	Estimates 1877.		
Public works	\$28,591,410 80	\$11,336,348 20	
Military establishment.....	33,697,178 50	5,142,190 71	
Naval establishment.....	20,871,668 40	3,555,359 50	
Miscellaneous	13,881,185 79	3,847,328 13	
Postal service.....	9,261,602 19	905,337 19	
Indian affairs.....	5,787,795 64	682,168 64	
Judicial establishment.....	3,403,450 00	200 00	
	90,068,286 45	25,447,992 87	
<i>Appropriations Over Estimates.</i>			Excess of est.
Appropriations	Estimates		
	193,039,881 12	192,038,820 26	1,001,500 86

It will be observed that the second table or division shows a positive reduction from the service standpoint of \$1,001,560.86. The increase or excess in estimates for the ensuing year over the current appropriations,

large as it may seem, is almost entirely in the class of estimated expenditures which legislation has required the several departments to report, but which it often happens, as is the case at present, there is no pressing necessity for meeting or undertaking. Of this class the item under head of "public works" is in proof. This alone comprises one-half of the seeming increase. The military and naval establishments are likely to have the pruning knife applied with severity, whether wisely or not, is a question to be settled with the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. But examination of the estimates will show many items which come under the same category as that of public works, useful things to be done, but not absolutely required. The discretion as to appropriating rests with the legislative branch of the Government, the administrative only obeys existing laws in presenting estimates of the probable cost of either initiating or completing such matters. Under the several heads of "Miscellaneous," "Postal Service," and "Judicial" there is probably good reasons to the public service for presenting enlarged estimates. This goes without telling, if the would-be critic reflects a moment as to the nature of the duties covered thereby.

On the whole, then, there is no honest grounds for assaults on the Republican policy in any preceding Congress or in the current estimates presented by the Executive Department upon the score of extravagance or the want of a spirit of retrenchment and economy. "Spigotry" is not a safe policy. To cut down the rations of professors, and deprive poorly paid clerks of their lawful salaries is a mean and contemptible way of saving the public moneys, especially when for the purpose of organizing a partisan raid on the Executive a Democratic House spends more in paying shorthand writers and in printing investigation reports than all that can be saved in the spigot fashion. It is cheap thunder this, manufactured behind the scenes with a sheet of iron and a mallet.

When the totals are made up for the present Congress it will be found that the Republican party will not suffer by comparison. Very probably the sum total appropriated this session will be much less than the foregoing figures, but this reduction will be so recklessly made as to necessitate a large deficiency bill at the next session, as well as impair the present efficiency of the service.

THE TARIFF—DOES PROTECTION PROTECT?

The proposition of free trade is, that unrestricted trade will secure better results—that is, more wealth—to this country than protection; or, in other words, that protection does not protect. In proof, the free-trader asserts that under protection one thousand bushels of wheat will purchase but fifteen tons of iron, when without protection, or were there no duty, one thousand bushels of wheat would purchase twenty-five tons of iron; so that we lose by protection ten tons of iron or the value thereof on every thousand bushels of wheat. This has the appearance of a mathematical demonstration, and many people are deceived by it. Were it true, the argument would be ended right here; but it is not true, and to show it is untrue is the task of the protectionist.

On the assumption of the free-trader, the ten tons of difference is the duty—that is what causes it, and that is what it is. The first fallacy is in assuming that this is lost. It is not lost. It has gone into the national treasury, and has saved raising an equal amount from the citizen by direct taxation. Taking the nation as a whole, it has received for the wheat exported fifteen tons of iron and the value of ten tons of iron in gold. This is self evident, and disposes of the proposition that the nation by imposing a duty on iron sacrifices the value of ten tons on a thousand bushels of wheat. It explodes the mathematical demonstration at the start.

But this is not all. There is another self evident proposition, which is: That the cost of transporting the wheat across the ocean, the loading, wharfage, port charges, cost of ships, officers, sailors, port charges, wharfage and handling in the foreign port, and freight to the consumer abroad, and the same items of cost on the return cargo of iron, are all so much tax on the wheat and iron, but principally on the wheat, and are a dead loss to the country, except that portion of the service which may be done by citizens of the country. To these must be added all the risks of the ocean, all the losses by the sinking of ships and cargoes, and all the money made by foreign insurance companies on the whole

of the export and import trade. These burdens have to be supported by the producers of the wheat and iron, and are so much loss to the property of the countries which make the exchanges. No other source for payment of these costs and losses can be imagined, and hence this consideration also explodes the theory of profit laid down by the free trader. No country can make as much by sending its wheat abroad to get iron, or cloth, or manufactured wares as by manufacturing them at home.

There is still another and stronger consideration in the case to be mentioned, which bears directly on the question of national wealth, though its relations naturally are very complex. What does a bushel of wheat represent? The answer depends on circumstances. If wheat is selling for one dollar, and the farmer having a surplus bushel lives at such a distance from market that it costs a dollar to transport the wheat, it represents nothing, and is valueless. Where the wheat commands a price which is paying, where the farmer can exchange a thousand bushels for twenty-five tons of iron, the wheat represents the labor which went to make the iron. That labor was embodied in the mind and hands of the human beings who dug the ore and manufactured it, and those human beings imply hatters, tanners, shoemakers, cloth-makers, tailors, and all sorts and kinds of mechanics and artisans and laborers. The wheat sustains the life of the iron-maker, and the iron-maker employs the hatters, shoemakers, tailors, cloth-makers, and laborers—hence the wheat represents the producing power of all these classes, amounting in value to the worth of twenty-five tons of iron per one thousand bushels, or one thousand dollars, more or less, expressed in coin. A thousand bushels of wheat represent, therefore, so much producing power in human life, or machinery, which is the product of human life. In other words, so much property.

Bearing this in mind, it is apparent that the country which raises its thousand bushels of wheat and sends them to a foreign country in exchange for twenty-five tons of

iron, after the exchange has only the value of the iron left, while the country which exchanges its wheat for home-made iron has both the iron *and* the wheat, the latter being represented in the producing power of the hatters, shoemakers, and other operatives who have supplied the wants of the iron-maker. It ought not to require any argument to show that the building and operating of a manufactory of any kind, except ardent spirits, is a positive source of wealth to a country; but the free trade proposition denies this, and contends that it is more profitable to import goods than to manufacture them. We are purposely leaving out at this point all questions between the farmer and manufacturer and laborer in order to meet the free-trade proposition squarely on its national aspect, unembarrassed by any class interests, real or supposed. The proposition we are combating concerns the nation as a body, and however individuals may fare it cannot be true that national wealth is promoted by having its goods made abroad.

So far from the proposition being a mathematical demonstration, it becomes self-evident that the farmer and manufacturer can do better near together than wide apart, and the nation which secures all its business at home will accumulate faster than by dividing it with another nation.

The idea of protection is to build up home business. The making of hats, boots, cloth, tools, machines, and all kinds of wares is what creates business, and so far as our supplies come from abroad that amount of business at home is killed. To meet this objection the free trader says: "No; we will raise so much more grain that we will make up for the amount lost." This is pure assumption. We won't do any such thing. No purely grain-growing country ever did that, and it cannot be done. It cannot be done because of the extra costs and charges of foreign transportation; because of the fact that in exchanging commodities across the ocean there are immense losses which fall upon the producers; and because that in the exchange we part with an equivalent which, on the home theory, is retained.

There are other reasons why it cannot be done. An agricultural country cannot de-

velop and utilize its producing force: never did and never can. A good portion of the men born into the world have no taste for agriculture, and never amount to much as farmers. There are feeble men and boys and girls who can accomplish much in the mechanic arts, who earn nothing on the farm; and it is only by diversified labor that the full producing power of the community can be called into exercise. As national wealth can only result from producing power and power that is exercised, it follows that an agricultural community which cannot possibly utilize its full working force must fall behind other countries in wealth. The example of England in manufacturing shows this on a large scale, and the purely farming towns in New England show it on a small scale. Philosophy and fact agree on this.

In shipping agricultural products abroad there is also a process of exhaustion of the soil going on which, though slow and inappreciable, amounts to an immense loss in time. Our richest lands ultimately wear out, and tracts which not many years ago were exporting wheat are now buyers of flour.

We have now said enough to explode one of the leading assumptions of free trade and to establish the necessity of manufactures as essential to the highest prosperity of the community. The experience of the country coincides with this view, as we will show further on.

In order to make the most profitable exchanges of products possible the producers must be near together. The man who sells grain needs cloth, and the man who sells cloth needs grain, and they both are benefited by being near each other. The country has to have both to insure prosperity; and this for yet another reason: the contiguity of the tradesmen with the farmers enables them to assist each other in building and maintaining highways, bridges, schoolhouses, churches, and all public works; the operatives assist in paying the taxes, which otherwise must be paid by the farmer alone, and they create a demand for a great variety of agricultural products, vegetables, and small fruits which cannot be exported, and whose value to the farmer must be lost without this home market.

To make the nation prosperous we must produce both the wheat and the iron, and everything else in our power, because only thus can we find employment for all varieties of talent.

It requires no argument to prove to a shoemaker that the importation of a large quantity of English shoes will aid to glut the market and deprive his craft of employment to the amount of the importation. These foreign goods take the place of the same quantity of American goods, and lessen American production and property to the same extent. It superadds foreign competition to home competition, as all can see, and breaks down the home artisan and manufacturer just to the extent that the importation takes place of any article which the home artisan can supply, be it shoes, hats, cloth, tools, or wares of any kind.

At this point free trade says: "Well, the effect of importation is to lessen the prices of goods; and while it may also lessen the wages of the workman he will be compensated by being able to buy his goods cheaper, and he can live enough cheaper to make up for the reduction of wages." This position is not sustained by facts. The price-lists under our protective tariffs show that goods have fallen in price and wages have kept steady.

The most prosperous years this country has known were those succeeding the protective tariffs from 1824 to 1834, from 1842 to 1848, and after 1863 to 1873, and the most unfortunate years have been those succeeding the revenue tariffs of 1832 and 1848 and the tariff reductions of 1872. The facts, therefore, do not sustain the proposition, that in consequence of cheap goods imported from foreign countries the laborer can make himself whole for the loss in wages. It is not so, and we have the reasons why: 1. Because labor is the first to suffer from a fall in prices, and the last to recover. Since September, 1872, work has been scarce, and wages low, but beef, pork, flour, and rents remain nearly the same—the concessions have been trifling, as all laboring men are aware. 2. Because the effect of heavy importations of manufactured goods of the same kinds as made in this country is not so much

in the reduction of wages as in throwing the workman out of employment, so that he is deprived of the means to buy at *any* price, no matter how cheap goods may be. He remains idle for a time, and finally must take up some new calling, something he does not understand, or is not expert in, and so is put at a great disadvantage compared with his former condition. Experience has settled this. 3. If we concede that a fall in prices follows a reduction of the tariff, the benefit of that fall enures to the consumers of the kinds of goods on which the fall occurs. These goods are the finer and more costly kinds, such as are not used by laboring men and their families, and consequently the benefit of the reduction enures to the wealthy classes almost exclusively, and the revenue has to be made up by taxing the necessities of life, tea and coffee, which are used as much by the laboring classes as any other. The theory and the facts agree. The laborer under free trade, granting that goods can be purchased cheaper, finds taxes increased, and ability to pay diminished. He may possibly buy a three-dollar hat for two dollars, but if he cannot find employment he cannot get the two dollars, and then the price of hats is immaterial to him. Work is what he needs, and without it he can have no hat. The importation of the foreign hat has driven the home hatter into the labor market as a competitor of the laborer, and thus wages have been depressed.

And this process has enured to the benefit of the non-producer. The merchant, lawyer, schoolmaster, professor, and retired capitalist can all buy their clothes and all other goods cheaper, they can hire their help cheaper, their servants, coachman, gardeners, and mechanics who build and repair their stables and houses. The supposed interests of these non-producing classes make them favor low wages, for low wages make cheap goods, and also make them opponents of protection. On the other hand, the interests of the laboring man require protection, for the plain reason that no possible cheapening of goods can compensate him for the loss of employment, which is sure to follow large importations of manufactured goods. The fall in wages and lost time will always exceed

the gain to him by the cheapening of goods.

Passing now from the general effect of a protective tariff upon national wealth and the interests of the laborer, we will consider the argument as presented to the farmer. The free trader tells the farmer that he sells 1,000 bushels of wheat and the money received for it will buy fifteen tons of iron, but adopt free trade, and he will get for the same wheat not less than twenty-five tons of iron, and other goods in proportion. This is pure assumption. There is not a particle of truth in it. No such thing would happen. It could not possibly happen except for a very short period of time, and under exceptional circumstances. The argument is, that the price of wheat to the farmer is governed by the price in Liverpool, representing the manufacturing centers whose population demands food, and that by reducing our tariff so as to invite importations of goods not only would the goods become cheaper to the farmer, but the ability to buy food on the part of the operatives in foreign countries would create an increased demand for breadstuffs and other farm products. This argument flies in the face of the proposition that manufacturers add to the general wealth of the country. This cannot be, and it also be true that it is better to get our supplies of goods from abroad. One or the other proposition must fall. We have shown affirmatively that our proposition is true, and why, and will now try to show why the counter proposition is false.

This is shown in part by the fact which we have already made plain that the amount of the duty is not a total loss but has gone into the treasury and the farmer has paid it on iron, when otherwise he would have paid it on something else. This, however, does not meet that part of the case where it is alleged that the duty has increased the price of the domestic article to the same amount of the foreign, because then no duty has been paid. But this latter statement as to increase of price is also an assumption not proved, but is contradicted by the free trader himself; for in his appeal for a tax on tea and coffee he confidently asserts that the added duty will not enhance the price a particle; and if

not in the case of tea and coffee, which cannot be grown here, it certainly will not raise the price on goods which can be produced here and are subject to both home and foreign competition. In assuming that the growers of tea and coffee will pay all the duty imposed on those articles so that the price will remain the same to the consumer the advocate of free trade destroys his own assumption that a duty on manufactured goods necessarily or really compels an advance of price. The free trader disposes of his own proposition, and we are not obliged to meet an argument that has been abandoned. Nevertheless, suppose we admit that a protective duty does add to prices, as it doubtless does in some cases, does the farmer suffer in consequence? We answer, no! There is no possible loss under any conceivable state of things in the long run that is not fully compensated under the operation of the tariff. The farmer, like every business man, must look at the effect of things, not merely for a day but for a period. When the farmer plants an orchard he does not expect to sell apples from it the first year, nor the second, but he is laying the foundation for profit to come some years in the future. For the first few years there is a certainty of loss. So with a tariff. The first year or two there may be a disadvantage in some cases, but in the end never. The farmer secures compensation for his first loss or sacrifice by securing the building up of a market near at hand, where he can sell various products which will not bear long transportation: milk, fruits, poultry, eggs, wood and timber, staves, and a great variety of things which are worthless without a home market. He is compensated also by the home market, because it makes him independent of the fluctuations and influences that operate on foreign markets. The home market is his own. The foreign farmer can never come in and take it from him by underselling. The mechanics and laborers are his sure customers, and he has only the one danger, that Providence will give a larger crop than he prays for, so as to break down the price of corn. Having a home market he can diversify his productions and not be entirely dependent upon wheat and corn, beef and pork. Should

there be an immense crop abroad so that it will not pay to ship grain, the home market is always there to buy his produce and supply him with money to meet his obligations. The home market is always the better of the two, for it buys vastly more, and can buy nowhere else. The farmer is sure of it all the time. If the farmer is shrewd he will not destroy or damage his best customer. That is suicide.

In showing the effect of protection upon business there is of late years the difficulty of separating the influences due to railroads, steam power, and improved machinery from those due to protection, but by going back to the years succeeding 1820 there is no such embarrassment, for there were no railroads then, and the other influences had not begun to operate in any large measure. The protective tariffs most complained of were passed in 1824 and 1828. Business had been bad, and growing bad for three years. In a report made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1823 it was stated that there was going on "ruinous sacrifices of landed property at sheriff's sales, whereby lands and houses have been sold at less than half their value—forced sales of merchandise, farming stock and utensils, at prices far below the cost of production, by which numerous families have been deprived of the necessities of life and the implements of their trade." Pennsylvania was then an agricultural State. On the 24th of February, 1824, Mr. Carter, of South Carolina, made a speech in Congress, and said: "In all that region which stretches from the shores of the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico, where all the arts of civilized life once triumphed, the arm of industry is now paralyzed. Large and ample estates, once the seats of opulence, which supported their proprietors in affluence and comfort, are now thrown out to waste and decay." "The farmer of the grain-growing States will tell you that he has large annual surplusses of grain which he is doomed year after year to see rot and perish on his hands." Mr. Garnet, of Virginia, said, "desolation is spread over the country." The Charleston, South Carolina, *Memorial* of February 24 says: "A feeling of gloomy despondence is beginning to prevail everywhere in the lower country."

To meet this universal depression which prevailed in New England and Ohio, as well as in Pennsylvania and the South, a tariff was proposed, and the free traders declared that it would complete the ruin of the country. Mr. Tatnall, a representative from Georgia, exclaimed: "Are you prepared by passing this infernal bill to add to a poverty which is already wearing one portion of our country to the bone for the purpose of supplying the appetites of a few pampered nabobs?" Such was the view taken of the tariff bill, but they passed it, nevertheless, and now let us look at consequences:

In 1821 Government securities were selling at seventy-five cents.

In 1830 the same class of securities sold for ninety-four cents.

In 1822 the United States Bank had on hand less than four millions of gold.

In 1830 the United States Bank had on hand ten millions eight hundred thousand in gold.

In 1822 the debt of our people to England exceeded \$50,000,000,

In 1830 the English were in debt to us.

In 1822 the Government borrowed five millions to meet interest on the public debt.

In 1831 there had been paid all the interest, and sixty-six millions of the principal of the public debt.

The average increase of capital in manufactures from 1824 to 1830 was seventeen millions per annum.

In 1822 the exports of cotton were 134,000,000 pounds.

In 1830 the exports of cotton had reached 264,000,000 pounds.

In 1822 the exports of rice were 87,000 tierces.

In 1830 the exports of rice reached 171,000 tierces.

In 1822 our tonnage was 1,311,000 tons.

In 1830 our tonnage had reached 1,741,000 tons.

In 1823, the last year of low tariff, our exports were \$47,000,000.

In 1830, after five years of protection, our exports reached \$74,000,000.

In 1823 our imports were \$77,000,000.

In 1830 our imports were \$70,000,000, thus bringing the balance of trade in our favor.

The customs revenue went up in the same time from \$19,000,000 to \$21,000,000.

In 1822 we exported more specie than we imported by..... \$6,440,000
In 1829 we imported more specie than we exported by..... 3,083,000

Difference in our favor..... 9,523,000

And this is the way the ruin went on in all branches of business. The result of it was that in the agricultural districts, where the paupers in 1821 were one to every 128 of the people, in 1831 they stood one to 344 of the population. Allowing one able-bodied man to five of population, in 1821 every 26 men had a pauper to maintain, while in 1831 there was only one pauper to 69 able-bodied men in the agricultural districts.

These figures show a general increase of business in all departments, agriculture, manufactures, banking and commerce; and they not only indicate, they prove an advance from a state of general depression and poverty to a condition of buoyancy, hope, comfort, and prosperity. The evils predicted by the free traders did not happen, the expectations of the friends of the tariff were more than fulfilled. Under the operation of the measure we became exporters of manufactured goods instead of importers; we paid the national debt instead of borrowing money to pay the interest of it; and it was done so easily that a large surplus revenue was accumulated which in 1837 was distributed among the States, amounting to \$37,000,000. So manifest was our condition that the administration of General Jackson, which was reaping the benefit of the good times, became immensely popular, and in his annual messages he never failed to speak of the "cheering evidences of general welfare and progressive improvement" in a way that indicated the most perfect complacency at the situation.

All this prosperity came to an end, however, when Mr. Clay's compromise measures began to produce results. The reductions by that bill permitted foreign goods to come once more in competition with our own manufactures, and in 1837 our industries were completely prostrated and did not recover until the passage of the protective tariff of 1842.

And from these reasons, supported by these facts, it is concluded that protection does protect notwithstanding the ciphering of the "Parsee" and Mr. David A. Wells.

And now, what is the attitude of the Democratic party on the question? The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means has prepared a bill whose main purpose seems to be the same as was accomplished in the compromise of 1832. If carried, instead of a revival of industry we may look with positive certainty for a deeper and more permanent depression.

NOTE.—In regard to the matter of price as affected by duties, it turned out that after the passage of the tariff of 1824 prices on foreign goods on which increased duties were levied did not rise, but in most cases fell, and the same happened again in 1828. Mr. Samuel D. Bradford, a leading importer of Boston at that time, said: "My house are large operators, and our commercial connections are extensive in Great Britain, Russia, and India, and we imported freely in 1828, and can truly say that nearly every article we imported was actually worth less to us than in the previous year under the old duty." Other great merchants said the same, among them Windsor Fay, Grant & Seaver, Henry Gassett & Co., Horner & Dorr, F. & R. Thompson, of Philadelphia, and numerous other well-known houses. There was a decline in broadcloths, bookings, kerseys, serges, vestings, flannels, Russia goods generally, cottons, worsteds, hosiery, and blankets. Casimeres which cost importers \$1.60 per yard under the tariff of 1824 were sold under the tariff of 1828 at \$1.55. For several years ending 1827 the duty on molasses had been 5 cents per gallon, and molasses sold for 37½ cents. The tariff of 1828 raised the duty to 10 cents, and for the three years ending 1830, that is 1828, '29, and '30, the average price of molasses was but 27 cents per gallon. Thus do facts show how utterly false is the assumption that duties add to the cost of goods to the consumer.

SQUARING THE OLD ACCOUNT.—At the breaking out of the rebellion Democratic officeholders from the South squared accounts with Uncle Sam by running away with the balance of money and property in their charge. Now that Democracy has got possession of the House of Representatives it proposes to restore to Uncle Sam an amount about equal to the shortcomings of its early *ante bellum* appointees. The method proposed is an easy one. Take from the salaries of Republican officials from ten to twenty per cent., and cut down the necessary appropriations to an amount equal to the amount stolen by Southern Democrats and the accounts are squared. There is something sublime in the impudence displayed by the Democrats in carrying out their novel plan of restoration, but they will find out in the Presidential campaign that the taxing of Republicans will not cover up the sins of Democratic officials.

RELATIONS OF THE STATE TO RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF ALL THE PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES; ALSO THE PROVISIONS OF LAW IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND OF THE SEVERAL TERRITORIES BEARING UPON THE CHURCH, THE STATE, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In the present condition of the public mind and the wide-spread interest felt in the questions at issue, no apology is necessary for the presentation of the several Constitutional requirements now existing by which the present status of the public schools, and of the several religious sects, in their attitude toward Nation and States are defined. This presentation will be found invaluable to the editor, writer, and speaker. The student will not fail to note also the manner in which this summary illustrates the growth of public opinion to a more purely secular method of dealing with these issues than was manifested in earlier days. The only provisions to be found in the Constitution of the United States which bear directly upon the subject-matters are the following:

Article VI, Section third, directs the taking of an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution, to be taken by United States Senators, Representatives, *the members of the several State Legislatures*, all judicial and executive officers, "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." In the amendments the Constitution provides "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.—Art. I.

The argument has also been made that Article IX, which reads as follows: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people," allows the States to do what the first amendment prohibits the Union from doing, viz: establishing and maintaining a State religion. It would seem as if this interpretation was either hastily made, or obviously strained, as the Union would not be likely to stipulate that the States might, in detail, each for themselves, do that which both States and People (taking either view that is held as

to the source of Federal power and Constitution) prohibit the whole—the collective States or National Unity—from doing:

PART I.—*Taxation of Church Property.*

Houses used exclusively for public worship shall never be taxed.—*Ark.*, 1868.

Property used for religious purposes may be exempted by law.—*Fla.*, 1868.

Taxation shall be uniform on all species of property taxed.—*Georgia*, 1868.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes may be exempted from taxation by general law.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Property used for religious purposes may be exempted by law.—*Ind.*, 1851.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes shall be exempt from taxation.—*Kansas*, 1859.

The General Assembly shall have power to exempt from taxation property actually used for church, school, or charitable purposes.—*La.*, 1868.

All taxes upon real estate assessed by authority of this State shall be apportioned and assessed equally, according to the just value thereof.—*Maine*, 1820.

Taxation shall be levied on such property as shall be prescribed by law.—*Mich.*, 1850.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes may be exempt from taxation.—*Minn.*, 1857-8.

Taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State. All property shall be taxed in proportion to its value, to be ascertained as directed by law.—*Miss.*, 1868; *Cal.*, 1879; *La.*, 1868.

The property of corporations formed for religious purposes may be exempt from taxation by law.—*Nev.*, 1864.

All property subject to taxation ought to be taxed in proportion to its value.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The General Assembly may exempt from taxation property held for religious purposes.—*N. C.*, 1868.

Burying grounds and houses used exclusively for public worship may be exempted from taxation by general law.—*Ohio*, 1850, 1851.

Property used for religious purposes may be exempted from taxation by law.—*Oregon*, 1857.

Churches and burying grounds are exempt from taxation.—*S. C.*, 1868.

The Legislature may exempt from taxation property used exclusively for religious purposes.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

All property in this State shall be taxed in proportion to its value, &c., except such property as two-thirds of both Houses of the Legislature may think proper to exempt from taxation.—*Texas*, 1869.

The Legislature may exempt all property used exclusively for religious purposes.—*Va.*, 1870.

Property used for religious purposes may by law be exempted from taxation.—*W. Va.*, 1861.

The rule of taxation shall be uniform, and taxes shall be levied upon such property as the Legislature shall prescribe.—*Wis.*, 1848.

The property of corporations shall forever be subject to taxation the same as property of individuals, except corporations for educational and charitable purposes.—*Ala.*, 1868.

No man, or sect of men, are entitled to exclusive public emoluments or privileges from the community.—*Conn.*, 1818.

No man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public services.—*Ky.*, 1850.

Every person in the State, or person holding property therein, ought to contribute his proportion of public taxes for the support of the government, according to his actual worth in real or personal property.—*Md.*, 1867.

The property of corporations shall forever be subject to taxation the same as property of individuals.—*Neb.*, *Church Property*, 1867.

Provision may be made by general laws for securing the title to church property, so that it may be held and used for the purpose intended.—*W. Va.*, 1861.

The quantity of land which may be held by any religious body corporate, in connection with a house of worship or a parsonage, shall not exceed five acres in the county or one acre in a town or city.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Property can only be held by such body corporate through a board of trustees selected by themselves.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The General Assembly may secure the title to church property to an extent to be limited by law.—*Va.*, 1870.

No charter of incorporation shall be granted to any church or religious denomination.—*W. Va.*, 1861.

Religious corporations cannot be established except by general law.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The General Assembly shall not grant a charter of incorporation to any church or religious denomination.—*Va.*, 1870.

PART II.—*Devises and Successions.*

The gift, sale, or devise of land to ministers or religious sects or orders, or for the support of, or in trust for, any minister or preacher of the gospel, as such, or for any religious denomination or order, shall, except as above limited, be void.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Every gift or sale of goods or chattels to go in succession, or to take place after the death of the seller or donor, for such purposes shall be void.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Devises of goods or chattels for such purposes, or to any person in trust for such purposes, are void.—*Mo.*, 1865.*

Any devise or conveyance of land or other property to ministers, as such, or for the support of any religious sect, without the sanction of the Legislature, is void, except not exceeding five acres of land for church, parsonage, or burying ground.—*Md.*, 1867.

No special provisions respecting the taxation or exemption of property held for religious purposes are found in the following constitutions:—*Del.*, 1831; *Iowa*, 1857; *Mass.*, 1780; *N. H.*, 1792; *N. J.*, 1844; *N. Y.*, 1846-'67; *Pa.*, 1838; *R. I.*, 1842; *Vt.*, 1793.

A summary of provisions respecting exemption from taxation of property held for religious purposes.

Churches are exempt.—*Arkansas*.

Churches and burying grounds are exempt.—*South Carolina*.

Churches and burying grounds may be exempted by general law.—*Ohio*.

Property used exclusively for religious purposes shall be exempt.—*Kansas*.

The Legislature has special power to exempt by general law in the following States:—*Fla.*, *Ill.*, *Ind.*, *La.*, *Minn.*, *Nev.*, *N. C.*, *Oregon*, *Tenn.*, *Va.*, *W. Va.*

The Legislature may prescribe the property on which taxes may be levied.—*Cal.*, *La.*, *Mich.*, *Miss.*, *Mo.*, *Texas*, *Wis.*

Exemptions apparently not authorized in *Ala.*, *Conn.*, *Ky.*, *Md.*, *Neb.*

The constitutions are silent in *Del.*, *Iowa*, *Mass.*, *N. H.*, *N. J.*, *N. Y.*, *Pa.*, *R. I.*, *Vt.*

In the Territories and District of Columbia.

The legislative assemblies of *Colorado*, *Dakota*, and *Wyoming* shall not make any

*These provisions are in the main retained under the constitution adopted in 1875, an instrument on which, however, only a minority of the suffragans in the State cast their ballots.

discrimination in taxing different kinds of property, but all property subject to taxation shall be taxed in proportion to its value.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 1925.*

In Washington Territory all taxes shall be equal and uniform, and no distinctions shall be made in the assessments between different kinds of property, but the assessments shall be according to the value of the property.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 1924.*

Limitations upon amount of property which may be held for religious purposes.

No corporation or association for religious or charitable purposes shall acquire or hold real estate in any Territory, during the existence of the Territorial Government, of a greater value than \$50,000, and all real estate acquired or held by such corporation or association contrary hereto shall be forfeited, and escheat to the United States.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 1890.*

District of Columbia.

All churches and school houses, and all buildings, grounds, and property appurtenant thereto, and used in connection therewith in the District, and any cemetery therein, held and owned by a religious society, having a known and regular place of worship, or by any incorporated association, shall be exempt from any and all taxes or assessments, national or municipal.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, Sec. 147.*

Societies or congregations formed under the general incorporation act of May 5, 1870, for the purpose of religious worship may receive by gift, devise, or purchase a quantity of land not exceeding one acre for the erection of buildings, &c.—*U. S. Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, Sec. 533.*

The quantity of land authorized to be conveyed and held for the use of religious congregations prior to May 5, 1870, and subsequent to June 17, 1844, was fifty acres in the county of Washington, and three acres in the cities of Washington or Georgetown, and such property "shall not be held by the trustees of such congregation for any other use than as a place of public worship, religious or other instruction, burial ground, or residence of their minister."—*U. S. Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, Sec. 456.*

Part II—School Funds.

The school fund shall remain a perpetual fund, and the interest shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public or common schools throughout the State, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof, and no law shall ever be made authorizing said fund to be diverted to any other use than the encouragement and support of public or common schools among the several school

societies, as justice and equity may require.—*Conn., 1818.*

The permanent fund for the support of public schools shall remain a perpetual fund for that purpose, and shall not be borrowed, appropriated, or used for any other purpose, under any pretense whatever.—*R. I., 1842.*

The school fund shall remain a perpetual fund, and the interest shall not be used for any other purpose than the support of public schools under any pretense whatever.—*N. J., 1844.*

The capital of the common school fund shall remain inviolate, and the revenue shall be applied to the support of the common schools.—*N. Y., 1846-'67.*

The revenues from the school fund and school lands shall be faithfully applied.—*Wis., 1848.*

Shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools.—*Cal., 1849.*

The principal of all funds granted or intrusted to the State for educational and religious purposes shall forever be preserved inviolate and undiminished, and the income arising therefrom shall be faithfully applied to the specific objects of the original grants or appropriations.—*Ohio, 1850-'51; Neb., 1867.*

All school funds, however derived, shall be inviolably applied to the specific objects of the original gift, grant, or appropriation.—*Mich., 1850.*

School funds and moneys raised by taxation for the support of common schools shall be held inviolate, and shall be applied to no other purpose.—*Ky., 1850.*

The income of the common school fund shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools, and to no other purpose whatever.—*Ind., 1851.*

All moneys raised by taxation in the towns and cities for the support of public schools, and all moneys which may be appropriated by the State for the support of common schools, shall be applied to, and expended in, no other schools than those which are conducted according to law, under the order and superintendence of the authorities of the town or city in which the money is to be expended.—*Mass., 1855, (amendment.*)*

The income of the school fund, and such other money as the General Assembly may provide, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools throughout the State.—*Iowa, 1857.*

All public school funds shall forever be preserved inviolate, and the income shall be

* This provision was defeated in 1855 by a pro-Catholic combination, engineered by the Democrats. It was afterward resubmitted and ratified.

faithfully applied to the specific objects of the original grants or appropriations.—*Minn.*, 1857-'8.

The common school fund shall be separate and irreducible, and the revenues shall be exclusively applied to the support and maintenance of common schools in each school district, and purchase of suitable libraries and apparatus therefor.—*Oregon*, 1857.

The increase of the school fund and such other means as the Legislature may provide, by taxation or otherwise, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools.—*Kansas*, 1857.

The interest of the school fund shall be annually applied to the support of free schools throughout the State, and to no other purpose whatever — *W. Va.*, 1867.

All school funds are solemnly pledged for educational purposes, and shall not be transferred to any other fund for any other uses.—*Nevada*, 1864.

The school funds shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining the free schools and university, and for no other uses or purposes whatever.—*Mo.*, 1865.

The school fund of the State shall be kept inviolate, and appropriated only to the purposes of education.*—*Md.*, 1867.

School funds shall be inviolably appropriated to educational purposes, and to no other purpose whatever.—*Ala.*, 1868.

And for no other uses or purposes whatever.—*Ark.*, 1868.

The interest of the school fund shall be exclusively applied to the support and maintenance of common schools.—*Fla.*, 1868.

The school fund shall be sacredly preserved as an irreducible educational fund, the annual income of which, together with so much of the ordinary revenue of the State as may be necessary, shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and perfecting in this State a system of free public schools, and for no other purposes or uses whatever.—*N. C.*, 1868.

The income of the school fund, together with such other means as the General Assembly may provide, shall be faithfully appropriated for the purpose of establishing and maintaining free public schools, and for no other purposes or uses whatever.—*S. C.*, 1868.

The school funds shall remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated for the support of free schools.—*Miss.*, 1868.

||* It will be perceived that this provision does not prevent the appropriation of school moneys to private schools or for sectarian purposes.

Shall remain inviolate.—*La.*, 1868.

The common school fund shall be a perpetual fund, and no law shall be made authorizing said fund or any part thereof to be diverted to any other use than the support and encouragement of common schools.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

The public school fund, and the school taxes provided for, shall be a perpetual fund, and shall be applied exclusively for the education of all the scholastic inhabitants of this State; and no laws shall ever be made appropriating such fund for any other use or purpose whatever.—*Texas*, 1869.

Religion in the Public Schools.

No religious or other sect, or sects, shall ever have any exclusive right to, or control of, any part of the school funds of this State.—*Ohio*, 1850-'51; *Ark.*, 1868; *Neb.*, 1867.

The school moneys shall never be appropriated to any religious sect for the maintenance, exclusively, of its own school.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1855.

No religious sect or sects shall ever control any part of the common school or university fund of the State.—*Kansas*, 1859.

No sectarian instruction shall be imparted or tolerated in any school or university that may be established under this Constitution.—*Nevada*, 1864.

No appropriations shall be made by the General Assembly for the support of any private school or any private institution of learning whatever.—*La.*, 1868.

No religious sect or sects shall ever control any part of the school or university funds of this State.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No religious sect or sects shall have exclusive right to or control of any part of the school funds of the State, nor shall sectarian principles be taught in the public schools.—*S. C.*, 1868.

Neither the General Assembly nor any county, city, town, township, school district, or other public corporation, shall ever make any appropriation, or pay from any public fund whatever any thing in aid of any church or sectarian purpose, or to help support or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university or other literary or scientific institution controlled by any church or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of land, money, or other personal property ever be made by the State or any such public corporation to any church or for any sectarian purpose.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Neither the General Assembly nor any county, city, township, school district, or other municipal corporation shall ever make any appropriation, or pay from any public

fund whatever anything in aid of any creed, church, or sectarian purpose, or to help, support, or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university, or other institution of learning, controlled by any creed, church, or sectarian denomination whatever, nor shall any grant or donation of personal property or real estate ever be made by State, county, city, town, or such public corporation, for any creed, church, or sectarian purpose whatever.—*Mo.*, (amendment,) 1870.

[NOTE.—This amendment was ratified by the people, November 8, 1870, by a majority of 115,329. It is embraced also in the constitution of 1875.]

PART III.—*Public Support of Religious Institutions.*

No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies or religious or theological seminaries.—*Wis.*, 1848.

No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious sect or society, theological or religious seminary, nor shall any property belonging to the State be appropriated for any such purpose.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious or theological institution.—*Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857.

Nor shall any money be appropriated for the payment of any religious service in either House of the Legislative Assembly.—*Oregon*, 1857.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious societies, or religious or theological seminaries.—*Minn.*, 1857-8.

The several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies shall have the exclusive right of electing their own public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All religious societies shall have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and contracting with them for their support.—*Me.*, 1820.

Religious societies shall ever have the right to elect their pastors or religious teachers, to contract with them for their support, and to raise money for the erection of houses for public worship and the maintenance of religious instruction.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1833.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

With no desire to arouse vindictive feelings or bitter memories are the following facts reproduced. Memories most sad, sufferings most intense, attend every page and incident of the black record. But there is a duty to be performed. The men who defended slavery, and in so doing sought to rend the American Union, have, through the mouths of their chosen representatives and their accepted leader—in the interest of a new and more dangerous movement to conquer what they failed to destroy—defiantly denied the justice of a verdict once rendered. They now seek to add insult to injury by declaring the National Government responsible for the atrocities of Andersonville, and as being guilty of greater crimes against the rebel soldiers in its hands as prisoners of war than were perpetrated in that and kindred pandemoniums.

The extracts herewith given are from a letter written by one who was a private soldier at the time, but whose education and character fitted him for a much more responsible position. Mr. Wallsh was an important

witness at the trial of Wirz. The testament to which allusion is made was a small pocket volume, on the margins of whose pages Mr. Wallsh pencilled a diary, some extracts from which are here given. On his release he transcribed these notes literally, and now possesses the sacred book and the manuscript one in which his notes were written. The statements bear the stamp of truth.

It is worthy of note, at this point, that the defense of insufficient supplies, as against the charge of premeditated starvation of our men, is set at rest by the fact that during the very year in which Mr. Wallsh and his comrades were so cruelly treated, General Sherman's army of about sixty thousand men marched through the State of Georgia, one wing of it passing within fifty or sixty miles of the prison pen, and subsisted entirely from the country through which they moved.

ABUNDANCE OF PROVISIONS IN THE CONFEDERACY.

A recent letter from North Carolina, written by one who was in the Confederacy throughout the rebellion, and with ample

facilities for knowing, calls attention to the following facts :

"That it was well known that there was such an outcry against the planting of so much cotton that in some cases it raised a suspicion of loyalty (that word was a very popular one in the South during the rebellion) against those who, as before the war, planted nearly all their land in cotton. The corn and pork crops were immense, and particularly so in the latter years. Money was, of course, drawn away into the rebel army. In the western part of this State, (North Carolina,) there were very plentiful crops of wheat raised. This was the case, too, in northern Georgia. Sherman found very large quantities of supplies for his army in his 'march to the sea.' It is well remembered here that it was the boast of the Confederates—the warm war ones—that upon a suggestion of the high prices of provisions in their paper money, the reply was very promptly made that the gold would bring forth any quantity of provisions, and at low prices.

"When Schofield's army came through here (1864-'5) they found vast quantities of provisions and forage, and that, too, where there had been loud talk of a scarcity when the Confederate tithing officers were round. Schofield was largely supplied as he went along. And yet provisions could not be had for Andersonville in all Georgia and Alabama—the plantation States. We here know that is all 'bosh,' if Jefferson Davis and his cohorts assert it till their tongues turn as black as their nefarious principles.

"As further evidence of the fact that there was no scarcity, let it be remembered that the accounts rendered for supplies taken by the Union armies have been many in number, and ample in amount. The Quartermaster General's office has received very many. Others have been presented through another channel. Very many are still held back, awaiting the advent to power of a different influence, when these, too, will be presented. They will reach from this locality alone many hundreds of thousands of dollars—all of them, too, for supplies to the Union army."

The evidence on this and kindred topics is overwhelming. But to return to Andersonville, what follows will bear careful perusal:

A PRISONER'S NARRATIVE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 29, 1865.

COLONEL EMERIC ZABAD, late A. D. C., Third Army Corps.

COLONEL :

* * * * *

You desire a history of my prison life while in the so-called Confederate States. I did not intend that such misery should be-

come manifest to the world; the dictates of humanity should cast the veil of oblivion over those days of suffering, cold, hunger, and want, but as you wish it I give a few of the incidents. I fear you will find me but a poor chronicler of those days of mortal misery, awful and premeditated persecution.

About three o'clock on the morning of the 27th of November, 1863, I was captured at Brandy station, Virginia, by the notorious Mosby. He was accompanied by over one hundred of his gang, all dressed alike in our uniform. I was robbed of six months' pay which I received the day before.

* * * * *

We reached Richmond, Virginia, on Sunday, 29th November, where our misery commenced. At the Libby prison we (twenty-six prisoners) were stripped of our clothing, and underwent a rigid search. Over five hundred dollars were taken from my fellow prisoners, after which our clothing was restored, and in our worn-out and destitute condition we were consigned to Pemberton prison, opposite Libby.

For the first fortnight we lived tolerably well, thanks to the sanitary commissioners who supplied pork and hard tack (biscuits.) We were then informed that the supply was out, and we had, therefore, *nolens volens*, to subsist on prison fare—a small piece of corn bread daily, alternately receiving in addition some filthy, sour, and unpalatable brown soup.

I had not changed my shirt during the three months while at Richmond, and we had no soap.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 22d February, 1864, four hundred of us prisoners left Richmond, each receiving a loaf of half baked bread.

We reached Andersonville, Georgia, on the 29th February; some of our party died on the road, and we were turned into that celebrated stockade like so many cattle put into a pound.

On our journey to Andersonville we never received more than three coarse biscuits per diem; no meat, and we had to stand up in the (freight) carriages the entire journey, occasionally being turned into a field to stretch our wearied limbs whenever the train ran off the track.

There was no preparation made for us at our destination; the stockade was not provided with either shed or shelter in any shape or form, and we had to shift for ourselves as best we could. There were not two thousand prisoners confined there at this time. Two cooking utensils only were allowed to every ninety men, and each one had to wait his turn to cook his little ration of corn meal and bacon. I have often had my breakfast, in consequence, so late as ten o'clock at night.

Captain Wirz commanded the prison, than whom does not exist a more despotic and desperate tyrant, and for the most trivial offense, real or supposed, he would stop our entire rations for the day. I have often had, in consequence, to fast for thirty-six hours at a time.

In July there were

THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND PRISONERS

in the stockade, which was then only enlarged by ten acres, making in all twenty-six acres, including seven acres of swamp. The swamp was converted into a black, muddy soil by the deposit of human excrement; it was literally a moving mass of maggots. The exhalation from it was truly awful.

I have seen many men shot at by the guards. It was not unusual for me to see, when I went daily to fetch water from a course which ran through the swamp, the sentry with his gun at the ready to shoot down the first man who ventured to lay his hand on the rail of the dead line; and I have seen them aim, fire, and kill. I shall never forget seeing the heart's blood of a prisoner (he had but recently arrived) crimson that stream. It was no unusual nightly occurrence to hear five or six shots fired, nor the like number during the day. Numbers were shot down in this manner.

During the months of June and July, 1864, I have seen many men

FALL DOWN AND DIE ABOUT

the camp, and also in the swamp; and during the month of May, before the hospitals (as they were called) were removed outside of the stockade, many weak and sickly patients fell into the sinks which were provided for their accommodation by their fellow prisoners, and smothered in the filth before assistance could be rendered.

The food we received was wholly insufficient, and it was equally repugnant. We suffered bad treatment at the hands of some of our fellow prisoners, desperadoes from the army and navy; men were coolly and deliberately robbed and murdered at night by these parties. Lynch law was enacted, and I saw six of these malefactors strung up together and hanged within the stockade.

I was paroled in August last, and assigned to duty in the office of Surgeon Isaiah White, where I succeeded Dorrance Atwater in keeping the official record of our dead.

I believe the late General Winder did not take command at Andersonville until the month of May, 1864, when he had those formidable fortifications and batteries erected

OVERAWING THE PRISON.

I have seen the General very often. Captain Wirz called upon him daily on official matters, but independent of any instructions he might have received from the General the

man himself was equal to any emergency, any brutality that the Devil might prompt him to, or the monster's own bad heart might suggest.

The innumerable and indescribable diseases occurring among the prisoners were caused principally through want of proper food and cleanliness, combined with harsh and unmitigated cruelty.

I am aware that reports went forward to Richmond stating that the inclosure (the stockade) was quite inadequate to afford accommodation for one-third of the prisoners, and that the food was not alone improper but insufficient in quantity; and I have heard that the callous and heartless answer received from Richmond to such and the like remonstrances was that if more prisoners arrived to "cram them in."

* * * * *

Chief Surgeon White, Surgeons Stevenson, Hearndon, and Rowsie did everything in their power that professional skill could devise or humanity dictate to provide for the sick, as well in the hospital as in the stockade, where the daily mortality was equal; but in the face of insuperable obstacles and barriers, and

IN THE ABSENCE OF PROPER MEDICINES, save those indigenous to the soil, what could they do to obviate their suffering, or prevent the awful daily mortality.

I subjoin the particulars of the mortality which occurred at Andersonville, Georgia, from the opening of the stockade, February 24, to November 15, 1864. They are authentic, and may be relied upon. I copied them from the official books kept at Andersonville.

I was released at Savannah, Georgia, November 20, 1864.

Of the four hundred prisoners who left Richmond with me I venture to say fifty are not now alive to indorse my statement.

1864.	Deaths.
March.....	283
April.....	576
May.....	708
June.....	1,201
July.....	1,952
August.....	2,992
September.....	3,217
October to 15th November, 1864.....	1,151
Total.....	12,080

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS WALLSH,

Late of Company F, 74th New York Volunteers.

A PRISON DIARY.

The following extracts are copied from the Testament kept by Thomas Wallsh while a prisoner of war:

1863.

Nov. 27. Captured by Mosby at Brandy station, Virginia, three o'clock, A. M.

Nov. 28. Arrived at Gordonsville.

Nov. 29. Arrived at Richmond.

1864.

Feb. 9. One hundred and nine officers escaped from confinement in Libby. It is said Colonel Straight also escaped.

Feb. 17. First batch, four hundred prisoners, left for Andersonville.

Feb. 18. Second batch four hundred prisoners.

Feb. 21. Third batch four hundred prisoners. Changed our prison quarters from Pemberton to Crew's, next adjoining. Two hundred prisoners from Belle Island joined us. They give a terrible account of that place. We expect to leave for Georgia to-morrow.

Feb. 22. Monday. Left Richmond at an early hour this morning; each prisoner received a loaf of corn bread; it was only half baked. I was very ill during the day; we traveled during the entire day and night; had to stand up during the journey. Fifty prisoners were crammed into each carriage.

Feb. 23. The train ran off the track within one mile of Raleigh, North Carolina, left the cars about five miles west of Raleigh, and camped in the woods. The guards here were kind to us. Eight small biscuits for a day's ration.

Feb. 24. Left Raleigh; received eight biscuits.

Feb. 25. Charlotte; cars again ran off the track; received two crackers (for twenty-four hours) rations.

Feb. 26. Received a corn-dodger; a piece of cooked beef about the size of a dollar piece; night cold.

Feb. 27. Intensely cold; embarked on trucks; left Charlotte; six poor fellows interred here; about three P. M., arrived at Columbia; changed trucks for cars; colored people offered cakes and pies for sale; guards drove them away.

Feb. 28. Traveled all night, and arrived ten o'clock Sunday morning at Augusta, Georgia, and received two biscuits each. There was a good deal of excitement here, young boys and old men were being drilled. On leaving this place we were served out with to-morrow's rations, six crackers and two slices of bacon.

Feb. 29. At two o'clock arrived at our destination, Camp Sumter, Andersonville, Georgia, and received two crackers. The prison contains sixteen acres of ground, but the inclosure is not yet completed. The change from Richmond appears to be a decided improvement. The place is simply a pound on an extensive scale. No shelter

whatever to keep us from the inclemency of the weather.

In Georgia State, in rebeldom, there stands, Amidst pestilential air and swampy lands, A prison—a place more fit for Southern dogs Who raised its lofty walls of pine wood logs.

Mr. Wallsh makes reference to Dorrence Atwater, now United States consul at Tahiti. Fortunately this gentleman has not only preserved an authentic record, but he is himself now on his way home upon leave, and will be able to testify in person to the facts, of the brutal details of which he had abundant opportunity of knowing. Mr. Atwater published, it will be remembered, a list of Union soldiers who died at Andersonville, Georgia, and was afterward with Miss Clara Barton, the noble American woman whose patriotic services in our war, and afterward to a common humanity during the Franco-Prussian contest, entitle her to as undying fame as that which clusters about the name of Florence Nightingale, occupied in arranging and naming the graves in the national cemetery at Andersonville.

Mr. Atwater says, in a preface to the list referred to, that he was taken prisoner July 7, 1863, and five months after sent from Belle Isle to Andersonville, where in May, 1864, he was paroled and detailed in Surgeon White's office. He kept the record of daily mortality, and also made monthly and quarterly abstracts of the deaths.

"The latter one," he writes, "was said to be for the Federal Government, which" he learned afterwards, "was never received."

"THE APPALLING MORTALITY"

continues Mr. Atwater, "was such that I suspected that it was the design of the rebel Government to kill and maim our prisoners by exposure and starvation so that they would forever be totally unfit for military service, and that they withheld these facts."

Mr. Atwater determined, therefore, to obtain and keep a list of the dead, which he did, beginning to copy in August, in 1864, and bringing it with him safely through the lines in March, 1865. These rolls were used to verify and correct the lists and books afterward captured at Andersonville by General Wilson.

MISS CLARA BARTON, in the same publication, published her report of the expedition made to the prison-

pen, in order to clear the grounds for cemetery purposes, and to identify the graves of our dead. Her graphic pen gives a painful description of the scenes as they appeared in July, 1865, three months after surrender. She says:

"We are wont to attribute their (the captives) chief suffering to insufficiency of food, and while this is probably just, still, to the mind of one who has looked over the scanty, shelterless, pitiful spot of earth to which they were confined, and taken into consideration the numberless trials which must have grown out of the privation of space and the necessary conveniences of life, the conviction will force itself that these latter woes fell but little short of the former. *It is to be remembered that during thirteen long months they knew neither shelter nor protection from the changeable skies above nor the pitiless, unfeeling earth beneath.*"

* * * "Think of thirty thousand men penned by close stockade, upon twenty-six acres of ground from which every tree and shrub had been uprooted for fuel to cook their scanty food, huddled, like cattle, without shelter or blanket, half-clad and hungry, with the dreary night setting in after a day of autumn rain. The hill-tops would not hold them all; the valley was filled with the swollen brook; seventeen feet from the stockade run the fatal dead line beyond which no man might step and live. * * *

But this is only one feature of their suffering; and perhaps the lightest. Of the long, dazzling months when gaunt famine stalked at noonday, and pestilence walked at night, * * * I will not trust myself to speak; I scarce dare think. * * * But after this, whenever any man who has lain a prisoner within the stockade of Andersonville would tell you of his sufferings, how he fainted, scorched, drenched, hungered, sickened, was scoffed, scourged, hunted, persecuted, though the tale be long and twice-told, as you would have your own wrongs appreciated, your own woes pitied, your own cries for mercy heard, I charge you, listen and believe him. *However definitely he may have spoken know he has not told you all. However strongly he may have outlined, or deeply he may have colored his picture, know that the reality calls for a better light and a nearer view than your clouded, distant gaze will ever get.*"

The earnest and pathetic appeal of the noble woman who wrote the foregoing is not likely to be unheeded, especially when the diabolism which planned and maintained such unnecessary misery and cruelty, dares to flaunt its brazen denials in the face of the still living survivors thereof. There can be

no question of the deliberate character of the atrocious cruelty that was systematically practiced, nor of the other appalling fact, that such cruelty was approved and carried out under the orders of the President of the Slaveholders' Confederacy.

For a lack of medical supplies there may be some excuse. For an insufficiency of food even, at times, there might be undesigned reasons. But for the deliberate brutality which denuded the stockade inclosure of all shelter, even to a tree, and which prevented the erection of even the poorest apologies for protection from the sun and rains, there cannot be the slightest excuse presented. The responsibility of Jefferson Davis for this is proven by his adverse indorsements on the reports of the Inspector General, and by his continued marks of favor to the brutal General Winder, following close after the conduct of that person was made known by Col. Chandler and other reputable witnesses, to the rebel war department. The finger of history and the voice of mankind will emphasize the verdict against Mr. Davis.

Surmounting that Hill.

The following brief but spirited dialogue is reported as occurring between Honorable B. H. Hill, of Georgia, and General M. M. Bane, of Illinois. The latter is a well-known Radical Republican, and was a very gallant officer of the Union army. Of Mr. Hill it is unnecessary to speak. The Union surmounted that Hill from 1861 to 1865, and it is not likely to long remain an obstacle. Some friend introduced the two gentlemen as Radicals of opposite schools. Mr. Hill soon declared, as they talked, that "this idea of equality and universal suffrage will ruin the Republic."

Bane told him:

"Sir, we have put it in the Constitution, and sealed it with our blood, and, sir, it shall be kept there, and if we can't keep it there with you in Congress, we'll put you out again."

The spirit of both sections spoke in these few words. But while there is no doubt that Mr. Hill would be "put out" if necessary, it is equally as certain there will be no occasion.

TOOMBS AND THE SCALAWAG.

BY A SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN.

"The worst of all things the world ever saw, the Scalawag, the consummation of all villainy."—Extract from the speech of Robert Toombs delivered in the Representative Hall at the Capitol of Georgia, on the night of the 25th of January, 1876.

Many Democrats, apparently shocked by the fiery and vehement utterances of their distinguished leader on the occasion alluded to, attempt to explain and palliate their effect upon the civilized world as being but the vapid mouthings of an old man in his dotage.

Seeing no other excuse for such utterances on such an occasion by so distinguished an orator, they affect to pretend that it may be truly said of Mr. Toombs, now, *"stat magni nominis umbra"* exhibiting only a faint image of his former greatness.

A due regard for the truth of history requires that the fallacy of this statement be exposed.

Mr. Toombs to-day deservedly stands in the front rank of his profession as one of the safest counsellors and most eloquent and efficient advocates at the Bar. And it may well be questioned whether any one, holding this position, truthfully, can be said to be in his dotage.

Again, it is well known, that, prior to this speech of Mr. Toombs, the calling of a constitutional convention of the people of Georgia, while it had been agitated to a very limited extent, in a few localities, had never been considered a politic or feasible meas-

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—This article so clearly and moderately sets forth a certain view of the political situation, as entertained by those whom the writer ably represents, that its value cannot be questioned, even though there can be no doubt to those who, like THE REPUBLIC, endeavor to look at all things in their national and not their local aspects, that the severe censure the writer makes on Northern Republican hostility or indifference to the "native" Southern Republican sentiment is almost wholly overdrawn and without foundation. The most virulent criticisms in Northern newspapers and the most pronounced coldness exhibited by Republicans North, has been towards the Northern-born citizens of the South who are termed "carpet-baggers," or to the active colored politicians, and not at all towards those who, having served in the rebellion have since in manly honesty accepted "the situation." It is difficult for our Southern-born friends to entirely understand the absence of sectional pride or way of looking at affairs, which is a marked characteristic of the loyal States.]

ure by the mass of the Democratic party of that State.

But, in less than one week after Mr. Toombs made the speech quoted from above, in which he peremptorily demanded of the Legislature that it should take the necessary action to allow the will of the people of Georgia (the Democratic party according to Mr. Toombs constituting the only true people) to be heard on the question of a convention, a bill calling a convention was passed in the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority.

Can it, then, be truthfully said that a man is in his dotage, or that his political influence and power is even waning, when the influence of his eloquence upon the minds of his constituents is such as, in one short week, to effect an entire change of views of the popular branch of the Georgia Democratic Legislature upon a question so momentous as that of calling a convention of the people of the State, for the purpose of changing the constitution, the organic law.

And does not the attempt of the apologists for the Toombs, to explain away the evil of his speech by attributing his unfortunate utterances to his dotage, come with a bad grace from men, most of whom, upon a comparison with Mr. Toombs for strength and keenness of intellect, would appear like farthing rush-lights beside noonday sun.

Evidently, Senator Gordon, one of the most prudent and sagacious of all the Confederate leaders in the South, does not consider Mr. Toombs in his dotage, or as wanting influence, for we find him availing himself of the earliest opportunity afforded him to deliver an address to his constituents deploring the effect of Mr. Toombs speech upon the minds of the thinking men of the North, and counseling them to do all in their power to counteract the effect of that speech as soon so possible.

Let, then, no true friend of American constitutional liberty, as proclaimed in the platform of the National Union Republican party, cherish the delusion that Mr. Toombs, who has ever been one of the ablest and most

bitter of its foes, is in his dotage, and incapable of further effective service in the ranks of the opposition, for it must be admitted that he is to-day as strong mentally and politically as in the palmiest days of the rebellion.

When such a distinguished luminary of the Democracy finds it necessary on such an occasion to pour out upon the devoted head of the "scalawag" the choicest vials of his fiercest wrath, it may be of public interest to inquire who is the scalawag and why he incurs Mr. Toombs deepest displeasure, so deep in fact that to accommodate the full measure of his hate, to use his own language, "a deeper pit in hell must be dug for him."

First, then, who is the scalawag? In common Democratic parlance in the South, every white, whether native-born Southerner or born at the North, or elsewhere, and who had, prior to the breaking out of the late rebellion, become a citizen of one of the Southern States, who dares to advocate and vote for the principles and candidates of the National Union Republican party, is called a scalawag. No man knows better than Mr. Toombs the full meaning and scope of every word he utters—and these, then, are the men he so bitterly denounces as low dirty fellows and traitors alike to their race and section.

Observe that every Republican voter in the South does not incur this odious character and the direst displeasure of Mr. Toombs and others of the Bourbon Democracy. For Mr. Toombs in his late speech tells the colored Republican voters that he can respect them, notwithstanding in the same speech he calls them "beasts." He also in the same speech with like charity proclaims to the "carpet-baggers" that he can forgive them, for their morality is loose and he never expected any better of them.

Having thus clearly and unmistakeably identified the scalawag it remains to inquire:

Second, Why the scalawag as thus defined should thus incur the vituperation and abuse of this distinguished leader of the Bourbon Democracy of the South?

When the veterans of the Union and Confederate armies met at Appomattox Court-House on the memorable 9th of April, 1865, General Grant, the great warrior who had led the Union armies over so many hotly con-

tested battle-fields to final victory and triumph, in that supreme hour of the nation's crisis realized the fact that the blood and treasure which had flowed so freely in the Union cause, in order to accomplish its perfect work and reach its full fruition in the blessings of heaven, must have been offered as a sacrifice, not to sectional hate or triumph, but to the full and perfect reconstruction of that Union which had been so sadly and so terribly jarred by the rude shocks of a rebellious war.

From that memorable day on which, with a delicacy of sentiment and a nobility of soul that will render his name immortal, he returned to his distinguished antagonist his sword, his every public act and utterance has given the world assurance that whatever may be the opinion of others as to the object and results of the late war, for him they meant the indissoluble Union of indestructible States and the supremacy of that Union and the laws thereof over all other political organizations and combinations whatsoever. In short, a government of the people, by the people, for the people, of the whole American nation.

He has never given the slightest intimation that he ever regarded that portion of our country comprising the States lately in rebellion as a conquered province wrested from a foreign power, but, on the contrary, has never seemed to forget that it was the land of his own misguided countrymen, who had made a gallant and heroic though unsuccessful struggle for a cause they believed to be right.

Thoroughly national himself in all his views and sentiments he realized the fact that the struggle having ended, it was the best generalship and highest statesmanship under the circumstances to inspire his late antagonists with like feelings in regard to the supremacy of the nation and its laws.

His political sagacity disclosed to him the fact, however slow others have appeared to be in realizing it, that if the Union was ever again to be restored to perfect symmetry and power the citizens and inhabitants of the States lately in rebellion would have to take a cordial and active part in the work of reconstruction, or, failing in that, the Union would be a union but in name, held together

by force. And his instantaneous comprehension of this great political truth, which so many distinguished men whose ability as statesmen and devotion to the Union cannot be questioned have seemed so slow to comprehend, will forever stamp him as being as great in peace as in war, with few equals and no superior. That his policy will ultimately triumph is certain. That it has been so long in abeyance is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that some extreme men at the North opposed it upon the ground that all the people of the South who had participated actively in the rebellion were traitors who had forfeited their lives, to say nothing of their political rights, and should never again be allowed to participate in the public affairs of either the States or the Nation, while many extreme men of the South opposed it upon the ground that a State having the right under the Constitution to secede, the States remaining in the Union had no right under the Constitution to coerce the seceding States back into the Union, and that the South having been overpowered by superior force should bide her time, and, like all nations conquered by a foreign power, avail herself of the first opportunity of throwing off the yoke.

To these extreme men of either section the idea of a reconstructed Union with ex-rebels participating freely and cordially in the government of either State or Nation is alike odious. Hating each other, they hate every one who attempts to bring them together in social or political contact. These are the men who make a common fight against the "scalawag." They alike affect to doubt the sincerity of the "scalawags'" devotion to the Union and its laws. Alike they both profess to doubt the sincerity of his professions of devotion to the Union and its government, upon the ground that he is a Southerner and has been a rebel. Accordingly these extremists unite in proclaiming to the world that no respectable ex-rebels in the South are Republicans, and that the white men of the South claiming to be Republicans are low ignorant fellows and mercenary traitors.

According to their statements the only true and reliable friends the Union and National Government, and especially the Republican

party, have in the South, are the men who have moved South since the war, and the colored people, or as Mr. Toombs calls them, the "carpet-baggers," and "beasts."

Now, the truth of history requires that these slanders on the ex-rebel Republicans of the South be repelled.

It should be borne in mind that the bitter and unrelenting warfare waged against the "scalawags" of the South is not so much on account of their willingness to have the Union restored as it is because they are willing and actually do participate in the efforts made to restore the Union upon the wise and just and humane principles of the National Republican party. For it is true that an ex-rebel may make Union speeches and take any number of oaths to support the Constitution and laws of the United States; nay, may even be a member of the National Legislature and yet retain his decency and respectability provided he does so as a Democrat and is bitter in denouncing Republican measures and men.

But when an ex-rebel makes Union speeches, or votes, or holds office as a Republican, forthwith, according to Mr. Toombs, *et id omni genus*, he ceases to be a gentleman or a patriot and becomes that "consummation of all villainy"—the scalawag. How can this be better illustrated than by comparison of the public career of Messrs. Gordon and Hill as Democrats, with that of Messrs. Longstreet and Akerman as Republicans, since the work of reconstruction commenced.

Each of these distinguished Southerners cast his fortunes with the Southern Confederacy and participated actively in the rebellion. After the war ended, diversity in the political views of these ex-rebels aligned General Gordon and Mr. Hill with the Democratic party, and General Longstreet and Mr. Akerman with the Republican party.

Messrs. Akerman and Longstreet have both held office under the Federal Government as Republicans, and for so doing have received an amount and quality of abuse from the Democratic press and politicians of the South unsurpassed in the annals of political warfare.

Messrs. Hill and Gordon are now filling Federal positions as Democrats, and yet the English language is exhausted in heaping

compliments upon them by the Democratic press and politicians of the South.

Now, Mr. Toombs and Mr. Hill both realized the fact, early in the history of reconstruction that if the Union was ever to be firmly restored upon the wise, just, and humane principles of the Republican party that the ex-rebels of the South must of necessity co-operate cordially in the work of reconstruction, and both of them being bitterly opposed to the firm reconstruction of the Union upon any such basis determined to prevent it if within their power.

Accordingly as early as the summer of 1868, Mr. Toombs and Mr. Hill addressed a mass-meeting of the Southern Democracy in Atlanta, Georgia, on the subject of reconstruction.

Mr. Hill, one of the most eloquent and effective advocates in the South as well as a most subtle and ingenious politician, sounded the key-note of that warfare which was intended to prevent the ex-rebels of the South from participating actively in the work of reconstruction upon the principles of the Republican party, in a speech advising ostracism of every kind against the white man who should dare to advocate the principles of that party in the South. In that speech he is reported to have said, among other things: "I tell you, my friends, there is no peace for this country until Radicalism is crushed; not only crushed but despised; not only despised but made infamous." And Mr. Toombs made a similar bitter speech.

How well that cry was taken up by the lesser lights of the Bourbon Democracy, and what suffering and misery has been entailed upon the Republicans of the South in consequence thereof, would require volumes to depict.

Suffice it to say that thousands of ex-rebels who, prior to these memorable speeches of Messrs. Toombs and Hill, were sympathizing and acting with the Republicans, shrank back appalled into the ranks of the Democracy, so frightened and dazed by the lightning flashes of Mr. Hill's keen sarcasm and the satire and the deep thunder of Mr. Toombs' denunciations that they were stricken with "day blindness" so as to be unable to recognize a Republican on the street by daylight for years afterwards. And the persistent and unscrupulous mis-

representations of the Democratic press of the South concerning the character and standing of such ex-rebels as dared to assert their manhood by boldly proclaiming their principles and acting with the Republican party have created doubts as to the character and motives of these ex-rebel Republicans even in the minds of some of their Republican friends at the North.

And thus suspected and distrusted by their Northern Republican allies and persecuted and abused by the Southern Bourbon Democracy, these ex-rebel Republicans of the South have suffered this crucifixion of the soul for years, through a perfect storm of hate, unflinchingly. True and steadfast in their devotion to the principles of the National Union Republican party, neither ostracism in all its forms, nor defamation, nor intimidation, nor terrorism of any kind, and not even the unkind suspicions and distrust engendered in the minds of their Republican friends North by the willful and persistent misrepresentations of an unscrupulous opposition press, have ever been able to force them to desert or even waver in their support of the grand and immortal principles of the Republican party.

And thus the secret of the bitter hostility of Mr. Toombs to the "scalawag" is fully explained.

PRESENTS TO EASTERN NATIONS.—The custom of presenting gifts to the officials of certain countries, especially those of the East, at the conclusion of important treaties has been followed by our Government and those of Europe from time immemorial. The practice is an ancient one, and appears to be but another form for the expression of close friendship and esteem among the contracting parties. The United States follows the time-honored custom in its treaties with the Indians. Whether the policy is a wise one or not, it has been sanctioned by every administration from that of Washington to that of President Grant. Yet in the face of Democratic precedents, Springer, from Illinois, selects an isolated case in which certain Turkish officials were presented with gifts by our Government at the conclusion of a treaty between the two nations. Springer would have the people believe that the thing was never heard of before; that it remained for a Republican administration to inaugurate this system of foreign extravagance. Partisanship has blinded Mr. Springer to the truth. To deceive the people by presenting certain facts, and withholding others of greater importance, is to him a party obligation, and he has endeavored to faithfully carry it out.

MINERAL WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

In collecting material for an exhibition of our mineral wealth special care has been taken to embody the largest practicable amount of information in the least possible space. Research has been confined chiefly to coal, petroleum, iron, copper, silver, and gold. These, from their great pecuniary value and direct connection with national progress, are among the most important elements of prosperity.

T. S. Hunt, Esq., of Boston, in a recent very interesting paper on the development of mineral resources, divides the country by a supposed line drawn north and south at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. To the Atlantic side he assigns "a great basin of paleozoic strata;" or more particularly designates it as "the vast appalachian coal-field, with its dependent areas of semi-bituminous and anthracite coal." Here, also, is found, "iron, copper, lead, salt, and petroleum." The Pacific half contains the more precious metals, "gold and silver among the chief products."

Acknowledging the convenience of this division the better to comprehend the subject, yet it is certain there are immense deposits of coal and petroleum already developed, of very fine quality, in the western slope. The coal, perhaps, does not reach the standard of anthracite, but it equals, and much of it is superior to that procured from the States immediately west of the Mississippi river; while the oil, so far as discovered, is fully up to that of Pennsylvania.

COAL.

Coal being among the earliest mining interests, and its proportions having reached such an extent, the aggregate valuation exceeding all other minerals combined, we shall treat it in point of prominence first.

The commercial magnitude this article of domestic and manufacturing importance has achieved is largely owing to a thorough knowledge in producing it, the multiplied applications for its uses, and a more general comprehension of its resources. Besides, a much larger experience has been had in its investigation and study than that yet acquired or given to the separating of gold and

silver from the flint-quartz in the deep lodes and gorges of the west; and much less capital is required in a successful conducting of the enterprise. The work of the former covers a period of not less than one hundred and twenty-six years, while that of the latter comprises little more than a quarter of a century.

The first coal mined for mineral fuel was by the Colonies, from the Richmond, Virginia, mines, south of the Blue Ridge. It was, however, of a low grade, but produced in considerable quantity, and after the Revolution sold quite extensively in eastern cities. For many years these mines were operated with more or less profit, but now are worked only for home consumption.

The great central field of bituminous coal lies buried in the mountains of western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, West Virginia, and northern portions of Kentucky, having an area estimated at 58,000 square miles.

Adjoining this on the east, still in Pennsylvania, and extending into Maryland, are small areas of semi-bituminous deposits, among which may be mentioned the Blossburg, Cumberland, Broad Top, Johnstown, Towanda, and Ralston. These combined, yield about 5,000,000 tons annually.

The total production of bituminous coal from Pennsylvania mines alone, for the year 1872, was 7,442,000 tons, and of semi-bituminous, 3,000,000. Those of Ohio for the same period were 4,400,000 tons.

Anthracite coal the past few years has taken the lead, but was a long time working itself into favor. Its advantages, however, are now fully appreciated, and it ranks first among consumers, either for domestic use or for other purposes. The small region in eastern Pennsylvania where the great bulk of this coal is obtained, having an area of not more than 472 square miles, in 1872 produced 21,500,000 tons.

In Montgomery county, Virginia, there is found semi-bituminous and even anthracite coals of good quality, but the extent of deposit has never been thoroughly investigated.

Rhode Island and Massachusetts have an area of 500 square miles of the better grade

of coal, including anthracite; but with the exception of one mine at Portsmouth, which in 1872 yielded 14,000 tons, this vast field is waiting proper development to make it productive and valuable.

The State of Michigan has an area of about 6,700 square miles of coal; but it is thin, of inferior quality, and mined chiefly for home purposes. In 1872 the estimated production of this State was 30,000 tons.

Illinois coal-field covers a great portion of the State extending into Indiana and Kentucky, reaches some 47,000 square miles, and in 1872 produced—Illinois 3,000,000, Indiana 800,000; Kentucky 300,000 tons.

Tennessee and Alabama have developed important areas of bituminous coal, pronounced of medium quality; while the coals of Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas are of a much lower grade. In Arkansas, however, there has been discovered beds of superior semi-bituminous coal, with a near approach to anthracite.

The Mount Vernon mine in Mendocino county, California, so far as developed, extends under about 7,200 acres of land, and is a very good article of bituminous coal. The supply is estimated to be large, and needs but the conveniences of transportation to make it important and profitable.

Mr. L. Falkenau, State assayer, has made an analysis of this coal, which we annex :

Specific gravity.....	1.292	
Volatile combustible substance	40.20	per cent.
Fixed carbon.....	49.70	"
Moisture.....	6.70	"
Ashes.....	3.00	"
Sulphur.....	0.40	"

Amount of gas evolved, 37 cubic feet per ten pounds avoirdupois of coal.

The canon coal-field of Colorado yielded in 1873, 12,909 tons; and in 1874, 19,385 tons. This, however, is not as good coal as that of the Mount Vernon mine in California.

Pancake Mountain coal probably is the most promising vein of this mineral yet discovered in the Pacific slope. This mine is in Nevada, and believed to be the first true coal found west of the Rocky Mountains. This vein is said to belong to the carboniferous age, and the deposit thought to be extensive. The present product is about 100 tons a month, and sells for \$12 to \$20 per ton on the dump.

There are two important coal-fields in Utah, one at Castle Valley, the other at San Pete. Both of these are considered rich in deposit, and the mineral a good bituminous grade. We have no figures that are reliable in connection with the products of these mines.

Macfarlane, the very best authority, sums up the grand total of this wealth in the United States, for the year 1873, at 50,000,000 tons; while the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, published in New York, makes the following announcement as the total production for 1874:

Anthracite coal.....	24,281,471	tons,
Bituminous ".....	25,248,684	"
Lignite ".....	1,217,020	"
Total.....	50,747,175	"

PETROLEUM.

Without entering into any particulars of history touching this mineral, we shall simply state that the oil wells of Pennsylvania were opened in 1859, producing the first year 500,000 barrels of crude oil, which sold at 55 cents per gallon. Much excitement followed this discovery, and for the ten ensuing years the production amounted in the gross to 35,273,000 barrels of 40 gallons each, and there were in 1870 3,000 wells in operation.

In 1861 the exports of this mineral were 28,000 barrels, and for the ten years following it amounted to 14,465,000 barrels. The average price of this oil had fallen to 25 cents per gallon, but even this made the aggregate valuation \$144,000,000.

Exportations for 1870 were 3,495,800 barrels; for 1872, 3,754,060 barrels; for 1873, 5,937,041 barrels, and for 1874, 5,878,578 barrels, being a slight falling off from the previous year. The amount, however, for 1874, chiefly refined oil, at the mean price of 13.09 cents per gallon, gave a total valuation for the year of \$30,825,268.

The total estimated production of crude oil for 1874 was 29,282 barrels daily, equal to 10,687,930 barrels for the year.

IRON.

The iron interest of the United States has received a good share of public attention, and its resources have been largely developed.

Supplies of this metal, in more or less quantities, and of higher or lower degrees of

excellencies, have been obtained from Vermont, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; from Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama; from Lake Superior, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia, with Missouri and Arkansas. In fact, the whole eastern half of the country is studded with immense beds of this valuable ore.

The total amount of iron produced in the United States in 1810 has been set down at 54,000 tons, against 165,000 tons in 1830. Then in 1840 it was 347,000 tons, against 600,000 tons in 1850; and in 1860 it was 919,870 tons, to 1,865,434 tons in 1870. In 1872 the grand total of iron production reached its highest figures—2,880,070 tons.

COPPER.

Throughout the eastern border of the great coal areas, embedded in the crystalline rocks, are considerable deposits of this mineral. It has been mined and treated to some extent in Vermont, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Eastern Tennessee. The total production, however, from all these sources has never exceeded 2,500 tons.

Lake Superior is the famous field for this metal. Here the ore is obtained in a state of comparative purity, requiring simply a mechanical process to separate it from the rock, when it is at once prepared for melting into solid ingots of copper.

These mines from 1845 (date of last opening) to 1858 yielded 18,000 tons. In 1873 it was 18,514 tons. There were thus 514 tons more taken out in the one year—1873—than for the thirteen preceding years. In 1874 there were 22,235 tons of ore mined, 83 per cent of which was copper, while the aggregate for the twenty-nine years since commencing operations was 217,134 tons.

Mr. Caswell places the production of this mineral, from Lake Superior alone, for 1874, at 17,327 tons direct, and from other ores 2,375 tons, with a grand total of 19,702 tons of ingot copper, and the exports for the same period were 4,500 tons.

We have omitted any reference to the ores of chrome, zinc, and nickel, now quite largely mined, or to the extensive salt deposits of New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia. These works now

supply the markets of the country with this mineral, and yield no inconsiderable amount of exports. There is also granite, marble, sandstones, and roofing slate, all objects of substantial industry. But leaving the eastern half of our territory thus imperfectly represented, we turn to the west.

QUICKSILVER.

The recent scarcity, and consequent high price of this mineral has given a sudden and wonderful impetus to its production. For the past year the quicksilver excitement has been general throughout California. The easy accessibility of the mines, the broad area of country where they are located, and the profit derived from comparatively small investments, have induced large numbers to engage in the enterprise. As nearly as can be ascertained, there are forty-seven producing mines in the State, and a large number of claims giving promise of valuable developments.

A very large per cent. of this metal is consumed in the mining States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, and not even an approximation can be made of the aggregate production.

R. W. Raymond, however, reports for 1874 432,635 pounds of quicksilver as having been shipped "through freight" from San Francisco by the Central Pacific Railroad; 36,444 pounds from San Jose, and 47,000 pounds as "local freight." The exports by sea from 1859 to 1874, inclusive, were 365,788 flasks, valued at \$14,226,411.

GOLD AND SILVER.

From among the vast number of producing mines in the State of California we have selected thirteen for special notice, either of which yield over \$100,000 annually. The most prominent of these is the

IDAHO.

This is near Grass Valley, Nevada county, owned by a corporation, and worked by a 90-horse power engine. The length of location is 3,100 feet, average width of ledge $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, length of drifts 3,988 feet, depth of working shaft 920 feet, and has 8 levels. There are 35 stamps, and the mine is in a most prosperous condition.

Mr. Edward Coleman, president and superintendent of the company, makes the fol-

lowing condensed report for the year ending December 7, 1874:

"During the year we have crushed 28,801½ tons of rock, of which 1,942½ tons came from the 400 level; 1,886½ tons came from the 500 level; 5,581½ tons came from the 600 level; 16,433½ tons came from the 700 level; 1,594½ tons came from the 800 level, and 963 tons from the shaft. This gave a gross yield of 36.169 ounces of gold, \$631,190.56; 217 tons of sulphurets, \$21,600; specimens, \$38.50; gross yield of tailings, \$10,989.25; gold from old copper, \$692.39; total, \$664,811.20."

This mine from 1869 to 1874 paid \$1,603,000 in dividends.

EUREKA.

This mine, situated about two miles east of Grass Valley, and adjoining the Idaho, has a location of 1,680 feet, and is worked by a 60-horse power through a shaft 1,250 feet deep. There are 8 levels, with a total length of drift 9,000 feet, and has a capacity of crushing 65 tons of ore daily. The mine is owned by a corporation, and commenced operations October 1, 1865. From that time to September 30, 1874, they had taken out \$4,273,148, and paid \$2,054,000 in dividends.

Mr. William Watts, superintendent, for the year ending September 30, 1874, reports 8,130 tons of ore "milled," with a production of \$205,780 in gold bullion.

EMPIRE.

This is also near Grass Valley, and like the others owned by a corporation. It has a depth of shaft 1,200 feet. There are 12 levels, and a drift of 7,900 feet. It is handled by steam power, and during the year worked 11,000 tons of ore with a product of \$187,000 in bullion.

PROVIDENCE.

This is owned by an incorporated company, and located within one and a quarter miles of Nevada City. It has 3,100 feet on a vein running north and south. Width of vein at 400 feet level is 10 to 12 feet. This is said to be very rich in gold, and though there are no authentic figures given for the last fiscal year, yet Mr. Raymond estimates the production in excess of \$100,000. This mine is operated by water power, and the ore treated by chlorination.

BLACK BEAR.

This mine is in Siskiyou county, in the

wild northern portion of California, near Oregon. The counties of Siskiyou and Klamath, with an area of 10,740 square miles, have a population of less than 9,000. The works of this company are the largest in the section, and yielded in 1874 \$211,797 in gold.

KLAMATH.

The Klamath mine is also in Siskiyou county, is owned by a company, and in 1874 crushed 15,385 tons of ore, with the result of \$200,000 in gold bullion.

PLUMAS EUREKA.

This is the principal quartz mine in the county of Plumas, and is owned in England. For the year 1874 the company produced \$243,949 in gold. This county, Mr. Raymond says, has not been very thoroughly "prospected," and he gives it as his opinion that the region is specially rich in precious metals, which will be more fully developed upon the completion of the wagon road now in process of construction from Oroville up the north fork of Feather river to Sierra Valley.

SIERRA BUTTES.

These works are in Sierra county, also owned by an English company, and conducted upon quite an extensive scale. The number of tons of ore extracted and treated during 1874 was 53,959 tons, yielding \$470,608.

SUMNER.

This mine is in Kern county, is chiefly owned by Honorable J. P. Jones and Messrs. Burke and Strong. The patents of this company cover 11,300 feet, and the quantity of ore worked in 1874 was 5,000 tons, with a product of \$200,000.

HITE'S COVE.

This is in Mariposa county. In 1870 it produced \$180,000; in 1874 \$160,000.

AMADOR CONSOLIDATED.

These works are in Amador county, east of San Joaquin Valley, in the northernmost tier of mountain counties. This region is particularly noted for its mineral wealth. There are in the county 9 mining ditches, in all 48 miles in length. There are 16 quartz mills, crushing from 80,000 to 100,000 tons of ore annually. The Amador Consolidated is the leading mine, and for 1874 treated 22,098 tons, with a profit of \$259,971 in gold bullion.

KEYSTONE CONSOLIDATED.

This, also, is in Amador county, and in 1874 worked 25,146 tons, with a yield of \$452,506.

CHARIOT.

This is the leading mine in San Diego county, and has a capacity of 18 tons daily. In 1874 2,500 tons were worked, and a bullion product effected of \$138,864.

Recapitulation of the Thirteen Principal Mines.

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71
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88
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* Estimated.

As will be seen by the foregoing table, the annual yield of the thirteen principal mines was \$3,497,288, which is but a small per cent. of the aggregate mineral production of the State for 1874, which is put down at \$20,300,531.

NEVADA.

This, beyond doubt, is the richest mining district in the United States, and without entering into particulars touching the various prominent mines, we may almost declare the whole Territory one vast field of mineral wealth. Of the extent and valuation no approximation can be made. Mr. Raymond, in his seventh annual report to Congress from the Pacific coast, makes special mention of 390 different mines and mining interests with the most flattering indications of a rapid increase in number and richness of new discoveries.

The famous Comstock lode is by far the most productive yet developed.

The official report of this mine for 1874 was :

Gold dust and bullion.....	\$379,933
Silver bullion	30,954,602
Ores and base bullion.....	4,117,698
Total	35,452,233

IDAHO.

The aggregate mineral wealth of this Territory for 1874, represented by counties, was:

Owyhee county.....	\$900,000
Boise "	700,000
Alturas "	150,000
North Idaho and Lemhi counties..	250,000
Total	2,000,000

MONTANA.

The mining interests of this Territory are very much crippled in the absence of proper transportation. The distance to the nearest water conveyance, Carroll, on the Missouri river, is 225 miles, and it is 400 and 450 miles, respectively, to Franklin and Corinne on the railroad. This passage as yet is made by mules and ox teams. Still the mineral product of the Territory for 1874 was :

Gold shipped by express (mules) ..	\$2,511,276
Silver (refined bars) " " ..	16,766
Selected ores by other convey-	
ances	474,000
Amount taken out by miners	842,680

Total

3,844,722

UTAH.

Mr. George J. Johnson, of Salt Lake City, makes the following statement of the mineral production of Utah for 1874, and Mr. Raymond has incorporated it in his annual report :

Gold dust.....	\$92,093
Silver bullion.....	803,442
Base bullion shipped out of the Territory	2,811,200
Ore shipped.....	660,960
Refining works.....	5,664
	4,373,359

Deduct silver bullion shipped by the Germania, and included above, but extracted from Nevada lead.....

461,758

Total

3,911,601

COLORADO.

Theodore F. Van Wagenen, editor *Mining Review*, makes the estimate of mineral products of the Territory for 1874, and which Mr. Raymond also adopts, as follows :

Gold bullion (from smelting and amalgamation works) ..	\$423,563
Silver bullion (from smelting and amalgamation works) ..	1,983,207
Gold bullion (from stamp mills) ..	1,297,425

Gold bullion (from Placer work-ings).....	382,500
Ore and matte (shipped out of Territory)	1,192,815
Pig lead.....	73,676
Copper	100,197
Coal.....	1,600,000
Total	6,962,383

ARIZONA.

This Territory produced in 1874 (estimated) \$487,000 in gold and silver.

1874 AND 1875.

We have not made special mention of Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, or Wyoming, but incorporate them in the following general statements :

Total Production of Precious Metals for the Year 1874.

Arizona	\$487,000
California.....	20,300,531
Colorado	5,188,510
Idaho	1,880,004
Montana.....	3,844,722
Nevada	35,452,233
New Mexico.....	500,000
Oregon	609,070
Washington	154,535
Utah	3,911,601
Wyoming.....	100,000
Total	72,428,206

Total Production of Precious Metals for the Year 1875.

(Report closes December 31.)

Arizona ..	\$109,093
California	17,753,151
Colorado	6,299,817
Idaho ..	1,544,902
Montana.....	3,573,609
Nevada.....	40,478,369
Mexico	2,408,671
Oregon	1,165,046
Washington	81,932
Utah ...	5,687,494
British Columbia.....	1,776,953

Total.. 80,889,037

In the preparation of this paper the writer is particularly indebted to Rossiter W. Raymond, United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics ; to Honorable H. R. Linderman, Director United States Mints ; to T. S. Hunt, of Boston, and to Colonel Elery C. Ford, Chief of Mineral Division, General Land Office. To the last named gentleman especial obligations are acknowledged, not only for valuable notes of personal observation with facts and figures, but for the full and complete report of the amount of precious metals produced in the States and Territories west of the Missouri river, including British Columbia, for the year ending December 31, 1875.

REBEL COTTON CLAIMS—PAST AND PROSPECTIVE TREASURY RAIDS.

War is horrible enough even in a righteous cause, and against an enemy who had injured you. But a rebellion against freedom and the rights of humanity was simply damnable. Had it succeeded it would have turned back the hands of the dial of time for a century. If the South could pray for its success, it was only on the same ground that the wrecker asked heaven to direct the noble ship to the rock in the direct line of which his false light had been placed. Up to the beginning of the rebellion the country had kept pace with the world's advance except in the slave States, the principles of the North being the salt which had kept the nation from the corruption of slavery by enforcing and upholding freedom. Against freedom for all men and equality before the law, the South hurled itself with a vindictive

bitterness which the world could not understand, and if other nations suffered for the want of the Southern staple, it bid for their sympathy by endeavoring to provide facilities for obtaining cotton. The full extent of the bait thus offered will never be known. But enough is known to account for the expectation in the South of foreign aid. Meantime the war was made an instrument for profitable trade. Rebel cotton, cotton belonging to the Confederacy, was pledged and sold abroad for money to carry on the conflict. Cotton belonging to disloyal men was hoarded for sale when the rebellion should succeed, and cotton purchased of such men was moved for shipment at the first opportunity. When our troops penetrated the South such cotton was seized on behalf of the United States Government as enemy's property, the pro-

ceeds of which would be covered into the Treasury. The Republican party, which was in power through all the years of the war, and up to the end of the session of Congress in March, 1875, had passed laws which did more than justice in the premises. Indeed, they were often the means of putting money inadvertently in the pockets of men who deserved no sympathy whatever, for they had aided to redden the land with blood.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report for 1876, says that the number of bales of cotton seized after the 30th of June, 1865, the proceeds of which reached the Treasury was about 50,000, and the net proceeds thereof, averaging the same at \$100 per bale, was \$5,000,000. The fifth section of the act of May 18, 1872, directs the Secretary to pay to the lawful owners or their legal representatives the net proceeds actually paid into the Treasury after that date. The number of claims filed under this act was 1,336; the whole number of bales claimed is 136,877, the net proceeds of which at \$100 per bale, would be \$13,687,700. It is well known, says the Secretary, that a large number of persons from whom cotton was seized have made no claim whatever. Under these circumstances, he remarks, the magnitude of the aggregate of claims presented is worthy of attention.

In 1875 the Secretary reports that the number of claims filed under the act was 1,336, which have been acted upon as follows:

Allowed.....	39
Rejected.....	1,181
Dismissed for want of jurisdiction.....	96
Under examination.....	20

The amount paid out on the claims allowed, as aforesaid, is \$180,358.43.

The claims now under examination will be disposed of in a short time. Upon their decision all proceedings under the act will be finally closed.

The following table contains a summarized statement of the proceeds of captured and abandoned property covered into the Treasury, and the amounts that have been awarded and paid therefrom under the several acts of Congress:

Proceeds of captured and abandoned property covered into the Treasury.....	\$20,910,656 44
Awarded to claimants by Court of Claims under the act of March 12, 1863.....	\$11,348,247 73

Paid to claimants by the Secretary of the Treasury under the act of May 18, 1872....	\$180,358 43
Paid on judgments against Treasury agents under the act of July 27, 1868.....	39,188 17
Paid under various relief acts of Congress.....	228,250 81
Disbursed for expenses under joint resolution of March 30, 1868.	75,000 00

Total..... 11,871,045 14

Which deducted from the total amount received as above, leaves a balance of..... 9,039,611 30

Since the date of the above report the sum of \$4,596.04 has been paid to claimants under the act of May 18, 1872, and which, added to the amount above stated, makes a total of \$184,954.47.

The Southern Claims Commission has not been idle, nor as a general thing have the claimants from the South been at all backward, in presenting evidence on which they hoped to receive large sums from the Treasury. It is very clear that no claim ought to be admitted against the United States growing out of the destruction or appropriation of, or through damage to property, by the army or navy engaged in the suppression of the rebellion. That was the act of the South, entered upon with a full knowledge of what it involved. If the property of rebel enemies was taken or destroyed by the Federal forces, it was an act of war justified by the condition of affairs. Had there been no rebellion, there would have been no collision between the South and the Federal Government, and no devastation by armed men. The South, therefore, has no just demand on the nation for the payment of losses incurred through its own appeal to the arbitrament of the sword, and the nation can refuse to recognize such demands with perfect honor. Nevertheless, there are claims which may fairly be made, and which it is the duty of the Government to pay; and Republican legislation has prepared the way for their examination and settlement. The following shows what has been done by the commissioners:

Number of claims decided, 9,222; amount claimed, \$19,263,437.51; amount allowed, \$3,057,894.09; amount disallowed, \$16,205,543.42.

The supreme effort of the South to destroy

the Union having failed, the Treasury of the United States came out of the ordeal with a kind of fascinating safety. The war over, and the spirit of destruction allayed in the bosoms of the warriors in gray, it was far more peaceful and pleasant to rekindle that spirit and divert it to besiege the Treasury. Hands which had fired rebel bullets into the Federal ranks put aside the musket for the pen. The yelling "Tigers," and other soldiers on the Confederate side resolved to try whether the pen was stronger than the musket or the sword. Armed with that innocent weapon, which may sign a death warrant or mark the number of kisses sent by a lover to his mistress in a *billet doux*, they proceeded to prepare the papers for claims for presentation to the commission. But there seems to have been a limit fixed by the commission beyond which no one was allowed to pass, and there must, in consequence, have been considerable mortification, if not dismay. The short table given is full of instruction. It abounds, indeed, with lessons for all sorts of people, particularly for claimants whose disappointment it respectfully figures out. It will be observed that the amount claimed was in round numbers nineteen millions of dollars; the amount allowed was three millions, leaving a trifling difference in the shape of a believed overcharge of sixteen millions! The martial claimants or claim agents whose sad failure the table records, of course, bought their experience, and can only profit by it on other occasions. But there are claimants who have no experience in the matter at all, as yet, but who may learn much from that table when they shall follow the lead of their disappointed brethren and present papers. The Secretary refers to the holding back claimants whose elevation of soul has not reached the standard—who have not put forth their claim for a pile of greenbacks of a most astonishing height. He says: Claims against the Government have been permitted to sleep until the officers connected with the transactions out of which they arose have died or gone out of service, and have then been revived and supported by *ex parte* testimony of such character as to cause their allowance by the accounting officers. Such claims the Secretary recommends should be barred if

not presented within a period of six years, and it is a very proper recommendation.

It is manifest, however, that the change in the composition of the House of Representatives has endangered the Treasury. Ex-Confederate participants in the rebellion are there in full sympathy with the Bourbon Democracy. A Democratic slave-owner always boasted that he was a great man, a superior being, born to command. Enlightened citizens derided the claim. The boasts of Southern superiority were despised by Republicans, who could not see any greatness in a slaveholder who lived in ease on the thralldom of others, and paid no wages to his workmen. To the Republican party the country is largely indebted for its safety and unity as a nation. But the boldness and patriotism of Republicans should be contrasted with the wretched attitude of the Democratic leaders, who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing, either through or after the war. Vigilance is more necessary at this time than at any period of the country's history. A rebellion was inaugurated; a great war was fought to put it down; a huge public debt has been created. And the purse strings are now in the hands of the enemy who fought to destroy the Union, and their party associates! Will the people tolerate a repeal of laws which have guarded the public money hitherto, and allow access to the Treasury by men who were denied before, but who may under legal sanction obtain millions? Are the people willing to have Republican legislation repealed, so that the public money may be drawn out by men who were known to be disloyal, and whose claims have been barred or rejected on that account? Will the loyal people of the nation pay rebel claims to men still disloyal, but on laws introduced by their sympathizing Democratic friends in the House of Representatives, and passed by the votes of an ex-Confederate majority placed there only through the grace and forgiveness of Republicans who have so long constituted its majority?

THE school question is logically compassed by the declaration—that the public schools are and must be sustained by the State to maintain and save the State. If any church wishes to maintain schools for its own benefit the right is not denied, but its communicants owe duties as citizens, and the maintenance of public schools is one of them.

THE CONFEDERATE LEADERS IN CONGRESS.

The following facts are compiled chiefly from the "Congressional Directory" for the Forty-Fourth Congress, a work compiled by Major Ben. Perley Poore, clerk of printing records, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, or whose records are shown by the Confederate war records now in the archives of the War Department. The authority is quoted in the following extracts from the sources above stated, and from others:

ALABAMA.—*Senator* GEORGE GOLDTHWAITE, of Montgomery; was adjutant general of the State of Alabama during the war.

2d District—Representative JEREMIAH N. WILLIAMS, of Clayton; entered the Confederate army in 1861 as major.

3d District—Rep. PAUL BRADFORD, of Talladega; served in the Confederate army throughout the war.

5th District—Rep. JOHN H. CALDWELL, of Jacksonville; was elected solicitor for the tenth judicial circuit by the legislature, at the session of 1859-'60; re-elected at the session of 1863-'64. This statement shows that he was an officer of the rebel State government, and also of President Johnson's reactionary movement.

6th District—Rep. GOLDSMITH W. HEWITT, of Birmingham; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served until severely wounded at the battle of Chickamunga in 1863.

At large—Rep. WILLIAM HENRY FORNEY, of Jacksonville; entered the Confederate army at the commencement of hostilities in 1861, as captain, and was successively promoted major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general; surrendered at Appomattox C. H.; was a member of the State Senate of Alabama 1865-'66, (under the Johnson provisional government.)

*At large—*BURWELL BOYKIN LEWIS, of Tuscaloosa; served in the Confederate army as an officer in the Second Alabama cavalry.

ARKANSAS—*1st District—Rep.* LUCIEN C. GAUSE, of Jacksonport; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served throughout the war, attaining the rank of colonel. This person served with Major General Fagan, of whose actions in the Steele-Rice Arkansas campaign of April, 1864, so conservative authority as Harper's "History of the Great Rebellion" states in relation to the capture of a Federal train at Marks' Mills that, according to custom, all negroes found in the command after surrender were shot. These were not soldiers, but teamsters, servants, and contrabands.

2d District—Rep. WILLIAM F. SLEMONS, of

Monticello; was a member of the Arkansas State (secession) convention in 1861; entered the Confederate army in July, 1861, and served through the war. He was a brigade commander under Fagan in the campaign against Steele, in April, 1864, at Poison Springs, near Camden, Ark., when nearly two hundred men belonging to the First Kansas colored (79th U. S. C. T.) regiment were murdered after being wounded or surrendering. He was also in the campaign under Price, in September and October, 1864, by which Western Missouri and Kansas were invaded and partly desolated. The atrocities perpetrated were numerous. An account of them may be found in a rebel book published at Cincinnati, entitled "Shelby and His Men"—the author of which served with Slemons, and in the "Army of the Border," by R. J. Hinton, and "The Annals of Kansas," by D. W. Wilder, State Auditor of Kansas.

In the rebel account of the Price campaign in Missouri and Kansas the following description of the atrocities that were enacted is given. It relates to the division under "Joe" Shelby, but is true of the whole force:

"No prisoners were taken, and why should there be? * * He was fighting the Devil with fire, and smoking him to death. Haystacks, houses, barns, produce, crops, and farming implements were consumed before the march of his squadrons, and what the flames spared the bullets finished." Colonel Hinton thus describes what he saw: "They had entered Kansas. The first house across the line was the scene of a dastardly murder. An old, gray-haired minister of the gospel lay dead, with white locks reddened by his own blood. The women and children were frantic and crazed by terror and grief. The fence and outhouses were burning. The interior of the cabin presented a woe-begone appearance. A perfect saturnalia of destruction seemed to have reigned. Everything not portable had been broken * * The frightened inmates were stripped of nearly every article of clothing on their persons, or in the cabin."—*Army of the Border*, p. 190, 1865.

*4th District—*THOMAS MONTICUE GUNTER, of Fayetteville; was a delegate from Washington county in the Arkansas State Convention of May, 1861; served in the Confederate army as colonel Thirteenth Arkansas volunteers. He was also in Fagan's command.

FLORIDA—*Senator* CHARLES W. JONES; was born in Ireland. He was a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, as the Confederate War Department records establish.

GEORGIA—*Senator* THOMAS MANSON NORWOOD, of Savannah; was a member of the

Georgia (rebel) legislature in 1861-'62. In July, 1875, the Senator delivered an address, supposed to be non-political in character, at the commencement of Emory College, Georgia. From a report of this effort published in the Democratic press of that State, it appears Mr. Norwood declared that he charged "the Yankees as having waged the last war, not for patriotism or the Constitution, but for dollars and cents. He deplored the fact that the Government was controlled 'by a low order of intellect and a low order of men'—condemned the fifteenth amendment and the carpet-bagger. The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments he declared to be probably the only permanent results of the war. He said the negro had been left among a race superior to him in every particular to work out his own destiny, and that there would never be unity of the two races; that the negro as a race would never acquire either education or wealth; that he would never occupy the same social plane with the white race; that the common school system would in time prove a failure as to the negro; that it cannot succeed except among a homogeneous people, and a people who are on a social equality; that he would never appreciate nor exercise intelligently the privileges of citizenship; that the failure to contribute to the educational fund would in time lead to separate taxation for separate schools, and the system as to this race would fail; that the next generation of them will not be equal to the present as laborers and citizens * * *

* * * In the course of time the people of the North would themselves demand of him either colonization or the surrender of the elective franchise, and the fifteenth amendment will be repealed. * * To be a harmonious people, we must be a homogeneous people; the negro as a slave was always a disturbing element, and will be an irritation in the republic as a freeman."

Senator JOHN B. GORDON, of Atlanta; at the beginning of the war entered the Confederate army as captain of infantry, and was promoted major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, major-general, and to the command of the second army corps; commanded one wing of General Lee's army at Appomattox Court-House; was wounded in battle eight times. Senator Gordon's position since the surrender, as well as his view of the act of secession, and the subsequent war thereon, have been given at length by himself in his testimony before the famous Ku-Klux Committee of Investigation. The report thus summarizes views he then held: "His testimony is that the magnanimity and deference shown by General Grant and his officers towards the army of the South at the time of and after the surrender led them to hope

they would be permitted to go home, resume their places and rights as citizens, organize the State governments, and again resume their relations to the General Government, as if there had been no rebellion. After President Lincoln's death, and Johnson's announcement of his policy, they became apprehensive that some hanging and general confiscation would follow. When relieved of those apprehensions, and terms of reconstruction and the fourteenth amendment were proposed by Congress, they began to complain of want of good faith, and when terms were imposed they became sullen and defiant, looking upon the Government as having outraged them, and deprived them of their rights." General Gordon said: "We feel a sense of wrong as honorable men. We do not think we have done anything in the dark." Of secession he said: "We thought we were right. I am one of those who thought so at the time. I thought I had a perfect right to do as I did. * * By the course that has been pursued to us * * we have been disappointed, and the feeling of alienation * * has in this way been increased more than by any other one fact." Gordon declared that "We did not believe the act of secession was treason. I do not believe it now. I do not expect ever to believe it." In regard to secret organizations for the advancement of Southern interests General Gordon testified as to what he termed a "brotherhood," admitting that he was asked to become the chief in Georgia; that it was widely extended; that the members took an obligation tantamount to an oath; that it was confined to white men, and that no white Republican was found in it; that it was "mainly confined to soldiers of the army," (Confederate,) men who were "ready for any emergency," &c. The likeness of this to the Ku-Klux was unmistakable. When Gordon entered the Senate, the Republicans having a majority in both bodies, he very carefully excluded from the sketch in the "Congressional Directory" of that date all reference to his Confederate military record, while as seen above in the later Directory he states it at length. There is a Democratic majority in the House, and it is honorable to parade treason in behalf of slavery and disunion.

1st District—Rep. JULIAN HARTRIDGE, of Savannah; delegate to the Charleston Democratic Convention in 1860; was in the Confederate army during first year of the war; was a member of the Confederate Congress.

2d District—Rep. WILLIAM E. SMITH, of Albany; entered the Confederate army as a volunteer, in the Fourth Georgia Volunteers, after the State seceded; was elected captain in April, 1862; lost a leg in the defense of Richmond, at King's School-House, June 25, 1862;

was elected to the Confederate Congress in 1863.

3d District—Rep. PHILIP COOK, of Americus; was elected to the State Senate of Georgia, in 1863, (rebel;) was elected a member of the State Convention of 1865, called by President Johnson; entered the Confederate service in 1861, as a private; was commissioned first lieutenant, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and in August, 1863, brigadier-general.

4th District—Rep. HENRY R. HARRIS, of Greenville; was a member of the Georgia (secession) Convention of 1861.

5th District—Rep. MILTON A. CANDLER, of Atlanta; was a member of the State (rebel) House of Representatives in 1861-'63; of the State Constitutional Convention in 1865—the body called by President Johnson.

8th District—Rep. ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS, of Crawfordsville; was elected to the Secession Convention of Georgia in 1861; opposed and voted against the ordinance of secession in that body, but gave it his support after it had been passed by the convention against his judgment as to its policy; was elected by that convention to the Confederate Congress which met at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, and was chosen vice-president under the Provisional government by that Congress; was elected vice-president of the Confederate States for the term of six years under what was termed the permanent government, in November, 1861; visited the State of Virginia on a mission under the Confederate Government in April, 1861, upon the invitation of that State; was one of the commissioners on the part of the Confederate Government at the Hampton Roads Conference in February, 1865; was elected a Representative to the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses, when he declined a re-election; was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1866, by the first legislature convened under the new Constitution (the Johnson provisional movement), but was not allowed to take his seat. Mr. Stephens has rendered the sectional South the most important aid ever since he entered public life. In 1850 he assisted to draw up, and earnestly advocated the famous "Georgia platform," which declared that the State of Georgia "will, and ought to resist, even (as a last resort,) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any future act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent and petition of the slaveholders thereof; or any act abolishing slavery in places within the slaveholding States purchased by the United States for the erection of forts, magazines, dock yards, navy yards, and other like places; or in any act suppressing the slave

trade between slaveholding States; or in any refusal to admit as a State any territory applying because of the existence of slavery therein; or in any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico; or in any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves."

In a speech to the Georgia legislature, November, 1860, Mr. Stephens said that he stood on the "Georgia platform," as he had always done since its adoption, and if the Republicans attempted by an act of Congress to exclude the slaveholders from the Territories with their slave property no man would be more willing or ready than he to disrupt every tie which bound the States together. But he advised the people to wait until the Republican policy was adopted before they tried secession. The "Secessionists" favored immediate secession. In a letter to a strong secessionist in New York he gave the following reason for advocating the policy of delay:

"The great and leading object aimed at by me at Milledgeville was to produce harmony on a right line of policy. If worst comes to worst, as it may, and our State has to quit the Union, it is of the utmost importance that all our people should be united cordially in this cause. This, I feel confident, can only be effected on the line of policy I indicated."

Before a similar body, February, 1866, Mr. Stephens used the following notable language:

"Whatever may be said of the loyalty or disloyalty of any in the late most lamentable conflict of arms, I think I may venture safely to say that there was on the part of the great mass of the people of Georgia and of the entire South, *no disloyalty* to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. * * * As for myself I can affirm that no sentiment of disloyalty to these great principles of self-government, recognized and embodied in the Constitution of the United States, ever beat or throbbed in breast or heart of mine. To their maintenance my whole soul was ever enlisted; and to this end my whole life has heretofore been devoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days—God willing. * * * Whatever differences existed amongst us arose from differences as to the best and surest means of securing these great ends, which was the object of all. *It was with this view and for this purpose secession was tried. That has failed.* * * * Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of Constitutional liberty, or retrace our steps, and to look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms. In the court and halls of legislation, instead of on the field of battle." * * *

Although Mr. Stephens has not publicly advocated the Confederate cause as zealously since July, 1873, as before that time, yet in his speech in Congress in opposition to the civil rights bill, January 5, 1874, and in a Fourth of July oration at Atlanta, 1875, he presented with his accustomed adroitness the arguments in favor of State sovereignty. He is the ablest of Southern thinkers and leaders, and his book "The War Between the States" is in title and contents the arsenal of that doctrine.

9th District—Rep. BENJAMIN H. HILL, of Atlanta; was a member of the Confederate States Senate, and of the Georgia Secession Convention of 1861. Mr. Hill was regarded in the Confederate Senate as the Confederate President's other self. Mr. Davis spoke of him as his "right hand." He was chairman of its judiciary committee, and reported and advocated the following resolutions or bills:

"That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with the intent to incite insurrection and abet murder; and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington on the 22d day of September, 1862, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer."

"2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting or causing them to be abducted or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death."

Jefferson Davis issued, December 22d, 1862, a proclamation declaring outlaws General Butler and the men of his command; also consigning to death, or slavery, or capture, officers commanding and men serving in colored regiments.

To enforce this proclamation of Mr. Davis' a law was passed on the first of May, 1863, by the Confederate Congress, reported from the judiciary committee by Mr. Hill, of Georgia. Section 4 of the law reads as follows:

"Sec. 4. That every white person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who during the present war shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States, or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 5. Every person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall during the present war excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death, or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States."

In a late speech made in Georgia, Mr. Hill said:

"The great final struggle to settle the question whether Constitutional liberty on this continent shall be continued or not is to be fought in 1876. Can it be successfully fought with the ballot? * * * If we fail at the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. * * * I tell you, my friends, there is no peace for this country until Radicalism is crushed; not only crushed, but despised; not only despised, but made infamous forever throughout America. If we must have war—if we cannot preserve this Constitution and Constitutional government by the ballot; * * * if folly and wickedness—if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come. I am ready. But let one thing be distinctly understood, that if another war should come we of the South will rally under the old flag of our fathers. It always was our flag. We were never faithless to it, and our enemies were never faithful to it."

In his speech in the House of Representatives, January 11, 1876, Mr. Hill gave further expression to these ideas when he declared that "the South is here, and here she intends to remain. Go on and pass your qualifying acts, trample upon the Constitu-

tion you have sworn to support, abnegate the pledges of your fathers, incite rage upon our people, and multiply your infidelities until they shall be like the stars of heaven or the sands of the seashore, without number; but know this, for all your iniquities the South will never again seek a remedy in the madness of another secession. We are here; we are in the house of our fathers, our brothers are our companions, and we are at home to stay, thank God.

* * * We come charging upon the Union no wrongs to us. The Union never wronged us. The Union has been an unmixed blessing to every section, to every State, to every man of every color in America. We charge all our wrongs upon that 'higher law.' We wronged the Union grievously when we left it to be seized and rent and torn by the men who had denounced it as a 'covenant with hell and a league with the Devil.' "

KENTUCKY—7th District—Rep. JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN, of Versailles; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served throughout the war. It is charged that his service was almost wholly that of a guerilla, engaged in harrying the Unionists of Kentucky.

LOUISIANA—1st District—Rep. RANDALL LEE GIBSON, of New Orleans; joined the Confederate army as a private soldier, and was promoted to the command of a company, regiment, brigade, and division.

2d District—Rep. E. JOHN ELLIS, of New Orleans; graduated in March, 1861; joined the Confederate army five days afterward, and served throughout the war.

4th District—Rep. WILLIAM M. LEVY, of Natchitoches; was a member of the State legislature of Louisiana in 1861; was a Presidential elector on the Breckinridge and Lane ticket in 1860; served in the Confederate army, participating in the engagements on the peninsula in 1861 and 1862, and thereafter, until the close of the war, in the adjutant and inspector general's department on the staff of General Dick Taylor.

MISSISSIPPI—1st District—Rep. LUCIUS Q. C. LAMAR, of Oxford; was elected to the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses of the United States, and resigned in 1860 to take a seat in the Secession Convention of his State; in 1861, entered the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel of the Nineteenth regiment, and was promoted to the colonelcy; in 1863, was entrusted by President Davis with an important diplomatic mission to Russia.

4th District—Rep. OTHO R. SINGLETON, of Canton; was a representative from Mississippi in the Thirty-third, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses of the United States, retiring January 12, 1861; was a representative from Mississippi in the Confederate Congress from 1861 until 1865.

MISSOURI—Senator F. M. COCKRELL, of Warrensburg; entered the Confederate army as a colonel in the Missouri State Guard, and was promoted to major-general, serving till the rebellion closed.

4th District—Rep. ROBERT A. HATCHER, of New Madrid; was a member of the State (rebel) convention in 1862, and a member of the Confederate Congress in 1864-'65.

8th District—Rep. BENJAMIN J. FRANKLIN, of Kansas City; entered the Confederate army as a private, was promoted captain, and served throughout the war. He was an active pro-slavery politician in Kansas, being known, in fact, among those called "Border Ruffians."

11th District—Rep. JOHN B. CLARK, Jr., of Fayette; at the commencement of the late war he entered the Confederate army as a lieutenant, and was promoted successively to be captain, major, colonel, and brigadier-general. Clark served in Marmaduke's division, and was a brigade commander in the Price raid of 1864.

NORTH CAROLINA—Senator MATT W. RANSOM, of Northampton county, (post office Weldon;) entered the Confederate army, serving as lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general and surrendered at Appomattox.

Senator AUGUSTUS SUMMERFIELD MERRIMON, of Raleigh; was a member of the legislature of North Carolina in 1860-'61; was solicitor (rebel) of the 8th judicial district of North Carolina from 1861 to 1865.

1st District—Rep. JESSE J. YEATES, of Murfreesboro'; served in the Confederate army, and was major of the 31st regiment North Carolina troops; was solicitor (rebel) of the 1st judicial circuit of North Carolina from 1861 to 1866.

3d District—Rep. ALFRED MOORE WADDELL, of Wilmington; served in the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel of cavalry.

4th District—Rep. JOSEPH J. DAVIS, of Louisburg; served in the Confederate army as captain.

5th District—Rep. ALFRED MOORE SCALES, of Greensborough; was a member of the Thirty-fifth Congress; volunteered at the beginning of the late civil war as a private in the Confederate army; was afterward promoted and served as captain, colonel, and brigadier-general, and for the war.

6th District—Rep. THOMAS SAMUEL ASHE, of Wadesborough; was elected in 1861 to the House of Representatives of the Confederate States, and to the Senate of the Confederate States in 1864. A Mr. Ashe, of North Carolina, voted in Congress for the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

7th District—Rep. WILLIAM M. ROBBINS, of Statesville; was an officer in the Confederate army during the whole war.

8th District—Rep. ROBERT BRANK VANCE, of Asheville; was elected a captain of a company in the Confederate service in 1861; was twice elected colonel of the 29th North Carolina regiment, and was appointed brigadier-general in 1863.

TENNESSEE—Senator DAVID MCKENDREE KEY, of Chattanooga; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served through the entire war.

3d District—Rep. GEORGE GIBBS DIBRELL, of Sparta; was elected to the State (rebel) Legislature of Tennessee, in August, 1861; entered the Confederate army as a private, was elected lieutenant-colonel, and promoted colonel and brigadier-general of cavalry; was detailed to escort the executive officers and treasure of the Confederate Government after the evacuation of Richmond.

4th District—Rep. HAYWOOD YANCEY RIDGLE, of Lebanon; entered the Confederate army as a private in 1861, and served through the war.

6th District—Rep. JOHN F. HOUSE, of Clarksville; was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States from Tennessee; at the expiration of his term of service in said body he entered the Confederate army, and continued therein until the close of the war.

7th District—Rep. WASHINGTON CURRAN WHITTHORNE, of Columbia; was assistant adjutant general in the Provisional army of Tennessee in 1861, and was afterward adjutant general of the State, which position he held under Governor Harris until the close of the civil war.

8th District—Rep. JOHN D. C. ATKINS, of Paris; was lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Tennessee regiment in the Confederate army in 1861; was elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress in August, 1861; was re-elected in November, 1861, and again elected in November, 1863.

10th District—Rep. CASEY YOUNG, of Memphis; entered the Tennessee army as a private; was afterward appointed assistant adjutant general upon the staff of General William H. Carroll, and was subsequently assigned to the command of a regiment of cavalry in General Chalmer's division. He also served under Forrest at the time of the massacre of Fort Pillow. In a report made by a Congressional committee that investigated this atrocity at the time, the scenes that followed the occupation of the fort, which was treacherously gained by advancing under cover of a flag of truce, are thus described:

"The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white nor black, soldier or civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work; men, women,

and even children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, hacked with sabres; some of the children, not more than ten years old, were forced to stand up and face their murderers while being shot; the sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital building and dragging them out to be shot, or killing them as they lay there unable to offer the least resistance. * * * No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. * * * The huts and tents in which many of the wounded had sought shelter were set on fire, both that night and next morning, while the wounded were still in them. * * * These deeds of murder and cruelty ceased when night came on, only to be renewed next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions for any of the wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot." The following dispatch was sent by Forrest to Polk: "Rebels killed five hundred men, (no prisoners.) The officers in the fort were killed. Over one hundred citizens who had fled into the fort to escape conscription ran into the river and were drowned." Of the conduct of Colonel Casey Young's troops, and of himself, of course, who were under Chalmer's command, and aided in this capture and massacre, Forrest said in his official report: "I desire to acknowledge the prompt and energetic action of Brigadier General Chalmers, *commanding the forces around Fort Pillow*. * * He has reason to be proud of the conduct of the officers and men of his command for their gallantry and courage in assaulting the enemy's works without the assistance of artillery or bayonets."

TEXAS—Senator SAM BELL MAXEY, of Paris; educated at West Point, was elected State Senator for four years in 1861, but declined, and raised the 9th Texas infantry for the Confederate States army, of which he was colonel; was promoted to brigadier-general in 1862, and major-general in 1864; commanded the Indian Territory military district 1863-'65, and was also superintendent of Indian affairs. During the war Quantrille, the Missouri guerilla, was sheltered in Maxey's department after his atrocious massacres at Lawrence and Baxter's Springs, Kansas, placed him under the ban of outlawry.

1st District—Rep. JOHN H. REAGAN, of Palestine; was elected in 1857 a representative to the Thirty-fifth Congress from the first district of Texas, and was re-elected in 1859 to the Thirty-sixth Congress; was elected to the secession convention of Texas in 1861, and was elected, with others, by that convention deputy to the Provisional Congress

of the Confederacy; was appointed postmaster-general of the Provisional Government of the Confederacy, March 6, 1861; was re-appointed on the permanent organization of the Confederate Government in 1862, and occupied the position until the close of the war; was also appointed acting secretary of the treasury of the Confederate Government.

Mr. Reagan, as rebel Postmaster General, was asked by Jefferson Davis for his views on the question of surrender during the pendency of the Sherman-Johnston negotiation in North Carolina, 1865. General H. V. Boynton, in his critical work reviewing General Sherman's memoirs, publishes a photolithographic copy of Reagan's memorandum for terms of armistice, as also his letter in response to Davis. In both these documents the most ultra State sovereignty ideas are advocated and set forth. Mr. Reagan was a candidate for delegate to the recent Constitutional Convention in Texas. This was after his election to Congress. During the canvass Judge Reagan strongly opposed the common schools, declared it unjust to tax the well-to-do in order to educate the poor; advocated the re-establishment of the whipping post as a punishment for petty larceny and petty crimes; and proposed that all other convictions should be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary, and consequent disfranchisement. This is one method of reducing the colored vote.

2d District—Rep. DAVID B. CULBERSON, of Jefferson; was a member of the State House of Representatives of Texas (rebel) in 1866, and to the State Senate (Johnson) 1866; entered the Confederate army as a private in 1862, and was promoted until he became adjutant general with the rank of colonel.

3d District—Rep. JAMES W. THROCKMORTON, of McKinney; elected to the State (rebel) Senate in 1863, and served until the surrender of General Lee; was elected a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention under President Johnson's proclamation, and was chosen presiding officer of that body; was elected Governor of Texas in June, 1866, for a term of five years; was inaugurated August 8, 1866, and removed by order of General Sheridan, August 9, 1867.

VIRGINIA—*Senator* ROBERT E. WITHERS, of Wytheville; entered the Confederate army as major of infantry in April, 1861, and during the same year was promoted colonel of the 18th Virginia regiment, which he commanded until retired in consequence of numerous disabling wounds, and appointed to command the post at Danville, Virginia, which position he held until the close of the war.

1st District—Rep. BEVERLY B. DOUGLAS, of Aylett; entered the Confederate army as first lieutenant in Lee's Rangers, and was

successively promoted to the rank of major of the 5th Virginia cavalry.

2d District—Rep. JOHN GOODE, Jr., of Norfolk; was elected in 1860 a member of the State (Secession) Convention of Virginia, which passed the ordinance of secession; was twice elected a member of the Confederate Congress, and served in that capacity from February 22, 1862, until the close of the war; was appointed a member of the National Democratic Executive Committee in 1868, and reappointed in 1872 for four years.

5th District—Rep. GEORGE C. CABELL, of Danville; volunteered as a private soldier in the southern army; in June, 1861, he was commissioned major by Governor Letcher, and assigned to the 18th Virginia infantry, Colonel Withers, Pickett's division, Longstreet's corps; participated in most of the battles fought by that portion of the army of Northern Virginia to which he was attached; was twice wounded, and left the army at the close of the war, with the rank of colonel.

6th District—Rep. JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER, of Lexington; was attorney-general of Virginia from 1857 to 1865. Is also borne as a captain on the Confederate army rolls.

7th District—Rep. JOHN T. HARRIS, of Harrisonburg; was a member of the Thirty-sixth Congress of the United States; was a member of the Confederate Legislature from 1863 to '65.

8th District—Rep. EPPA HUNTON, of Warrenton; was elected to the State Convention of Virginia, which assembled at Richmond in February, 1861; served through its first session, and then entered the Confederate army as colonel of the 8th Virginia infantry; was promoted after the battle of Gettysburg, and served through the residue of the war as brigadier-general.

9th District—Rep. WILLIAM TERRY, of Wytheville; was in the military service of Virginia in the "John Brown raid," in 1859; entered the Confederate army in April, 1861, as lieutenant in the 4th Virginia infantry, "Stonewall Brigade," and served during the war.

WEST VIRGINIA—*Senator* ALLEN TAYLOR CAPERTON, of Union; was a member of the State (Secession) Constitutional Convention of Virginia in 1861; was elected by the Legislature of Virginia a member of the Confederate States Senate, and served until the close of the war in 1865.

2d District—Rep. CHARLES JAMES FAULKNER, of Martinsburg; was elected to the House of Representatives in the Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-fifth Congresses, serving from December 1, 1851, until March 3, 1859; was nominated in 1859 by President Buchanan as Minister Plenipotentiary to France, and confirmed by the Senate; returned to the United States in

August, 1861, and was held as a prisoner of state upon no charge or imputation against his fidelity as a minister, but from an apprehension that he would unite his fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy; was exchanged in December, 1861, for Hon. Alfred Ely, member of the United States House of Representatives from New York, then a prisoner in Richmond; entered the Confederate army as a member of General Stonewall Jackson's staff, and served as his chief of staff until the death of that officer, having written all the official reports that bear his signature. Mr. Faulkner, it is charged, did, in 1866, or '67, take the oath then required in West Virginia before he could practice at the bar of the State courts. This oath required him to swear he had not borne arms, &c., against the Union or the State. When charged with the falsity of this, Mr. Faulkner declared he had never held a military commission; that his position was an honorary one, and that he was

with Jackson only out of friendship, and because that General was very careless about his papers.

This record of the Confederate leaders now encamped in the National Capital amply justifies the belief that they are so thoroughly representative of Southern sentiment as not to be trusted with the control of the Union. In the years that have followed the war, only one man who served in the Union army has ever been elected to Congress by Democratic votes from any district in the ex-rebel States. This is a sufficient reason for fearing a united and sectional South. It is what the Democracy design. By that sign they conquer. If they elect the President it is as the servant of the men who, first failing to destroy the Union, now seek to rule it to the same end.

A MODEL DEMOCRATIC ROBBERY—ITS PERPETRATORS UNPUNISHED.

During the year 1860 Godard Bailey, a relative of John B. Floyd, then Secretary of War, was the custodian of bonds belonging to the Indian Trust Fund, held by Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, as trustee of various Indian tribes, amounting in the aggregate to \$3,396,241.82. Said Bailey, during the year above mentioned, placed in the hands of Russell, Majors & Waddell the following bonds belonging to the Indian Trust Fund, viz:

Missouri 6 per cent. bonds.....	\$370,000
North Carolina 6 per cent. bonds...	357,000
Tennessee 6 per cent. bonds.....	143,000

Total..... 870,000

As collateral security for the return of said bonds, Russell, Majors & Waddell deposited with said Bailey acceptances of John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, amounting to eight hundred and seventy thousand dollars, issued to Russell, Majors & Waddell on account of their contract with the War Department. See the following receipt of Russell, Majors & Waddell for the above bonds:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 13th, 1860.

We acknowledge to have received from Godard Bailey, on the 13th of July last, and at various times subsequently, the following bonds, viz:

Missouri 6's.....	\$370,000
North Carolina 6's (Jan. and July)	296,000
North Carolina 6's (April and Oct.)	61,000
Tennessee 6's.....	143,000

Making a total of..... 870,000

which we agree to return to the said Godard Bailey, or to his assigns, on demand.

As collateral security for the return of the above described bonds, we have deposited with the said Godard Bailey acceptances of the Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, to the amount of eight hundred and seventy thousand dollars.

RUSSELL, MAJORS & WADDELL.

When this iniquitous act, perpetrated by one of the subordinate officers of the Interior Department, in the abstraction of said bonds was made known, it was discovered at the same time that acceptances unauthorized by law, and deceptive and fraudulent in their character, had been issued by John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, in favor of Messrs. Russell, Majors & Waddell, not only for the amount of bonds abstracted, but the records of the War Department showed that \$5,339,395 of said acceptances were in circulation, making the total amount of acceptances issued \$6,137,395.

The records of the War Department also showed that there was a deficit of \$6,137,395

to fall upon the holders of these acceptances, or to be assumed in some way by the Government.

It also appears from the records of the War Department, that while these acceptances were being issued to the amount of millions of dollars, Russell, Majors & Waddell were

regularly receiving their pay for the services performed under their contract, in money, from the Government; therefore it is evident that the acceptances were fraudulent.

For the facts contained in the foregoing statement see Report No. 78, House of Representatives, 36th Congress, 2nd Session.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

DESIGNS OF THE DEMOCRACY.

It is at this date (March 13th, 1876,) quite beyond dispute that the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives have during the last month been deliberately engaged in working up capital for political effect in the current elections. They have paid very little attention to the legitimate and necessary business of Congress. Their attention has been very largely directed to the operations and reports of the numerous investigating committees which they have set on foot, and it would appear that all their ingenuity has been brought into requisition to discover the means of holding delinquent Republicans to punishment and disgrace and letting the Democratic tempters go. The result of this has been that the detective press of the country has been for weeks past reveling in a very carnival of obloquy and defamation, and personal explanations have followed each other on the floors of Congress like the waves of the sea. Just on the eve of the New Hampshire election, the first in the contest of the Presidential canvass, and in this centennial year of American Independence, of course the excitement created has been profound.

PUBLIC TIMBER AND MINERAL LANDS.

Much discussion has arisen in regard to the public policy respecting the various classes of lands granted and reserved under the legislation of Congress. But nothing definite beyond this has transpired, and no measures have been positively settled by all the long debates.

RAILROADS.

The same general remark applies to the vast railroad interests of the country. Time has been largely consumed in the consideration of what has been done and what should

be done by Congress in regulating the action of roads already in operation and in encouraging the construction of those which have been projected. Little, however, has been accomplished beyond the exhibition of a vast number of plans and projects, based upon the alleged necessities of the country, and of extended statistical information in regard to the general subject.

COMMERCE AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Little or nothing has been done during the last month upon these important subjects of national interest. A few propositions have been made and a few speeches delivered without any definite or practical result.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

Congress has been occupied with a variety of questions relating to Indian reservations, to deficiencies in the Indian funds, to the transportation of animals, the slaughter of buffaloes, the ravages of insects, the erection of an inebriate asylum, public buildings, fire insurance, pharmacy, the Washington monument, the birth-day of Washington, the Pension Bureau, the revenues of the Patent Office, the funding act, the civil service reform, the revision of the bounty system, the modification of the pension laws affecting the soldiers of the war of 1812, the safe burglary and whisky trials, the duties on imports, the revenue laws, the naturalization treaties, the proper qualification of a Speaker *pro tempore* of the House of Representatives, the accurate printing of the debates and speeches in Congress, the legal construction of the Centennial appropriation bill, and the correction of the revised statutes of the United States, in which codification there are found numerous errors and conflicts, which a constantly arising exigency requires to be remedied.

THE JUDICIARY.

Mr. McCrary, of the House, (February 17, 1876,) explained the nature and object of the bill for the reorganization of the judiciary of the United States. With the growth of the country and the augmentation of human transactions, a vast accumulation of business has been thrown on the Supreme Court of the United States, making it physically impossible to sweep the docket, and thus will nigh amounting to a denial of justice. In 1810 the number of cases on the calendar was 98, in 1820 it was 127, in 1846 it was 146, in 1856 it was 266, in 1866 it was 457, in the present year it is 931. Two evils are felt—the great distance of the places of the trials below from the only place of trial by appeal, and the great delay which follows, in the decision of appeals. The proposal is to create an intermediate court of appeals. To this certain other suggestions have been added, and in this condition the subject rests.

CALIFORNIA.

A spirited reply was made in the House by Mr. Page, of California, (February 26, 1876,) in reply to the allegation of Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, that California had repudiated and nullified the legal-tender act, and disparaging the condition of the State in contrast with Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin as the consequence. Mr. Page, while admitting that the circulating medium of his State is gold and silver, yet earnestly denied the charge of repudiating the legal-tender act. He presented a flattering view of the resources and productions of California, and fully vindicated his position in regard to her prosperity. The value of productions for 1875 was in the aggregate \$123,500,000; the aggregate capital and deposits in all the banks of the State is \$165,000,000. The purpose of the debate was to show that a metallic basis of currency is far better than that of paper money at a discount.

MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

On January 20, 1876, Senator Morton, upon the question of investigating the late State election in Mississippi, presented a narrative of circumstances and statistics which seem to be well substantiated, and which disclose a reign of violence, fraud, intimidation and

cold-blooded murder that would indicate the lapse of that people into a condition far worse than the most cruel barbarism. He thoroughly exposed the "white-line" policy, as it is called. The details of this system of intolerance and coercion, gathered up from many sources, show that no conceivable device was left untried to crush out the element of negro suffrage. In Yazoo county alone where there were two thousand Republican voters, only seven of these votes were polled. This is a specimen of the outrages committed over the whole State.

EULOGIES.

On Thursday, February 24th, 1876, the memorial addresses, both in the Senate and the House, were delivered on the late Hon. Henry H. Starkweather, a member of the House from the State of Connecticut, who died at his residence in Washington, on the morning of January 28th, 1876, after a brief illness. The remarks on this occasion were deeply affecting. Mr. Starkweather himself had prepared an address to be delivered on the death of Senator Ferry, of his State, but his death occurred before the day set for the eulogies on Senator Ferry, and on that occasion the remarks which Mr. Starkweather had prepared were read to the House by General Garfield. Eulogies in memory of Mr. Starkweather were pronounced in the House by Messrs. Phelps, Hale, and Garfield; and in the Senate by Messrs. English, Dawes, Sargent, and Eaton, all of whom bore the highest testimony to his character as a man, a citizen, and a Christian.

SENATOR MORTON.

On Tuesday, February 29th, 1876, Senator Morton, of Indiana, rose in the hall of the Senate to a personal explanation, calling attention to a scandalous report in the Baltimore *Sun*, alleging a corrupt collusion between himself and others in some matter in the Territory of Utah. Senator Morton explained the circumstances, showing that the whole statement was a base unfounded slander. The scandalous recklessness of the detective press in accusing public men upon the slightest rumor started by some infamous and unprincipled scoundrel has reached a point in our country where forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. Cannot some legisla-

tion be devised to put a stop to such a flagitious use of the power of the press?

THE APPROPRIATION BILLS.

It is a lamentable truth that at this writing (March 15th, 1876,) not a single regular appropriation bill has become a law during the present session. The Naval Academy appropriation bill is still pending in the Senate. The fortification bill, which is cut down for the coming year to \$315.00, has only passed the House. The legislative bill, which proposes a reduction from \$18,000,000 to \$12,000,000; has just been ventilated in a few of its items in the Democratic branch of Congress. It appears as though it were the studied intention of the Democrats to cripple and derange all departments of the Government. It is difficult to perceive any wise or patriotic motive in the course pursued. The cry of retrenchment and reform is made a pretext for ignoring the very necessities of the civil service, and for producing a state of perfect impotency in the Government at the beginning of the next fiscal year.

THE RESUMPTION ACT.

Some attempts have been made to secure the repeal of the resumption act of the last Congress. Memorials from different bodies of citizens in various parts of the country have been submitted to Congress—particularly from the Boston Board of Trade and the New York Chamber of Commerce, both the latter opposing the repeal. On Monday, March 6, 1876, Senator Sherman, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, made an elaborate and exhaustive speech against the repeal. The points made in this speech are:

1. The resumption act is a solemn pledge of the nation.
2. Ought this promise be performed?
3. Can we perform it?
4. Are the agencies and measures prescribed in the law sufficient for the purpose?
5. If not, what additional measures should be enacted?

Under these heads he showed the nature of the pledge of the public faith; why public policy forbids its repeal; why a day should be fixed for the resumption of specie payments; the balance of trade, and the fal-

lacious deductions from it; the effect of contraction; resumption through national banks; effect upon existing debts; the drifting process; why no apparent results; the state of the national and fractional currency, and United States notes; the burden of resumption; powers conferred by the act of 1875; cost of silver coin and fractional currency, and auxiliary legislation. To this speech no effective answer has yet been made.

CURRENCY AND FINANCE.

In connection with the above subject several strong speeches have been delivered on the questions of currency and finance. On Monday, February 14, 1876, Mr. Hale introduced a preamble and resolution looking to immediate further legislation in favor of resumption, which was defeated by a vote of 139 to 85, 65 members not voting. On Saturday, February 26, 1876, Mr. Riddle delivered a long and carefully prepared speech in favor of the repeal of the resumption act. He was followed by Mr. Landers, on the same side, proposing what he styled the following remedies:

1. The unconditional repeal of the resumption act.
2. An act of Congress making coin and United States Treasury notes full or equal legal-tenders.
3. An act substituting par United States notes for the national bank currency.
4. An act making par greenbacks convertible at the pleasure of the holder into a certificate of deposit or bond bearing a low rate of interest.

But the Democratic majority of the House are hopelessly divided on the question, and there is no more prospect of substantial relief to the country from this quarter than from the veriest mass of chaos that ever was.

COLORADO.

On Monday, February 16, 1876, the House proceeded to the consideration of a bill amending the enabling act of the last House of Representatives in behalf of the Territory of Colorado, and the bill with some amendments was passed. On Monday, February 28, 1876, the Senate considered and passed the House bill for the admission of Colorado as a new State into the Union.

NEW MEXICO.

On Thursday, March 2, 1876, a bill for the admission of New Mexico into the Union was considered by the Senate. Subsequently the bill was recommitted, and again reported with amendments. On Friday, March 10, 1876, the bill was discussed at length, and with some further slight amendments was passed by a vote of 35 to 15, 23 not voting. The bill now goes to the House.

HAWAIIAN TREATY.

A strong opposition has been developed against legislation to carry out the objects of the confirmation of this treaty. On Wednesday, March 2, 1876, a majority report in favor of such legislation and a minority report opposing such legislation were both presented. The discussion has taken a wide range, and been very earnestly maintained by Messrs. Wood, Luttrell, Leavenworth, Kelley, and others in the House, but like most of the questions which have elicited debate in this Congress, it is still pending with no more prospect of conclusion.

SAFE BURGLARY AND WHISKY TRIALS.

The Democrats of the House have instituted still further investigation into these scandals, and thus added to a list which now numbers more than sixty different subjects of alleged fraud and corruption which they have already undertaken to lay open to the country.

PERSONAL ACCUSATIONS.

The attention of Congress has been directed to charges affecting the character of General Schenck, of General Babcock, and of Representatives Hays and Purman. It is the most prominent feature of the action of this Democratic House. The majority seem bent on ripping open every budget of scandal and vilification which is brought to their door, no matter in what shape or from what source it comes, and perhaps this is the safest course for them, as well as for the nation. The old maxim that "it is an ill wind which blows no good," is as true in this case as ever. We have learned from some counsel of poetic wisdom that "nothing is formed in vain," and we see but little use of the Democratic party unless it be to hunt the stench of such papers as the New York Sun and the Chicago Times.

PINCHBACK.

The case of ex-Governor Pinchback, claiming a seat as United States Senator from the State of Louisiana, after hanging in suspense for a period of three years, has been finally determined in the Senate. The question was upon a resolution offered by Senator Morton to the effect that Governor Pinchback be admitted to a seat as a Senator from Louisiana for the period of six years from March 4, 1873. To this an amendment was offered by Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, to the effect that Mr. T. B. S. Pinchback be not admitted to said seat. The discussion upon this subject was protracted and earnest. The whole case of the troubled condition of affairs in the unhappy State of Louisiana was gone over again and again. That Mr. Pinchback came to the Senate with the credentials of William P. Kellogg, the only acting Governor of that State, there is no question. It was first contended that on those credentials as *prima facie* evidence he was entitled to be sworn in and to take his seat, and that any investigation into the validity of his right should be taken afterwards. But this view of the case was overruled, and the papers referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It was upon the resolution reported from that committee, and the amendment proposed thereon that the discussion proceeded. On Wednesday, March 8, 1876, the case was finally disposed of by the adoption of Senator Edmunds' amendment, by a vote of 32 to 29—12 not voting. The resolution as amended was then adopted by the same vote, from which it appears that some five or six Republican Senators joined the entire body of Democrats in rejecting Mr. Pinchback. That they were constrained to this course by honest motives must not be questioned. Whatever difference there may be as to the views and purposes of the Democratic minority, no one will impute sinister designs to such men as Edmunds, Christiancy, Paddock, and the Morrills. As constitutional lawyers they could not divest themselves of the responsibility with their views of the law and the facts, although they clearly saw that the political considerations were all the other way. But, nevertheless, we must accord the

same high consideration to those who voted in the minority, believing them to be equally honest and, as we view the case, far more consistent in their course. And for ourselves we must express the regret that Mr. Pinchback was not admitted, since his right to the seat should have been confirmed just as much as Governor Kellogg's right has been confirmed to him.

BELKNAP.

But the great sensation for the past month has been produced in the case of General W. W. Belknap, late Secretary of War. Early in the session the Committee on Expenditures in the War Department entered upon an investigation into the administration of affairs in that Department. This committee consists of three Democrats, Messrs. Clymer, Blackburn, and Robbins; and two Republicans, Messrs. Bass and Danford. But the Democrats of the committee have been especially active in nosing about among the scandals of the detective press and the rumors floating in the air. They have been in contact and secret conclave with one and another who had anything to tell in disparagement of the conduct of affairs in the War Office, keeping the Republican members of the committee in profound ignorance of many of their movements. Thus they have been occupied for many weeks, until finally they stumbled upon a mine of corruption which has exploded the Secretary of War, General Belknap, out of office and rendered him liable to the process of the Constitution and the laws in such cases provided. This has been a big bonanza to the Democratic party throughout the country, and such a howl has gone up over the land from all the party and detective press as has not been heard before since the yells with which the rebels used to rush into battle during "the late little unpleasantness." It is, however, our duty to give the simple substance of the action in Congress in regard to this affair. On Wednesday, March 2d, 1876, Mr. Clymer, chairman of this committee, arrested the proceedings of the House by an unusual show of solemnity, and the announcement that he had a report to present of so much gravity that no delay should be made in unfolding it to the House and the country.

The report was then read, by himself, in the most lugubrious style, at the Clerk's desk, charging General Belknap with unparalleled crimes in office, upon the testimony of one Caleb P. Marsh, a rebel Kentucky Democrat, then residing in New York, and proposing resolutions for the impeachment of the Secretary. The story of this disgrace is too fresh to be repeated here. As soon as the matter was placed before the House some of the Republicans desired to consider it in order that the House might act with dignity and deliberation in the premises. But these efforts were of no avail, and under the operation of the previous question insisted upon by the Democrats, the matter was hurried through in a single hour, and the resolutions adopted by a unanimous vote. The Committee of Investigation were appointed to proceed immediately to the bar of the Senate and impeach W. W. Belknap, &c., &c. On Friday, March 3d, 1876, a message from the House was received by the Senate that a resolution of impeachment had been passed by the House, and that Messrs Clymer, Blackburn, Robbins, Bass, and Danford were appointed a committee to appear in the case. At 1 o'clock the Sergeant-at-Arms announced the presence of the committee, who advanced to the area in front of the Chair, and Mr. Clymer, the chairman, delivered their message. The President *pro tempore* replied, "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee of the House of Representatives, the Senate will take order in the premises," whereupon the committee withdrew. Senator Edmunds offered the following, which was adopted:

Ordered, That the message of the House of Representatives relating to the impeachment of William W. Belknap be referred to a select committee consisting of five Senators.

The committee was named by the Chair, and consisted of Messrs. Edmunds, Conkling, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, and Stevenson.

On Monday, March 6th, 1876, Senator Edmunds reported the following from the select committee, which was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to:

"Whereas the House of Representatives on the 3d day of March, 1876, by five of its members, Messrs. Clymer, Robbins, Blackburn, Bass, and Danford, at the bar of the Senate, impeached William W. Belknap,

the Secretary of War, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and informed the Senate that the House of Representatives will in due time exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him and make good the same; and likewise demanded that the Senate take order for the appearance of the said William W. Belknap to answer the said impeachment: Therefore,

Ordered, That the Senate will, according to its standing rules and orders in such cases provided, take proper order thereon, (upon the presentation of articles of impeachment,) of which due notice shall be given to the House of Representatives.

Ordered, That the Secretary acquaint the House of Representatives herewith."

The next we hear of the matter in Congress is on Tuesday, March 7, 1876, in the House, when Mr. Clymer rises to a question of privilege. He states that he and his colleagues, Blackburn and Robbins, have been summoned to appear before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia with documents and papers to go before the Grand Jury, then in session, with a view to the indictment of General Belknap, and that having been let off by the court for the time being he comes to the House to raise the question of privilege. This led to a violent discussion upon the privileges of the House and the jurisdiction of the Court. The Democrats offered a resolution that the said committee and the members thereof are hereby directed to disregard the mandate of the Court until the further order of this House.

Mr. Hoar offered the following amendment or substitute:

"*Resolved*, That the said members be at liberty to attend before said court and give such evidence and produce such documents, if any they have, as relate to the charge against said Belknap for receiving a bribe from one Marsh."

A long and pointed debate ensued, which resulted in a defeat of the amendment by a vote of 130 to 84—75 not voting, and the adoption of the original resolution by a vote of 132 to 75—82 not voting. While these proceedings are in progress the Judiciary Committee of the House, to which is assigned the duty of preparing articles of impeachment, still holds back any report of its action. Marsh, the accusing witness, is allowed to flee out of the country, and the

Democrats are now occupied with efforts to obtain the passage of an act which will protect any rascal who will come forward as an informer upon those officials whom he has corrupted. Meanwhile the whole process against Belknap is at a standstill, both in the courts and in Congress, through the action of Mr. Clymer's committee, sustained by the Democratic majority of the House. Never was there a more disgraceful proceeding, take it altogether, than this which is now presented to the country. The main object of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives is too visible on the face of these transactions. After the first shock of the explosion of the scandal is over, the whole affair, as it has been managed by the bungling and unscrupulous partisans who have had it in charge, appears to have been a political trick to have an effect upon the eve of the New Hampshire election. It is most pitiable that such an officer as a Cabinet minister of whatever party should be shown to have been so complicated with the rascals around him, and it is scarcely less pitiable that the prosecution of the malefactor should be by some inscrutable arrangement of events committed to the hands of the leading representatives of the old rebel Bourbon Democracy in the present Congress. That all this is a foul blotch on the American name must be confessed with shame and humiliation by every honest and patriotic man.

BASE INGRATITUDE.—When a man betrays a trust he injures himself and wrongs the one whose confidence he has abused. President Grant had faith in Belknap. He saw in him qualities which he believed would make a good war minister. He had every reason to believe him to be a man of honor, and strong enough to resist temptation. He lifted him from obscurity, and honored him with one of the highest offices in the land. The full glare of prosperity was too much for the man thus honored. Instead of justifying the confidence of the President, he allowed his head to be turned by the desire to equal others in style and fashion. He lived beyond his legitimate income, and the same old story followed—betrayal of a sacred trust, exposure, and ruin.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...It is difficult to tell which is the saddest aspect of the sad Belknap business. The fall of the ex-Secretary, involving as it does, if the act be proven, a breach of official and personal trust which is appalling; the base and degrading partisan use to which such a grave, personal dishonor has been perverted; or the infamous eagerness with which the *gobemouche* press have accepted every vile and distorted rumor, and by first *making* evidence, have succeeded in arraigning, convicting, and practically executing the delinquent official before the bar of public opinion long in advance of any possible trial by "his peers," or a "jury of his countrymen." The time-honored maxim—honored by that modern inquisition, the "sensation" press—"more honored in the breach than in the observance"—that a man is to be accounted innocent until he is *proven* guilty, has been utterly ignored in the case of William W. Belknap. THE REPUBLIC has no defense to make or plea to offer for the ex-Secretary of War, but it is bound, as all of all parties should be, to "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice." Has this been the rule of press or partisans since this sad affair was made known? The crime with which Mr. Belknap is charged is a grave one; but it is in no sense political; it is only in a remote sense administrative; it is a breach of official trust—a malfeasance. As an act of personal wrong-doing it is one of a most disgraceful character, alike in its abuse of personal honor and grave trust, as in the petty extortion it produced on the rank and file of our small army. The first attitude of the House, majority and minority, was one of dignity, and the opinion of members as expressed on the day that Mr. Belknap was arraigned befitted the serious gravity of the circumstances. But this was only temporary. The election in New Hampshire was pending. Capital must be made. So unscrupulous was the effort that it reacted. The Star Chamber inquiry conducted by Messrs. Clymer, Blackburn, and Robbins—a violent Copperhead during the rebellion;

a Kentucky guerrilla, and an ex-Confederate soldier, and proven taker of petty bribes—has become a very boomerang, and instead of braining the President and defeating the Republican party, has recoiled on the heads of those who sent it. The records show the intent of the Democrats on that committee, for in no real and legal sense were the Republican members, Messrs. Bass and Danford, permitted to be parties to anything like a fair and impartial inquiry.

...The drag-net investigations now being conducted by the Democratic House have in no way been impeded by the minority therein, or hindered by the Executive Departments. Their partisan animus grows daily more apparent. They are in no case aimed at any direct abuse, but the several committees are merely privateers armed and provided with letters of marque, sailing free, and seeking what they may capture. It is worthy of note that so little has been developed. The secrecy of these inquiries justifies a belief in the accuracy of a suggestion that has been made, to the effect that the real purpose is to hold back the testimony until the Presidential campaign begins and then vomit forth *ex parte* accusations and statements. Another notable fact is this: that in nearly every case the most active men in the conduct of the investigations are those—new members—who either sought by arms to destroy the Union, or, at home in the North, living under its protection, did all they could to hinder and injure the progress and triumph of the Union cause. Another fact that will bear examination is the cost of these inquiries. What is to be saved at the spigot of reduced salaries is already running to waste at the bung-hole of costly reporting, enormous printing, and useless (to a large extent) witnesses.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

...The result of the election on Tuesday, the 14th ultimo, in New Hampshire, has not been a surprise to those who coolly watch the signs of the times. The folly of the Democracy in general, and of the South in particular, leads them to discredit the strength

and earnestness of the convictions which sway the loyal millions. Busy with many things, and full of the cares and interests attaching to a high and complex civilization, they do not, as a whole, or as a rule, devote themselves to political activities with the same zest that animates the Southern and Democratic partisans. The Republican party can never be made a compact follow-my-leader organization like the Democracy. Hence its members are strongly inclined to teach lessons to those in power. It is the exercise of this inclination, sometimes wise, often otherwise, that leads the Democracy to cherish the vain delusion that the party of nationality and liberty is about to break to pieces. This is what they have been believing for a year or two past. The effect of their folly has been seen in the vain glory of the Confederate Democrats, and in the speeches of Hill, Tucker, Blackburn, *et al.* *The loyal citizens of this country will never surrender the Government of the Union into the control of the men and party that sought to destroy it.* Whenever there is a reasonable fear of such a result they will assert their will in unmistakeable terms. They are able to punish all offenders against honest administration in their own ranks. They will do it, too. But they never will permit the indignation aroused in that way to lead them into the criminal folly of surrendering the country into the hands of those who would destroy it. This was the issue in New Hampshire. This is to be the issue in Connecticut, in August next in North Carolina and Alabama, in California next September, and in Ohio and Iowa next October, and through the whole thirty-eight States (Colorado will then be in the sisterhood) next November. There can be little fears of the result. The ghastly memories of Andersonville forbid but one end. The threats and boasts made by the sectional and Democratic South insure its defeat. In the Belknap business, also, as in other things, the engineers "are hoist with their own petards."

...The past Republican vote of the Granite State is worth reproduction and comparison. The State was first carried in 1856, and has been, with three exceptions, uniformly Republican ever since. On a vote ranging

from 71,556 in 1856 (the Presidential election) to 80,206 in 1875, the Republican majorities have gone from 9,115 in 1860, down to a plurality of but 172 in 1875. The Democratic party carried the Granite State (since 1856) in 1863, in 1871, and again in 1874. This was on the vote for Governor. The vote stood as follows:

		Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1863	Governor.....	32,833	22,035	*3,798
1871	Governor.....	34,699	33,892	*807
1874	Governor.....	35,608	34,143	*1,465

*Plurality and over next highest candidate. In 1863 the Union candidate received 4,372 votes; in 1871 the Liberal Republican got 782 and the Temperance candidate 306; and in 1874 the Temperance candidate received 2,100 votes.

In each of these years examination shows that Democratic victory has not resulted from an increase in their vote, but from abstention on the part of Republicans, and by separate action on the part of those individualized movements or clans which more naturally gravitate to our standard whenever there is an overwhelming emergency. In 1862 and 1864, for instance, the Republican vote was 3,115, and 7,971 more than in 1863, while the Democratic increase was but small. In 1870 and 1872 the Republican vote exceeded that of 1871 by 1,020 and 4,860. The highest Democratic vote since 1856 was last year—a total of 39,121. The highest Republican vote was in 1868, for Governor, 39,785. Its lowest was in 1863. The smallest Democratic vote cast was in 1870 for Governor, 25,023. The Presidential votes since 1856 are as follows:

	Dem.	Rep.	Am.	Maj.
1856.....	32,789	38,245	422 Bell.	5,143 R.
1860.....	27,993	37,519	411	9,115 "
1864.....	32,340	34,382	.....	2,182 "
1868.....	31,224	38,191	.....	6,967 "
1872.....	31,425	37,168	.....	5,443 "

In 1872 O'Conner received 100 votes and the Temperance candidate 200.

It is noteworthy that the vote for Governor in the spring preceding the Presidential election is, as a rule, larger than that cast for the national tickets. The only exception in the years named was in 1856. This is the general rule in all States where State elections precede in the same year that for the Electoral College.

OTHER REPUBLICAN GAINS—LOCAL AND MUNICIPAL.

...The large majority of the town, county, and city elections which have taken place this year have resulted in very considerable Republican gains.

On the 6th of March a number of elections were had in Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan. In nearly every instance the Republican candidates were elected. Des Moines, Iowa, for instance, was carried, reversing last year's vote. In the Eastern States, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and New York, the victories are very decided. Portland, Maine, was carried for a Republican mayor by 516 votes, the first time for several years. Bangor elected a Republican mayor by 325 majority; the Democratic candidate last year had 164 plurality. At Biddeford the Republicans gained largely. At Augusta they carried the city and every ward, electing the mayor by 350. At Belfast they had 8 majority on the mayor, and carried the two boards. In New York the gains are as noticeable. Rochester was carried for the Republicans by 2,504 majority, a gain of 2,021. Up to this writing large gains have been made in the elections for county supervisors. In the town meetings for the first week in March there were 24 more Republican supervisors elected than was the case last year. At the second week's meeting, there were 62 more chosen. The total Republican gains were 88; the Democrats, however, gained 11, and the net Republican gain was, therefore, 77.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

...A State Republican Convention was held in Indianapolis on the 22d of February. The State ticket nominated consists of the following persons: Governor, G. S. Orth; Lieutenant Governor, R. S. Robertson; for Judges, W. P. Edson, A. C. Vorhis, H. C. Newcomb, and J. F. Kibbey; Secretary of State, J. P. Watts; Auditor, Wm. M. Hess; Treasurer,

G. F. Herriott; Attorney General, J. W. Gordon; Reporter and Clerk of Supreme Court, L. D. Miller and C. G. Schall; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Professor O. H. Smith.

After recounting the record of the party, resolutions adopted declare: 1. That the Republicans of Indiana will remain faithful to the National Republican party. 2. Will not recognize the right of any State to interfere in the execution of national laws. 3. Holds the Government of the United States a nation, not a mere confederation of States. 4. National and State governments independent within their own spheres. 5. Willing and anxious to restore relations between the North and South; not willing to forgive the unrepentant, and not willing to place those who fought against the Union on equality with those who fought for it. 6. Preference to Union soldiers for office as against amnestied Confederates. 7. Believes the conduct of the civil service should recognize qualifications and integrity, not party service. 8. All men equal. 9. Insists upon religious freedom and entire separation of church and State. 10. The revenue system should be so regulated as to promote harmony between labor and capital. 11. Taxes should be heaviest on luxuries. 12. Repeal of the specie resumption act. 13. Maintenance of the present system of currency. 14. Applauds the financial policy of the Republican party. 15. Opposes payment of the Confederate debt or Confederate losses. 16. Demands economy in the administration of the State and national governments. 17. Demands faithful administration of the school laws. 18. No laws in opposition to the wish of the majority. 19. Insists on bounties and pensions for soldiers of the rebellion. 20. Approves Grant's administration. 21. Presents Senator Morton for the Republican nomination.

...The Indiana Democratic Convention has been called for the 19th of April. The following call has been issued:

1. Correct constitutional principles in the administration of public affairs, be they either national, State, or local. 2. The most frugal and rigid economy in all departments of Government. 3. The punishment of crimes and criminals of high or low degree; the impartial enforcement of the law upon all, with

favor to none. 4. The protection of the labor and industrial interests of the country from the encroachments of monopolies of any and all characters. 5. The largest liberty to the individual citizen consistent with a just and vigorous administration of the laws. 6. A currency sufficient to meet the demands of trade, and which shall be alike receivable by all classes of people. 7. Equal taxation of property with just discrimination. 8. The repeal of the resumption act passed by a Republican Congress, in order that the business and commercial interests may recover their vigor and a new stimulus be given the industries and enterprise of the country. 9. The freedom of conscience in all matters of religion. No connection between church and State. 10. The punishment of malfeasance and corruption in office, without partiality or favor. 11. The nomination of none but honest and competent men for office. 12. The maintenance of our present admirable public school system, the outgrowth of the Democratic party's foresight and wisdom.

...The Wisconsin Republicans at their State Convention elected the following delegates at large to Cincinnati: Philetus Sawyer, David Atwood, Mark Douglass, and James H. Howe. The resolutions adopted promise to promote friendly feeling and harmony throughout the country; to support measures to secure the constitutional rights of all persons, including the exercise of the franchise, without intimidation or fraud. They approve of the vigorous efforts to punish official dishonesty and frauds on the revenue; declare it unwise for the Chief Magistrate to hold office beyond two terms, and accept President Grant's declaration in harmony with this principle as another claim to our veneration and gratitude; oppose impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations; declare that the currency of the country should, as soon as consistent with business interests and safety, be made equal to gold, and until that time should continue as a legal tender; hold that the common schools should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian contact, and finally declare that in celebrating the Centennial of this Republic it should be remembered that we are indebted not only to its founders, but to its defenders. The Congressional districts reported their delegates and electors and their action was ratified.

Mr. Blaine's name was heartily indorsed

for the Presidential nomination, though no instructions were given.

... The Prohibitionists in Rhode Island have put in nomination for Governor, Albert C. Howard; Lieutenant Governor, Alfred B. Chadsey; Secretary of State, Joshua M. Ad-deman; Attorney General, Warren R. Pierce; General Treasurer, A. D. Vose.

... The Connecticut Republicans in convention have placed the following ticket before the people: For Governor, H. C. Robinson; Lieutenant Governor, F. J. Kingsbury; Secretary of State, F. A. Walker; Treasurer, Jeremiah Olney; Comptroller, Eli Curtis.

Its platform expressed fidelity to the party, denounced sectional rule, indorsed the administration, denounced corruption, and urged the punishment of offenders. On financial matters the platform states that "the greenbacks were issued under the pressure of a temporary necessity to support the National Government against treason and rebellion, and that the party is pledged to redeem them and make them as good as gold to the holder, that no stain may rest in history upon any one of the patriotic efforts of the loyal people during the war."

Further, that "the welfare of the country demands that necessary legislation be passed to carry the resumption act into effect at the time specified, either by funding the greenbacks in long bonds at the lowest practicable interest, or by using any available means to pay and cancel them."

... The Democratic nominations are as follows: For Governor, Charles R. Ingersoll; Lieutenant Governor, George G. Hill; Secretary of State, Marvin H. Sanger; Treasurer, William E. Raymond; Comptroller, Albert R. Goodrich.

The platform denounces military usurpation, a corrupt civil service, eulogizes the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives for reducing expenditures, &c., declares that public credit must be maintained, demands that public lands should be preserved for the settlers, denounces the resumption act as a Republican sham, and urges Congress to substitute for it a well-defined and practical legislation tending to an accumulation of coin as a basis for resumption or funding and cancellation of

a portion of the greenback circulation in a convertible bond bearing a low rate of interest. The sixth resolution set forth the doctrine of specie basis, but quibbles in the following way: "It is therefore the duty of Congress to adopt such measures as shall lead to an early resumption of specie payments, while guarding its acts by that prudence which the interests of commercial, manufacturing, and industrial pursuits imperatively demand."

A fourth ticket, the third being that of the temperance party, has been nominated by a greenback convention held at Meriden. The platform adopted demands the repeal of the resumption act, and advocates a system by which currency would automatically regulate and limit itself. This is to be accomplished by the familiar plan of retiring national bank notes and making the currency exclusively a national issue, interconvertible at par with coin in bonds bearing low interest, the currency only to be issued when paid for, and neither Congress nor banks having any control over the amount issued.

The following ticket was nominated: Governor, Charles Atwater; Lieutenant Governor, Francis Gillette; Secretary of State, Lucien V. Pinney; Treasurer, Loren F. Judd; Comptroller, John A. Peck.

...The Ohio Prohibitionists in convention, at Columbus, February 22, nominated the following state ticket: Secretary of State, E. S. Chapman; Judge of the Supreme Court, D. W. Gage; Member of the Board of Public Works, Ferdinand Schumacher; Controller, J. C. Murdock; School Commissioner, George K. Jenkins. About one hundred delegates were present, and resolutions usual to such bodies were adopted.

...An interesting convention was held at New Orleans on the 1st of March, and following days, to consider what should be done to promote immigration to the South and West. Delegates were present from Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kansas, and Florida. The subjects considered were the best means of promoting immigration to the States of the Mississippi valley; the establishment at the port of New Orleans of an immigration bureau and depot in the interests of the States included in the call; the superior economy of the Mississippi river route for the immigrant to the interior States; the legislation needed by the different States in aid of the enterprise.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

THE REORGANIZATION AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

The position of officials at the White House may be authoritatively stated as follows: General Babcock, who never drew salary as a secretary, but drew it as an engineer officer, returns to duty, and Colonel Fred. Grant is assigned to his place. General Babcock's retirement did not create a vacancy, nor does Colonel Grant's selection create a new position. Both draw army pay. Levi P. Luckey held the office known to law as private secretary to the President. He takes A. S. H. White's place at the Interior Department, and Ulysses Grant, Jr., takes Mr. Luckey's place. Mr. C. C. Sniffin holds the same position he has always held, as assistant private secretary.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

PORTUGAL AT THE CENTENNIAL.

Information has been received from a reliable quarter that the sum of \$33,000 has been requested by the Portuguese Government in the Cortes for the purpose of rendering the Portuguese exhibition as attractive and complete as possible. This sum is intended for two sections in particular, namely, the agricultural and the industrial, which two sections appear to have attracted the greater part of the attention of Portugal. According to a telegraphic dispatch the goods are nearly ready to be embarked on board a steam transport to be conveyed to Philadelphia. A pavilion is to be erected on the Exhibition grounds to serve as a bureau for the Portuguese commission. The display of

wines, from present indications, will undoubtedly deserve the particular attention of those concerned in the wine trade.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

THE PUBLIC DEBT—MONTHLY STATEMENT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of February, 1876, just issued, is as follows:

Debt bearing interest in coin:
Bonds at 6 per cent...... \$984,999,650 00
Bonds at 5 per cent...... 697,884,750 00
\$1,682,884,400 00

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent, \$14,000,000 00

Debt on which interest has
 ceased since maturity..... \$18,182,080 26

Debt bearing no interest:
 Old demand and legal-tender
 notes..... \$371,011,844 50
 Certificates of deposit..... 38,045,000 00
 Fractional currency..... 45,120,132 47
 Coin certificates..... 32,915,000 00
\$487,091,976 97

Total debt.....\$2,202,158,457 22

Interest..... \$30,412,026 47

**Total debt, principal and in-
 terest**.....\$2,232,570,483 70

Cash in Treasury:

Coin..... \$70,035,772 73
 Currency..... 9,529,404 17
 Special deposit held for redemp-
 tion of certificates of deposit
 as provided by law..... 38,045,000 00
\$117,610,176 90

Debt, less cash in the Treasury
 March 1, 1876.....\$2,114,960,306 80

Debt, less cash in the Treasury
 February 1, 1876..... 2,118,233,039 80

Decrease of debt during the past
 month..... \$3,272,733 00

Decrease of debt since June 30, 1875 \$13,728,419 52

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway compa-
 nies, interest payable in lawful money—Prin-
 cipal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued
 and not yet paid, \$646,235.12; interest paid by
 the United States, \$30,141,513.06; interest re-
 paid by transportation of mails, &c., \$6,724,317.
 92; balance of interest paid by the United
 States, \$23,417,195.14.

CASH IN THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 8, 1876.

SIR: In reply to the resolution of the
 House of Representatives of January 31,
 1876, requesting the Secretary of the Treas-
 ury to furnish a detailed statement showing
 the amount of actual cash on hand in the

Treasury, several depositories, and mints of
 the United States at the close of business on
 the 25th day of January, 1876, I have the
 honor to inform you that there were held at
 that time at the offices mentioned cash assets
 as follows:

Minor coins..... \$74,769 17
 Fractional currency..... 8,755,655 44
 National bank notes..... 5,123,730 41

Legal tender notes held on spe-
 cial deposit for the payment of—

1. Certificates of de-
 posit issued under
 sections 5193 and 5194
 Revised Statutes
 United States..... \$38,145,000 00

2. Redemption notes
 of national banks
 failed 907,756 65

3. Redemption notes
 of national banks
 in liquidation..... 4,918,001 80

4. Redemption notes
 of national banks
 for reducing circu-
 lation 15,784,998 00

59,750,756 75

Other legal-tender notes..... 17,608,684 26

Gold coin..... 44,659,128 24

Gold bullion..... 10,254,409 59

Silver coin..... 11,202,258 60

Silver bullion..... 4,146,932 67

Gold notes and certificates..... 8,787,761 00

Coupons 7,007,325 56

Called bonds and interest thereon. 11,311,696 65

Checks, funded loan of 1881..... 63,543 68

Registered interest..... 592,508 50

Exchange drafts..... 350,500 00

One and two years' notes..... 5,837 33

Redeemed certificates..... 70,000 00

Vouchers—Speaker's certificates. 156,475 01

Metal-fund in mint, (currency)... 50,000 00

Unavailable, (see Fi-
 nance Report, 1875, page

404:)
 New Orleans..... \$680,891 53

New York..... 87,206 70

Philadelphia..... 882 50

Washington, D. C..... 47,097 65

816,078 33

In all..... 190,778,043 24

This amount does not include any money
 in transit, nor is the amount of Treasury
 drafts outstanding at that time taken into
 consideration.

In addition to this amount there was also
 an amount of public moneys in national
 bank depositories; but as returns thereof
 are made at the close of each week, the
 amount of such moneys at the time men-
 tioned in the resolution can be stated only
 by delaying this reply for a special report
 from all the depository banks of the public
 moneys on hand at that time.

At the close of business on the 22d ultimo,
 three days prior to the time mentioned in the
 resolution, the bank depositories held of
 such moneys \$10,140,611.61, which infor-
 mation it is thought will answer the purpose
 of the resolution.

As the legal-tender notes received for the
 redemption of national-bank notes do not
 belong to the United States, of course their
 amount is not in any way embraced in the

monthly debt statement of this Department.

Very respectfully,

B. H. BRISTOW,

Secretary.

Hon. M. C. KERR,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PAPER MONEY ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING JANUARY 1, 1876.

Fractional currency.....	\$44,147,072
Old demand notes.....	69,642
Legal-tender notes.....	371,827,220
National bank notes.....	346,479,756

Total..... 762,523,690

Less cash in the Treasury January 25, 1876—

Legal tender notes.....\$77,359,441

Of which there was held for U. S. certificates of deposit in the national banks December 17, 1875..... 31,005,000

46,354,441

Fractional currency..... 8,755,655

National bank notes..... 5,123,730—\$60,383,620

Less cash in national banks December 17, 1875—

Legal tender notes.....\$70,725,077

Fractional currency..... 2,901,023

U. S. certificates of deposit..... 31,005,000

National bank notes..... 17,168,190—121,797,290

Less cash in other banks—

State banks.....\$26,740,215

Savings banks... 17,858,182

Trusts companies..... 3,833,012—48,431,409

Total amount to be deducted for cash in the Treasury and in banks..... \$230,462,525

Leaving amount of paper currency in circulation.....\$532,061,165

BONDS HELD TO SECURE NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The Treasury now holds \$356,295,750 in bonds to secure national bank circulation, and \$18,721,500 to secure public deposits; United States bonds deposited for circulation for the week ending Saturday, March 4, was \$79,000; United States bonds held for circulation withdrawn for the week ending Saturday, March 4, was \$781,900, making a decrease in the outstanding circulation of over

stand-
\$2,099,-
received
to, \$1,-
48,176.-
month to
\$, \$101,-

BANK REPORTS CALLED FOR.

The Comptroller of the Currency has called upon the national banks for reports showing their condition at the close of business on Friday, the 10th day of March. The Comptroller has also declared a dividend of 10 per cent. in favor of the Charlottesville (Virginia) National Bank and 30 per cent. in favor of the creditors of Gibson County National Bank, Princeton, Indiana, dividends payable as soon as the necessary schedules are prepared.

EXPORTS OF PROVISIONS FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY.

The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics furnishes a statement of the exports of provisions for the month of February, from which it appears the total exports from Baltimore were \$289,000; Boston, \$1,248,982; Philadelphia, \$1,025,930; New York, \$5,241,000, and New Orleans, \$43,073.

TRADE WITH THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

The following statement of the trade between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands during the calendar year 1875 is furnished by the chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Imports free of duty, \$163,747; dutiable, \$1,224,503; total, \$1,388,250. Among the principal dutiable articles were the following: Sugar—pounds, 21,609,556; \$1,113,237. Rice—pounds, 1,768,852; \$66,365. Raw wool—pounds, 109,359; \$11,861. Value of domestic exports, \$739,606; foreign, \$43,955; total, 783,561.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

MONEY ORDERS TO CANADA.

An arrangement has been made by the Post Office Department with the Dominion Government by which the system recently inaugurated for the exchange of money orders between the United States and Canada is extended to Newfoundland.

When a Republican is tried before a St. Louis jury and found "not guilty," it is about time that the Democratic press of the country take back some of the malignant expressions which tended to prejudice the case. If General Babcock had been found guilty the opponents of the administration would have devoted columns to the justice of the verdict. How many will have the manhood to devote a single paragraph to the justice of his acquittal?

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1876.

Vol. 6.

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JUNE, 1876.

Whole No. 40.

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July, 1876.

PROSPECTUS.

Vol. 7.

THE REPUBLIC,

A Political Science Monthly Magazine.

THE REPUBLIC begins its seventh volume with the July number.

Its publishers are pleased to announce that it has grown steadily in public favor and that it is regarded by all good citizens who have consulted its pages as a power for good throughout the land.

Its past course—consistent, fearless, patriotic—is the index of its future. It will defend the right, denounce the wrong, and endeavor to point out, at all times, the true path for all who love their country to follow.

A sentinel upon the watch-tower of freedom, it will be found at its post of duty to give the word of warning, and sound the alarm should any danger threaten the peace of the Nation.

It will favor the maintenance, by all legitimate means, of free schools, devoid of sectarian influences, and will oppose any attempt to divide the school funds, believing that such division, whether made in the interest of the Catholic Church or its opponents, will ultimately destroy the system of free education, and that civil and religious toleration on which our institutions rest.

It will do all within its power to develop true friendship between the citizens of the North and the South, and for this purpose will advocate the recognition of justice and equality before the law as the only means to secure lasting friendship and its two allies, peace and security.

The Presidential contest of 1876 will be one of the most important in our history. On its issue depends the future policy of the Government. The vital question to be answered by the people is, "Shall the party that proved faithless in war be trusted in peace, and those who saved the country be set aside for those who endeavored to destroy it?"

On this question THE REPUBLIC will take its position at the head of the loyal column, and will do its best to keep the old flag flying until the voice of the people shall announce that Republicanism—the synonym of justice and liberty—has again triumphed over the enemies of good government.

THE REPUBLIC calls upon its friends to aid it in the great work of the present and future. It desires each subscriber to send in at least one additional name to help swell its ranks, and thus add to its power and activity. Is it asking too much—in consideration of the valuable material furnished the cause—to ask that our friends everywhere exert themselves to secure for THE REPUBLIC as many new subscribers as possible?

To the Republican press of the country the magazine sends greeting and cheer. The signs of the times indicate a glorious victory in November. Let no effort be relaxed to make it complete and effective. Insist upon thorough organization, a personal canvass of all doubtful or close districts, the distribution of well-considered documents, and the practice of that vigilance which alone can secure success. If our brethren of the press will but do their duty as faithfully as in the past, victory will be certain.

For their generous confidence and warm support the publishers of THE REPUBLIC return thanks, and hope in the future, as in the past, to deserve by well-doing the good-will so often expressed.

TERMS:

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE, 1876.

No. 6.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

INVESTIGATIONS.

Another month (May 15th) has slipped away and Congress is sticking in the morass. The Democratic House has been largely occupied with the sixty or seventy investigations, more or less prominent, which were set on foot some months ago, and while very little that is new or exciting has transpired, the country has been wearied with charges and counter charges, with accusations and personal explanations without end. When the reports will be made up and submitted to the House is uncertain. Nor can it be anticipated what the tenor of them will be save from the daily rumors which float over the country. It does not yet appear who will be exonerated and who will be disgraced. The principal object seems to be to kill off all the Presidential aspirants and to make as much political capital for the approaching campaign as possible. The charges against Blaine, Bristow, and Morton have been persistently pressed, and when exploded in one direction at once trumped up in another, on the principle that "a lie well stuck to is as good as the truth." The spirit of investigation which has reached the leading departments of the Government, the Emma Mine scandal, the Government Printing Office, the Insane Asylum, and the President's House, and others too numerous to mention, has yet to reach out to a number of other institutions here and elsewhere not yet overhauled. Meantime the Democratic Doorkeeper of the House seems to be getting into hot water to a very fearful extent, and some of the prominent Democratic members who commenced

these investigations with evident gusto have gradually subsided into a very quiescent state.

THE CASE OF KILBOURN.

The courts have finally triumphed over Congress on the great question of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and Mr. Kilbourn has been released from the custody of the House and turned over to the jurisdiction of the court. He has given bail for his appearance on his trial, having been indicted under the statute for a refusal to have his private books and papers ransacked to gratify the idle curiosity of a mousing Congressional committee. After the great writ of American liberty had triumphed Mr. Kilbourn wrote a very respectful letter to the House offering to show his books to the committee in his own office, and to submit them to any examination which they might choose to make, but the letter was treated with contempt and laid upon the table. It is not precisely known what tale of corruption the committee on the real estate pool will report to the House.

THE IMPEACHMENT.

The impeachment of General Belknap drags its slow length along. Several sessions have been spent in a skirmish between managers and counsel for advantages coveted on both sides, and in the discussion of the question of jurisdiction, which is the question pending before the Senate at the present date, (May 15th, Monday.) Should the Senate decide that it has no jurisdiction the decision will end the case. Should they decide that they have jurisdiction the trial will be vigorously pressed to a conclusion of acquittal or of guilt. It is a very grave con-

stitutional question, and which ever way it goes will furnish a precedent for all time to come.

THE APPROPRIATIONS.

Not a single bill of the dozen yet to be acted on has become a law. It is wholly problematical when they will be finished. Whatever work has been done upon them, so far as the public is concerned, is yet entirely in the clouds. All that is known is, that two or three of the most important have been discussed for many days, and that the content between parsimony and liberality in conducting the affairs of the Government is raging in full fury. In this discussion the paramount influence is political rather than patriotic. To cripple the functions of the Government and to pour distress on many innocent persons appears to be but a minor consideration when compared with the prospect of political success and the seizure of the whole federal power of the country.

TWO GREAT SPEECHES.

During the last month Senator Sargent, on the perils of Chinese emigration, and Senator Jones, of Nevada, on the restoration of silver coin, delivered two of the most elaborate and exhaustive speeches that have ever been listened to in the halls of Congress. That of Senator Jones must become a treasure house of information on the whole subject of metal currency in all time to come. He has left but little to be said on the subject, so far as facts and statistics are concerned. He has traced the history of metal currency from old Egypt and the days of Solomon down to the present time, and has shown conclusively the fundamental connection between the use of such currency and the public prosperity of any and every nation. It is a powerful and convincing argument for as speedy a return to specie payments as it is possible to conceive.

EXCEPTIONAL VISITORS.

The approaching opening of the Centennial Exposition has drawn to the capital the vanguard of that army of strangers who will during the present season pour into the country from all parts of the world. On Monday, May 22, the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro, was a visitor to the halls of Congress and surrounded by witnesses with ab-

sorbed attention the proceedings in the impeachment trial then going on. It was a notable occasion, and the reflections arising from the scene must have been mingled with surprise in the imperial mind. One thing is clear: Providence does not permit to any people a scene of unalloyed prosperity, success, and honor. The lights and shades of our glory and our shame chase each other across the national firmament.

THE CENTENNIAL.

The great event of the past month, which in common with the whole world has absorbed the attention of Congress, is the ceremony of the opening of the Centennial Exposition on Wednesday, May 10, 1876, at Philadelphia. The members and officials of Congress were among the invited guests, and special trains were provided for conveying them to the grounds. An adjournment from Tuesday to Friday was the consequence. The concourse of people assembled on the great day is variously estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000. The city was crowded with visitors, and the streets profusely decorated with banners and ensigns of every conceivable form, size, and color. The Centennial buildings are on the most magnificent scale, and filled with the products of every considerable nation of the world. The opening ceremonies were simple and grand beyond expression. The music from an orchestra of instruments accompanied by a thousand voices was a most wondrous feature. As the great volume of sound rose up and floated away on the air over the vast multitude the scene was inspiring and sublime beyond description. It would be idle to attempt any detailed account of the arrangements already made for this remarkable undertaking, or of the results which are to flow from it to the remotest ends of the earth. That such an exhibition can be made is proof of the transcendent progress of the world, for in no former age of human history would it have been possible. None of the preceding expositions could compare with this in variety and extent. This is freely admitted on all sides. That our centennial year should be thus signalized is a ground of just pride to every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian.

The two houses of Congress having witnessed the mighty spectacle returned and resumed their labors on Friday, the 12th of May. The tide of time and the rush of events stop for no man, and the interest which was so recently centered upon the city where our Declaration of Independence was signed a hundred years ago is already divided and turned to approaching events, which will decide the political contest on which we are about to enter. Meanwhile the work of

Congress which must be done before the session closes is yet hanging, and the business of legislation goes tardily onward. To manage the affairs of so great a government has become simply a herculean task. Who can venture to predict the condition of the country when another hundred years shall have rolled away. Let us hope the best things, and as faithful and true citizens endeavor to submit our splendid heritage unimpaired.

STATE ELECTIONS PRECEDING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1876.

Political interest inevitably concentrates itself at the opening of a Presidential campaign on the States which hold during the year regular elections prior to the Presidential election itself. It is not intended to speculate on the chances of any particular candidate or of parties, but to present the facts on which political calculations can properly be made, and then to urge, by reasonable argument and as conclusive citation and illustration as possible, what action may be necessary, or what result may properly be claimed, as helpful or probable in the progress of the principles and policy herein defended and supported. To that end the tables that follow will be of value. It cannot be denied that during the last three years there has been a series of marked rebuffs administered to the party in power. It is not essential to deny that such rebuffs have been the result of dissatisfaction on the part of Republicans themselves. But it is necessary, in order that there may be a right comprehension of the present situation, to call attention to the undeniable fact that a very large proportion of the decreased Republican vote is due to two causes—the indifference always felt in State elections by a very large body of citizens, and the increase in civic absenteeism which has been produced by the reaction inevitable after twelve years and more of continuous public excitement. This latter is a growing evil, and with the increasing activity and importance of our complex busi-

ness and professional interests, threatens to become more serious. A very instructive review can be obtained by a comparison of the voting population in each State as reported by the United States census of 1870, the presidential vote of 1872, and the State votes of 1874-'5-'6. The State elections indicated will show the rising and falling of the feeling to which reference is made.

The receding of this feeling is very apparent. Of the twenty-two elections held since August, 1875, thirteen of them were triumphantly carried by the Republicans. Nine are recorded in the Democratic column. Of these, five, at least, California, Connecticut, New York, Oregon, and Mississippi, ought to be carried for the nominees presented by the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati. The Empire State elected a Republican legislature last year, and the town elections during the present year have shown a remarkable Republican activity, resulting in a general victory. The elections for supervisors are watched with very great care, as indicating the drift of public opinion on the issues of an impending national campaign. Connecticut can be carried by the Republican party with proper local organization and active effort. In California the Republicans united ought to be masters of the situation. In Mississippi there is a legitimate Republican majority of at least 30,000. The shotgun policy pursued therein by the Democratic White League may prevent this majority

from voting; but at any rate an honest effort must be made to vote, and then legislation may be had hereafter to cure with the appropriate punishment such crimes. It must be so framed that even a technical Supreme Court, that divideth on the letter in order to kill the spirit, may not be able to decide it unconstitutional.

Since the Presidential election of 1872, forty-six regular elections have been held. Of these the following table shows that the Democracy or opposition have carried twenty-five, and the Republicans twenty-one. So it appears that in 1873 and '74, the opposition carried fifteen States and the Republicans but eight; while in 1875, and up to April of the current year, (1876,) the Republicans carried thirteen and the Democracy nine; a majority of the latter being fairly, as for the Presidential fight, to be classified among the "doubtful" States, at least.

Besides the regular elections, special polls have been had in the States of Arkansas, (October, 1874,) California, (October, 1875,) Connecticut, (October, 1875,) Missouri, (November, 1875,) and Colorado, (October, 1875.) Of these only that of California was for the election of a State officer. It resulted in a Republican triumph. In Arkansas and Missouri the ballot was for the rejection or ratification of new State constitutions. The Democracy by whom they were framed triumphed at the polls. The vote in each State was very light. The Connecticut vote ratified constitutional amendments framed by a Republican legislature. Nebraska ratified a new State constitution. New Jersey and Kansas approved several amendments, and North Carolina elected a constitutional convention. Each of these results were favorable to the Republican party. North Carolina and Texas are placed in the following table, the former as Democratic. The latter elected State officers and ratified the Bourbon constitution recently framed. It appears, therefore, that out of the fifty-one general and special elections held since that for President in 1872, twenty-seven were carried by the Democracy and twenty-four by the Republicans.

The following statement exhibits at a glance these facts:

Table showing the party results at the several elections, regular, Congressional, or special; held since the Presidential election of 1872.

States.	Republican.		Democratic.		Last Presidential elec'n.	
	No.	Years.	No.	Years.	R.	D.
Alabama.....	.....	.....	1	1874-'5	1	....
Arkansas....	.....	.....	2	1874	2	....
California...	.....	.....	3	1873-'5	3	....
Connecticut...	.....	.....	4	1873-'4-'5	4	....
Delaware....	.....	.....	5	1874	....	1
Florida.....	1	1874	.....	.....	5	....
Georgia.....	.....	.....	6	1874	....	2
Illinois.....	2	1874	.....	.....	6	....
Indiana.....	.....	.....	7	1874	7	....
Iowa.....	3	1873-'4-'5	.....	.....	8	....
Kansas.....	4	1874	.....	.....	9	....
Kentucky....	.....	.....	8	1874-'5	....	3
Louisiana...	5	1874	.....	.....	10	....
Maine.....	6	1873-'4-'5	.....	.....	11	....
Maryland....	.....	.....	9	1873-'4-'5	....	4
Massachu'ts	7	1873-'5	10	1874	12	....
Michigan....	8	1874-'5	.....	.....	13	....
Minnesota..	9	1873-'4-'5	.....	.....	14	....
Mississippi..	10	1873	11	1875	15	....
Missouri....	.....	.....	12	1874	....	5
Nebraska....	11	1874-'5	.....	.....	16	....
N. Hamps're	12	1873-'5	13	1874	17	....
Nevada.....	13	1874	14	1874	18	....
New York...	.....	.....	15	1873-'4-'5	19	....
New Jersey..	14	1875	16	1874	20	....
N. Carolina..	15	1875	17	1874	21	....
Ohio.....	16	1875	18	1873-'4	22	....
Oregon.....	.....	.....	19	1873-'4-'5	23	....
Pennsylv'a	17	1873-'5	20	1874	24	....
R. Island....	18	1873-'4-'5	.....	.....	25	....
S. Carolina..	19	1874	.....	.....	26	....
Tennessee..	.....	.....	21	1874	....	6
Texas.....	.....	.....	22	1873-'6	....	7
Vermont....	20	1874	.....	.....	27	....
Virginia....	.....	.....	23	1873	28	....
W. Virginia..	.....	.....	24	1874	29	....
Wisconsin..	21	1875	25	1873-'4	30	....
<i>Special Elections.</i>						
Arkansas....	.....	.....	26	Oct. 1874	....	....
California...	22	Oct. 1875	.....	.....	....	....
Connecticut	23	Nov. 1875	.....	.....	....	....
Missouri....	.....	.....	27	Nov. 1875	....	....
Colorado....	24	Oct. 1875	.....	.....	....	....

It will be observed that in the States of Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, that the parties have alternated in triumphs, the latest, however, being with the Republicans. This indicates the re-aroused interest which the Presidential year brings with it, and shows also that merely local disaffections are not always or often to be regarded as evidences of permanent change in national politics. In Nevada the Republicans carried the Representative to Congress and the Democrats the Governor. In California, as in Wisconsin, the opposition success, though set down as Democratic, was in

fast largely composed of disaffected Republicans—made so on railroad issues.

To complete the analysis the following will be of service. It will enable the reader to estimate the probabilities, and to reach reasonable conclusions :

Table showing electoral vote, that of the several parties, and the total vote in each State voting during the year 1876, prior to the Presidential election in November, in the same year.

States.	Electo- ral vote.	Republican.	Democratic.	Other votes.	Total vote.	Date of election.
Alabama.....	10	83,929	107,119	.....	201,048	November, 1874.
California.....	6	31,922	61,509	20,753	113,683	September, 1875.
Connecticut.....	6	43,516	51,136	3,948	98,600	April, 1876.
Georgia.....	11	33,161	83,347	.....	126,508	October, 1874.
.....	15	164,903	182,154	15,233	362,289	October, 1874.
.....	11	123,068	98,359	.....	219,952	October, 1874.
.....	11	90,795	120,976	.....	217,771	October, 1874.
.....	7	57,085	63,213	.....	110,298	.....
.....	3	31,228	15,091	.....	46,317	.....
.....	5	41,719	38,124	420	80,263	.....
.....	10	84,181	98,217	.....	182,398	.....
.....	23	297,817	292,278	2,503	592,633	.....
.....	8	9,106	9,378	.....	19,681	.....
.....	4	8,213	8,472	1,182	17,867	.....
.....	5	36,563	13,258	6,277	56,097	.....
.....	5	23,874	37,823	.....	61,697	.....
Texas*.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado†.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	October, 1876.
	145	1,276,418	1,170,484	60,970	2,513,872	

*No official statement of the vote for this State is at hand. The election was a special one, called to ratify or reject the new constitution and elect State officers thereunder. The vote was not full, and the Democratic majority about 50,000.

†Colorado voted for delegates to a constitutional convention, and elected a Republican, majority 71.

In further elucidation of the situation the following is presented :

Table showing results of latest elections had in States that hold State elections prior to the general election in November, 1876, with the month of said election.

States.	Repub- lican.	Demo- cratic.	Next elec- tion, when—
Oregon.....	.....	1	June.
Kentucky.....	.....	2	August.
North Carolina.....	1	.....	August.
Alabama.....	.....	3	August.
Maine.....	2	.....	September.
California.....	3	.....	October.
Indiana.....	.....	4	October.
Iowa.....	4	.....	October.
Ohio.....	5	.....	October.
Vermont.....	6	.....	October.
Nebraska.....	7	.....	October.
Georgia.....	.....	5	October.
Colorado*.....	8	.....	.....

*This Territory has framed its State constitution, and will vote during the summer on its ratification and for State officers. It will then be admitted by proclamation. The Constitutional Convention was carried by the Republicans.

The total vote at the last Presidential election was 6,457,315. The total vote in the above table is very nearly two-fifths of the vote of 1872. By far the larger portion of the total recorded under the head of "other votes"—60,970—will naturally be added to the Republican vote on national questions. If there lingered any doubt of this at the beginning of the present year the conduct of the Confederate Democracy in the House of Representatives must have dispelled it long since. A brief analysis of this vote will illustrate this assertion. The "Independent" vote in California was entirely a local Republican disaffection. That of Indiana in 1874 was nearly of a similar character. The Connecticut vote is one-half at least affiliated, on national questions, with the Republican party. So also with the fragmentary temperance votes in Iowa, Ohio, and New Hampshire. The Rhode Island vote—6,277—is avowedly Republican in character. In Oregon the opposition votes—1,182—were cast for a Republican, the division being personal and local. If 50,000 be taken from this column and added to the Republican total it will not, by any means, be an over-statement. This, then, will make a total division between the parties, as per the latest polls had, in the States above tabulated, as follows :

Republican.....	1,326,418
Democratic.....	1,187,454
Being a Republican majority of.....	138,964

By the figures, as given in the table itself, it will be seen that the Republicans have an actual majority, as follows :

Total Republican vote.....	1,276,418
Total Democratic.....	1,176,484
Total other votes.....	60,970
	<hr/> 1,237,454

Republican majority 38,964

In truth the majority is really much larger. In North Carolina, for instance, the vote of 1875, upon the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, was much heavier than that of the State election of 1874, and resulted in a Republican majority of over 19,000. The Republican vote in Texas was also increased. As part of the *res gestæ*, the following table of votes cast for President in 1872, in the same States as have been embraced already, will be of value :

States.	Grant.	Greeley.	O'Conner.	Other votes.	Total vote.
Ala.....	90,272	79,444	.....	.....	169,716
Cal.	54,020	40,718	1,068	.....	95,806
Conn....	50,638	45,880	204	206	96,928
Georgia	62,550	76,356	4,000	.....	142,906
Indiana	186,147	163,632	1,417	.....	351,196
Iowa ...	131,566	71,196	2,221	.....	204,983
Ken.....	88,766	99,995	2,374	.....	191,135
Maine..	61,422	29,087	.....	.....	90,509
Nebr'ka	18,329	7,812	.....	.....	26,141
N. H....	37,168	31,424	100	.....	68,692
N. C. ...	94,304	69,474	.....	.....	163,778
Ohio....	281,852	244,321	1,163	2,100	529,436
Oregon..	11,819	7,730	572	.....	20,121
R. I.....	13,665	5,329	.....	.....	18,994
Texas ..	47,406	66,500	2,580	.....	116,486
Verm't.	41,481	10,927	593	.....	53,001
W. Vir'a	32,315	29,451	600	.....	62,366
	<hr/> 1,303,720	<hr/> 1,079,276	<hr/> 16,892	<hr/> 2,306	<hr/> 2,402,194

The foregoing table shows the relative difference of votes as cast in the elections held during 1874 and 1875, and in the spring elections of 1876, as compared with the totals of the Presidential party votes of 1872. The following summary presents an illustration of this :

Parties.	Totals of latest vote from 1874 on.	Total Pre-sidential vote 1872, by parties.	Opposition Increase over 1872.	Republican Decrease from 1872.
Republican.	1,276,418	1,303,720	.....	27,302
Democratic.	1,176,484	1,096,168	80,316	.....
Other votes.	60,970	2,306	58,664	.....
	<hr/> 2,513,872	<hr/> 2,402,194	<hr/> 138,980	<hr/> 27,302

Total increase of opposition votes over that of 1872.....	138,980
Decrease of Republican vote from 1872..	<hr/> 27,302

Total increase of the latest votes over that of 1872.....	111,678
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The difference is slight as between the two totals, and if the 50,000 which legitimately belong to the Republican party on all national questions be taken from the 60,970 found in the column of latest votes, and they be added to the Republican vote, it will be found that the national party has not, for a Presidential race, lost a voter, but in reality shows an increase of at least 22,000. Taken for all in all, the prospects of the nominees of the Republican National Convention are quite encouraging.

MUD THROWING.—Political mud throwers are hard at work. No reputation is safe from their attacks. Should a saint appear on earth and these political buzzards suspect a leaning toward the Presidency, the saint would soon become a sinner if persistent lying could bring about the transformation. From the present indications the coming campaign, on the part of the Democrats, is to be no exception to the rule—mud throwing against the Republican party in lieu of legitimate argument. It has failed in the past ; it will fail in the future.

SLANDER.—The public man who tries to answer every slander set afloat against him will be kept as busy as a thin-skinned fisherman on a salt meadow in mosquito time. He may kill off a dozen tormentors, but a hundred will come to their funeral. Happy is the man who can sit unmoved in the presence of partisan malice, and feel that his record is all right, and that the confidence of the people in his integrity cannot be shaken by the idle breath of slander.

LUCKY LETTERS. — Anti-Tilden Democrats are trying to prove that the letter T will not win in the Presidential race. The indications are that all letters will be unlucky in the Democratic alphabet this year. The Centennial year has opened the eyes of the people. Patriotism is to be again called to the front, and this means a glorious Republican victory.

INDIANA'S WAR GOVERNOR.

The folly of the Confederate Democracy and their associates in Congress becomes every day more evident. Being themselves atheists and unbelievers, in regard to all political principles and acts which purport to be grounded on motives of human well-doing and the welfare of all the people, they cannot of course comprehend the character of the nation they now in part misrepresent. In their vain attempts to besmirch the good name of political opponents, and to drag down into the mire of corrupt motives and acts all the heroic services of the war period, they succeed only in re-invoking the sacred associations of that period and re-arousing the slumbering spirit of patriotism and devotion. They illustrate the Hebrew declaration that the "heathen rage and the wicked imagine a vain thing." Commencing with Hill's defense of Andersonville and the Confederate atrocities there, they have run the entire gamut of impolitic absurdities and outrages, until at last Representative Springer, of Illinois, in the vain attempt to become the champion slanderer of his party, evokes the manes of Indiana treason, and brings from the mouth and memory of Senator Oliver P. Morton the following trenchant statement of the conduct of Mr. Springer's friends.

Truly, the brevet Confederates like he of Illinois "work better than they know," in their haste to return to the vomit of that subserviency and sycophancy to the rebel South which has characterized the Northern and Western Democrats.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, I ask the Secretary to read an article from the New York *World* of last Saturday, which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the paper referred to, if there be no objection.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

MORTON NEXT—ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE'S HONESTY IMPUGNED—ALLEGED MISAPPLICATION OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.

[Special dispatch to the World.]

WASHINGTON April 28.

Several days ago a correspondent of the *World* was informed that there were important documents in the Second Comptroller's office of the Treasury which would reveal

another Republican presidential candidate, Senator MORTON, in an unpromising light. The correspondence, whatever it might be, was between MORTON and one of the State agents in Indiana during the war, and is on file in the Department.

The facts of the case, as alleged, are these. In the Thirty-seventh Congress an act making an appropriation to pay the expenses of transporting and delivering arms and munitions of war to the loyal citizens of the States of which the inhabitants now are or hereafter may be in rebellion against the Government of the United States, and to provide for the expense of organizing them into companies, battalions, regiments, or otherwise, for their own protection against violence, insurrection, invasion, or rebellion, was passed July 31, 1861. Two million dollars were appropriated under this act. It will be observed that the title is very loosely drawn, and is susceptible of various constructions. Among the list of war expenditures in connection with the above is this item: "For supplying transportation and delivery of arms and munitions of war in States in rebellion against the Government of the United States, O. P. MORTON, Governor of Indiana, \$250,000." Indiana was never in rebellion against the Government of the United States, and it was a query why MORTON should have had \$250,000 when there was no purpose under the statute making the appropriation for which the money could have been legally expended.

It was brought to the attention of the correspondent that in the Indiana Legislature of 1861 some difficulty had occurred between the Democrats and the Republicans. The two parties were a tie in the senate and the Democrats had a majority in the house. The Republican senators broke the quorum to prevent some party legislation, and the time of the session slipped by until compelled to adjourn without the transaction of any business. No appropriations were made, not even for the expenses of running the State government. Everything seemed to be in danger of coming to a stand-still in Indiana, when MORTON made a trip to Washington, and upon his return to Indianapolis he opened the paymaster's office and began to pay the expenses of the State government. No one except MORTON's bosom friends knew where he got the money; but very few know to this day. The proper way to have obtained money to run the State machinery would have been to convene the Legislature for the purpose of passing appropriation bills. This the radical MORTON would not do, as the Legislature was Democratic. That MORTON obtained his money from the two million dollar appropriation above referred to is certain; that he misapplied \$250,000 the correspondence in the Treasury Department will show. Three unsuccessful attempts have been made by members of Congress to obtain this correspondence. Secretary Bristow, perhaps with a desire to avoid doing anything that would injure a candidate in the presidential race, for which he is an aspirant, seems to be unwilling that it shall be made public. Upon the first request for the correspondence Mr. Bristow signified a wish that Mr. MORTON should know what was coming before any steps were taken in the case. The member prosecuting the search acquiesced, and was soon interviewed by MORTON, who was considerably excited, demanded to know if a public investigation into the affair was to be made, and said he should summon witnesses from Indiana to testify in his behalf. He did telegraph for a man by the name of Sturm, who arrived in this city to-day. Sturm was

arsenal agent in the State during the war. Another attempt to obtain or at least examine the correspondence pertaining to the case will be made on Monday, and Secretary Bristow will do well to open every avenue that can place light on the transaction. It will be investigated by Mr. GLOVER's committee on the real-estate pool.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, the President of the United States in the spring of 1863 advanced to me \$250,000 to enable me to carry forward military operations in the State of Indiana. Of this sum I expended \$133,302.91 in the service of the State and with which I charged the State in my settlement with it, and the remaining \$116,697.09 were not expended. This amount I returned to the Treasury of the United States, as is shown by the following voucher and receipt:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, April 11, 1865.

SIR: Yours of the 6th instant, inclosing a duplicate certificate of deposit issued by the First National Bank of Indianapolis, Indiana, in your favor, No. 360, date of the 6th instant, for \$116,697.09, on account of moneys due and refunded to the United States, has been received.

I am, very respectfully,

GEO. HARRINGTON,
Assistant Secretary.

HON. O. P. MORTON,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

The \$133,302.91 which I had expended on behalf of the State were paid back to the Government by giving the Government credit for that amount upon advances which had been made by the State in the conduct of the war, which advances were duly audited by the Treasury Department and allowed as just and valid claims against the Government in favor of the State. This settlement and final adjustment of the whole sum of \$250,000 are shown by the following voucher and quietus from the office of the Second Auditor of the Treasury:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
SECOND AUDITOR'S OFFICE,
November 8, 1865.

SIR: The charge of \$250,000 on the books of this office on account "supplying arms to loyal citizens in revolted States" has this day been closed on the books of this office, to wit, by a deposit by you of \$116,697.09 and a transfer of \$133,302.91 of funds from the books of the Third Auditor's office to your credit on the books of this office.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JNO. M. SIMS,
for Auditor.

His Excellency O. P. MORTON,
Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana.

From these vouchers it will appear that the whole sum of 250,000 was accounted for and repaid to the Government.

It will be proper in this connection to state the circumstances under which the \$250,000 were advanced to me by the President and the use made of it, to show that it was not misapplied.

At the October election in 1862 in Indiana the Democrats carried the State by a majority of over 10,000, electing a large majority

in each branch of the Legislature and their candidates for the State offices. The Democrats had the Legislature, all the State offices, and the judges of the Supreme Court, and possessed the whole power in the State government except the executive. When the Legislature assembled, in the first week in January, 1863, its conduct was characterized by the most intense hostility to the administration and to the prosecution of the war. I sent my message to the two houses on the second day of its session. The Senate received, read, and printed it in the usual way. The House refused to receive it and directed the clerk to return it to me, and on the next day adopted a resolution approving the message of Governor Seymour, of New York.

The revolutionary policy thus inaugurated was pursued with increased violence and open disregard of constitutional obligations. The time was chiefly consumed by the introduction of disloyal resolutions, the utterance of factious and treasonable sentiments, intended to excite the people against the Government and destroy its power to suppress the rebellion. On the 17th of February a bill was introduced into the House which was intended to strip me as Governor of all military power in the State. It provided that all the arms should be placed in the custody of the auditor, treasurer, secretary, and attorney-general of the State, to be kept, issued, or disposed of only by them. It deprived the Governor of all power to call out the militia for any purpose whatever. It provided that all officers of the militia should be appointed and commissioned by these four State officers, and not by the Governor, as required by the constitution of the State. It provided for the repeal of the existing militia law, the dissolution of all brigades, regiments, and companies formed under that law, the surrender of their arms into the hands of the agents to be appointed by the four State officers, and rendered null and void all outstanding commissions. In short, this bill transferred to the four State officers the military power which was vested in the Governor by the constitution, was revolutionary and unconstitutional in every feature, and intended for disloyal purposes. The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time by a strict party vote.

The legislative history of this bill could not be better given than in language employed by the Union members of the Legislature in their "Address to the people of the State:"

The military bill had come from the midnight caucus to the House; had been printed and forced to its engrossment without the change of a word or letter, all amendments and substitutes had been voted down; all references to committees had been refused, although every other bill of a general charac-

ter that had gone to a second reading had been referred to some committee: the previous question had been sustained, the gag applied, and all debate cut off, and the bill engrossed. Nothing was left for us but to sit by and see this infamous measure passed through, the revolution consummated, and civil war begun, or to quietly retire and leave the house without a quorum; there was no other peaceful and constitutional remedy. If it had been left to the courts to annul it before the question could have been determined the law would have done its work.

The military power once in the hands of the conspirators, it would be a matter of no importance what the courts might decide; and if the question took the course of others before the Supreme Court it might be months or years before the decision was made. The path of duty was the path of safety, and we had no doubt nor hesitation as to the course we should pursue.

We were willing and anxious and repeatedly proposed to the majority to return and pass the appropriation bills with all other legitimate and lawful legislation; but they replied to us contemptuously that they intended to pass every one of their ultra measures before they took up the appropriation bills.

The military bill violated absolutely no less than seven plain and vital provisions of the State constitution, and subverted entirely the scheme of government invented by the framers of that instrument. Its passage would have been an act of revolution inevitably attended by civil war and a collision with the Government of the United States.

It had become manifest that the Democratic members of the Legislature were determined to pass the bill at all hazards, which would unquestionably have resulted in civil war. I could not and would not surrender my powers as Governor under the constitution, nor could the Government of the United States afford to have me do so, for the purpose of the proceeding was to neutralize the position of Indiana in the war and to take her out of the line of loyal States Northwest of the Ohio river. The very pendency of the bill and the avowed purpose to pass it caused the most intense ferment, and at once threatened the peace and safety of the State. I could veto the bill, but a simple majority could pass it over the veto, so that that would amount to nothing. The Republicans had barely enough members in the House of Representatives to break the quorum and break up the Legislature. Consultations were had with the Republican members of the Legislature and leading Republican citizens from different parts of the State, who were summoned for that purpose, and it was the deliberate judgment of all, in which mine fully concurred, that the passage of the bill would involve the State in civil war. The Republican members of the House therefore withdrew from the body to prevent the final passage of the bill. All the appropriation bills to carry on the State government, except one to pay the per diem and mileage of members, had been kept behind this military bill, so that when the Legislature adjourned there

were no appropriations made for any civil or military purpose. There was plenty of money in the State treasury, but it was locked against me. I made an appeal to the people of the State, setting forth the situation and asking them to furnish me with money to carry on the State government, to support the militia, and organize troops for the United States. The county commissioners in the county of Marion, in which the capital is located, came forward and advanced me \$20,000 out of the county treasury. This example was followed by many other counties in the State, by several banks, railroad companies, and by individuals, until a large sum of money had been raised. Under the constitution the Legislature met but once in two years unless convened in extra session by the Governor, and the next session in course would not begin until January, 1865.

After obtaining all the money I could from the counties and other sources, I made a calculation and found that I would lack about \$250,000 to carry me through to January, 1865, and to make my position secure came to Washington to see if I could not obtain that amount from the Government of the United States. After a careful review of the situation by the President, Mr. Lincoln, and the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, the President advanced me the sum of \$250,000. They both agreed that Indiana was threatened with rebellion and that the condition of the State came directly within the letter and spirit of the act of Congress approved July 31, 1861. Mr. Stanton declared to the President with great emphasis that if Indiana lost her position as a loyal State the final success of the Government in suppressing the rebellion would be endangered, and that the Governor must be sustained at whatever cost or hazard. The history and character of the transaction is shown by the following extract from my annual message to the Legislature of Indiana in January, 1865:

Upon the adjournment of the Legislature I found myself unprovided, with the exception of a small balance of the military contingent fund, with money or appropriations for military purposes. New regiments could not be raised under the requisitions of the Government, nor recruiting carried forward, without the use of large sums of money. The legion (militia) had received no pay for their services from the beginning of the war, and the organization could not be successfully continued unless payment was made, and the men reimbursed for their actual expenditures, for which the appropriation for the legion fund, made in 1861, was inadequate. The southern border was still disturbed by threats and danger of invasion, and such steps were to be taken, if possible, as would guarantee peace and security to our people. In this dilemma, I determined to apply to the President for an advance under an appropriation made by Congress, on the 31st of July, 1861, which act is in these words:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America

in Congress assembled, That the sum of \$2,000,000 be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be expended, under the direction of the President of the United States, in supplying and defraying the expenses of transporting and delivering such arms and munitions of war as in his judgment may be expedient and proper, to place in the hands of any of the loyal citizens residing in any of the States, of which the inhabitants are in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or in which the rebellion is, or may be threatened, and likewise for defraying such expenses as may be properly incurred in organizing and sustaining, while so organized, any of such citizens into companies, battalions, regiments, or otherwise, for their own protection against domestic violence, insurrection, invasion, or rebellion."

After a full consideration of the condition of affairs in Indiana, the President advanced to me, as a disbursing officer, out of said appropriation, the sum of \$250,000. It will be perceived that this money was not paid to me as a loan to the State or an advance to the State upon debts due to her from the General Government, and creates no debt against the State whatever, but that in theory it is an expenditure made by the president, through me, as his disbursing agent. It has, however, been disbursed exclusively in the name and for the benefit of the State, in the payment of necessary military expenses, for which the State should have made ample appropriations. I have advanced to the paymaster of the State forces, at different times, the sum of \$171,061.88, of which the greater portions, however, has been reimbursed to me by the General Government, upon my filing, in the proper Department, the receipted pay-rolls of the Indiana legion for services rendered in the war. For a detailed account of the expenditures of the military fund the Legislature is referred to the financial report of Hon. W. H. Terrell, financial secretary, which is herewith submitted, and to the vouchers on file in this department. All of these expenditures were laid before the auditing committee, appointed by the late Legislature, for examination, and received their approval. As will be shown by the report, I had on hand, on the 1st day of January, 1865, of the military fund, the sum of \$115,487.28, and the question is now presented as to the proper method of settlement with the Government for this fund. One of two ways may be adopted. First, by returning to the Government the balance of the fund unexpended, and by settling with it for the amount expended, upon vouchers of expenditures, after the same shall have been approved by the Legislature, and this would be in accordance with the theory upon which the money was originally advanced by the President. Second, by paying into the State treasury the unexpended part of the fund, and treating the whole as an advance to the State, to be accounted for by her in her general settlement with the Government for advances made. This latter plan is, in my judgment, more consonant with justice and the honor of the State, the money having been expended for purposes for which the State was honorably and patriotically bound to make provision.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The total amount of cash received by me is	\$1,026,321.31
I have disbursed—	
For civil purposes, on vouchers	\$190,644.93
For military purposes, on vouchers	702,420.15
Total	892,065.08
Leaving a balance in my hands of ..	124,256.23

Of this balance, \$8,783.95 belong to the funds received on account of civil expenses and \$115,487.28 on account of funds received for military expenses.

In conclusion on this subject, I respectfully request that a joint committee of the two houses be speedily appointed to investigate the civil and military expenditures I have made since the adjournment of the last Legislature, and to examine the vouchers for the same on file in my department, and that the Legislature will make prompt provision for the repayment of the money I have borrowed for public purposes. It was advanced from patriotic motives, with a full reliance upon the good faith of the State for its reimbursement, and without it the machinery of the State government could not have been kept in motion.

A joint committee of the two houses, embracing some of the ablest Democratic members, was appointed, as requested in my message, who patiently investigated all my accounts, including the expenditure of \$133,302.91 which I had obtained from the President, and unanimously reported them correct, taking no exception even to the amount of one cent. The unexpended portion of the \$250,000 which I had received from the President and which I described in my message as the military fund, but which was erroneously stated in the message as \$115,000 instead of \$116,000, I did not pay into the State treasury, as suggested in the message, but refunded directly to the General Government, as before shown; and the \$133,302.91 which I had expended for the State were settled with the Government by giving credit to the Government for that amount on the indebtedness of the Government to the State, as before shown. After the full examination of my accounts the Legislature made appropriations to pay my borrowed money and the debts I had contracted; also the sum of about \$600,000—the exact amount, however, I am not able to state from memory—which I procured Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York, to advance in the payment of the interest upon the bonds of the State during the years 1863 and 1864, the payment of which interest had been withheld by the auditor and treasurer of the State. During these two years all payments for civil and military expenses of the State, including the benevolent institutions and the penitentiaries and excepting only the salaries of public officers, were paid upon my own check through a financial bureau established in my office, the State auditor and State treasurer declining all co-operation.

My course was approved by the people of Indiana by my re-election as Governor in October, 1864, by a majority of more than 20,000 and by the election of a Republican Legislature and Republican State officers. The intermediate history between the events I have described in the spring of 1863 and the meeting of the Legislature in January, 1865, I will refer to but briefly, although it

is extraordinary in its character and unlike that of any other State.

The State was honey-combed with secret societies formerly known as Knights of the Golden Circle, but at that time as Sons of Liberty. They claimed in 1864 to have 40,000 members in the State, were lawless, defiant, plotting treason against the United States and the overthrow of the State Government. In some counties their operations were so formidable as to require the militia to be kept on a war footing, and throughout 1863 and until the final explosion and exposure of the organization in August, 1864, kept the whole State in an uproar and alarm. So bold were their demonstrations through the summer of 1863 that General John Morgan, of Kentucky, was induced to invade the State with his forces, in the belief that there would be a general uprising in his support. In 1864, so numerous were these treasonable organizations and so confident were they of their strength, that they matured a plan for a general uprising in the city of Indianapolis on the 16th of August, to be under cover of a mass meeting of the Democratic party, to be attended by the members of these organizations from all parts of the State. The plan, as shown by subsequent confessions of some of the leading conspirators, was on that day to release about seven thousand rebel prisoners confined in Camp Morton, seize the arsenal and arm these prisoners, overturn the State Government, and take possession of the State. This plan could not be kept secret. It was developed some three weeks before the time fixed, and was abandoned by the leading conspirators, and orders issued countermanding the march of their forces upon Indianapolis. Subsequently the discovery and seizure of a large amount of arms and ammunition collected at Indianapolis for treasonable purposes, and the seizure of the records and rituals of the order of the Sons of Liberty, giving the names of the principal conspirators, and the arrest of some eight of the ringleaders, had the effect to break up and destroy the power of the organization; and I regret to have to state that in the list of the principal members of this organization were found the names of three of the State officers, into whose hands the Legislature of 1863 had attempted to place the whole military power of the State. Upon the trial of these ringleaders before a military tribunal appointed by the President under an act of Congress, some of them turned State's evidence and disclosed the full character and extent of the conspiracy. Four of them were convicted and sentenced to death, one of whom made his escape; another was pardoned outright by President Johnson, and two others, Bowles and Milligan, had their punishment commuted by

President Johnson to imprisonment for life, but were afterward released by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that the military commission had no jurisdiction to try them for the offense. There is a large volume of unpublished history showing in detail the operations of these organizations, who were their aiders and abettors, and the connection they had with the politics of the day.

It may be proper to state here that the Democratic Legislature of 1863, before its sudden adjournment, had appointed an auditing committee of its own members to audit and supervise all of my accounts and expenditures for military purposes, which sat almost continuously until January, 1865, and that this committee did audit and approve every one of my expenditures, including that of the \$133,302.91 of the fund obtained from the President. The same Legislature also appointed a committee to investigate all my expenditures and accounts from the beginning of the war up to January, 1863. This investigation was prosecuted with great diligence until late in the spring of 1863, and after the breaking up of the Legislature. Failing to find anything wrong in my accounts, to the amount of even one cent, the Democratic majority of the committee refused to make any report at all; but the Republican minority made a report indorsing and sustaining my official conduct in every particular.

THE TRADE of California and China, as carried on through the port of San Francisco, shows the following results:

The total of imports from that country for 1875 was \$4,688,797; of exports, \$8,542,720, divided about as follows: Imports of coffee, \$162,823; of opium, \$757,640; of rice, \$1,141,462; of silk, raw and manufactured, \$315,706; of sugar, \$183,656; of tea, \$518,926; miscellaneous, \$1,608,584. Exports of flour, \$571,271; of ginseng, \$577,109; of gold and silver coin and bullion, \$5,674,907; of potatoes, \$13,315; of quicksilver, \$942,522; of all other commodities, \$605,569. The imports fell off \$26,875 over 1874, but the exports increased \$717,865. This year the increase of exports promises to be still greater.

THE Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, South Carolina, on May 16th, adopted resolutions opposing the passage of the bill to carry into effect the Hawaiian treaty on the ground that the removal of duty on rice will seriously injure the rice planters and throw out of employment thousands of colored laborers. A delegation was appointed to proceed to Washington and lay the facts before the Senate.

The foregoing table shows accurately the business of the office for the time specified—the number of applications, the number of caveats filed, the number of patents issued, and the amount of cash received and expended. For the last few years the expenses of the office have been increased by the reproduction of old drawings, which are now being first traced and then photographed, which, when completed, will make a uniform set of records and greatly facilitate the current work.

As an indication of the growing increase in the business of the office since the first of January last we present the following statement of moneys received and expended, applications and caveats filed, and patents granted during January, February, March, and April, 1876:

Date.	Applica- tions filed.	Caveats filed.	Patents granted.	Cash received.	Cash ex- pended.
January, 1876.	2,173	267	1,391	\$72,070 40	\$52,624 80
February, 1876.	2,337	305	1,914	74,651 62	52,076 34
March, 1876....	2,575	345	1,441	80,459 07	56,553 16
April, 1876	2,268	234	1,499	68,415 19	52,965 54

Statement of receipts and expenditures during the quarters ending March 31, 1875 and 1876.

Month.	1875. Receipts.	1875. Expenditures.
January	\$61,385 22	\$60,991 68
February	60,116 24	50,864 91
March.....	70,122 86	63,397 45
	191,623 82	174,754 04

Excess of receipts over expenses March 31, 1875, \$16,869 78.

Month.	1876. Receipts.	1876. Expenditures.
January	\$72,070 40	\$52,624 80
February	74,651 62	52,076 34
March.....	80,459 07	56,553 16
	227,181 09	161,253 80

Excess of receipts over expenses March 31, 1876, \$65,927 29.

Total amount of appropriation proposed by the Committee on Appropriations for the next fiscal year, \$895,220.

Total amount of receipts for the year 1875, \$743,453.

The above, taken as a standard, shows an excess of receipts over expenses of \$48,233.

Estimated receipts for 1876, \$800,000.

THE PATENT OFFICE AND THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

Judge Duell, the present able and efficient Commissioner of Patents, with commendable promptness and pride, has completed extensive preparations to have the office as fully represented at the exhibition as the space allotted to him will permit. The room assigned to the use of the Patent Office contains 10,000 square feet, from which aisles and passage-ways are to be deducted, leaving but about 4,000 square feet for actual use in the exhibition of models. Under the immediate supervision of Mr. E. H. Knight, who has been intrusted with these responsibilities, there have already been selected and sent to the Exhibition about 5,000 models. These embrace all the principal classes, such as agriculture, (of which harvesters is the principal feature,) steam, wood-working, metallurgy, and metal working, navigation, (including a model of the first steam propeller that crossed the ocean,) civil engineering, land conveyance, (vehicles,) railways, hoisting, mills and presses, mechanical movements, journals and bearings, textile, (including the model of Whitney's original cotton gin, patented in 1791,) sewing machines, calorifics, chemistry, electricity, (including Morse's original model of the telegraph apparatus,) leather working, clay, stone working, printing, household, &c.

The old screw printing press on which Dr. Franklin worked in London in 1724, and which has been standing in the Museum of the Patent Office since 1842, is on exhibition in contrast with the Web printing machine.

The great feature of the exhibition will be the "Patent Office in miniature," which will contain a complete set of files, records, blanks, &c., for the transaction of the daily routine business of the office. This will show the *modus operandi* of obtaining patents in the United States, and the business will be conducted in strict conformity to the rules and practice governing the business of the national Patent Office. The "miniature" will be supplied with a corps of competent officers and clerks, who will make it a specialty to explain to visitors the whole minutiae of the system.

The indefatigable efforts of the Commissioner, and of those gentlemen whom he has called to his assistance, to make this branch of the exhibition both attractive and interesting, and to successfully demonstrate the practical working of the office under the laws and rules regulating the same must meet with popular approbation.

Raw Silk.

According to statistics compiled by Dr. Engel, director of the Berlin Bureau of Statistics, the production of raw silk during the years 1872, 1873, and 1874 was as follows :

Countries.	1872.	1873.	1874.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
France	1,401,000	1,207,800	1,608,200
Italy	6,875,000	5,139,200	6,292,000
Spain	376,200	286,000	309,300
Turkey	243,500	416,800	811,800
Syria	236,500	380,000	375,600
Greece	14,080	89,600	28,600
Georgia, Persia, and Kurdistan...	242,000	697,400	880,000
China, (exports)...	7,447,000	6,819,800	8,096,000
Japan, (exports)...	1,586,200	1,579,400	1,210,000
East Indies, (ex- ports)	1,262,800	1,069,200	935,000
Total	19,685,000	17,584,000	20,547,000

This leaves out California, which has of late years produced an appreciable amount of raw silk, manufacturing the same also.

INCREASE OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND.—A recent British Parliamentary return which has just been issued gives an effective bird's-eye view of the progress of that nation in material wealth since 1814. In that year the gross annual value of the lands, houses, quarries, mines, canals, and gasworks of Great Britain was £60,138,330; in 1844—and here we get fairly into the railway era—it had mounted to £95,300,248. The figures for 1854 embrace the United Kingdom, and cannot, therefore, properly be compared with those for 1814 and 1844. The necessary corrections for Ireland can, however, be roughly made without much difficulty. The valuation for 1854 is stated at £124,871,885; ten years afterwards it stood at £161,397,345; and in 1873 the total was £212,922,851. So with incomes from trades and professions. The ascertained total in 1814 was £37,058,989; in 1844 it was £65,095,191; in 1854, £91,280,131; in 1864, £124,075,550; and in 1873, £197,237,339.

ADDRESS TO THE GERMAN RADICALS AND REPUBLICANS OF THE UNION, AND TO THE GERMAN FREE PRESS.

The great danger which threatens the Republic, in the increasing power of the reactionary Democratic party, demands a harmonious co-operation of progressive German-Americans and a vigorous opposition to the Democracy.

The Democratic party is the decided enemy of national education, which unquestionably forms the foundation of all intellectual, political, and industrial progress of the Republic; the Democratic party, in league with the dark forces of Vaticanism, seeks to demolish those thoroughly Republican institutions, the public schools; the Democratic party denies the American nationality and declares literally, "that every true Democrat utters the detestable word 'Nation' only with disgust;" it places the sovereign States above the nation; the Democratic party is in continued rebellion against the achievements of the late bloody war of secession; the equal political and civil rights guaranteed to all citizens have already been brought to naught in the Southern States by the Democratic party; the purity of the ballot-box has been defiled by it, with the murder of many thousands of Republicans; the honor and credit of the nation is threatened and endangered by a Democratic inflation of rag money. In short, the Democratic party is the reactionary and Bourbonistic element of the Republic, having its head center in the rebel States, which are still spurring out the poison of sectional hate at the Union.

In the forthcoming important election, two and only two parties are opposed to each other: the Democratic and the Republican. To prevent the impending danger of a Democratic victory, a coalition of all liberal-minded Germans with the Republican party is necessary. Every breach will be a gain for the Democratic party.

Notwithstanding the wrongs and errors which Republican politicians have committed, the Republican party has nevertheless always proclaimed and defended progressive principles. Its principles are: equal rights to all; the resumption of specie payments;

the maintenance of the honor and credit of the nation by prompt payment of the public debt in coin; civil service reform; national sovereignty above State sovereignty; national education and the free public school system, prohibiting the division of public school funds for sectarian purposes; the purity of the ballot-box, the guarantee of the elective franchise, as well as of the attainments of the late war.

The core of the Republican party is sound and capable of progression.

On the 14th of June next the Republican party will assemble in National Convention at Cincinnati. The German element will then have an opportunity of making, by a hearty co-operation, its influence for national progress felt. We therefore propose that the German Radicals and Republicans, personally or by representatives, convene in Cincinnati on the 10th day of June, reporting at the office of the Cincinnati *Freie Presse*. Subjects of the highest importance will present themselves for the consideration of this convention. We mention only the following: the labor question, the emigration and naturalization question, the Presidency, the accountability of Representatives, religious, social, and industrial liberty, the taxation of church property, etc.

We request of such German papers as coincide with the import and object of this address to support our proposition, and earnestly co-operate for the accomplishment thereof.

THE GERMAN REPUBLICAN CLUB.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 3, 1876.

CARL ROESER, JR.,
President.

C. F. SCHMIDT,
J. H. SCHULTHEISS,
Vice Presidents.

L. EISINGER,
Recording Secretary.

CARL STIERLIN,
Corresponding Secretary.

DR. F. W. BOGEN,
Treasurer.

RELATIONS OF THE STATE TO RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF ALL THE PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES; ALSO THE PROVISIONS OF LAW IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND OF THE SEVERAL TERRITORIES BEARING UPON THE CHURCH, THE STATE, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Second Division.

PART IV.—*Public or Private Support of Religion.*

The Legislature is empowered to authorize the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies to make adequate provisions, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality. (Obselete.)—*N. H.*, 1792.

No person or sect shall be compelled to pay toward the support of the teachers of another sect or denomination.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No man ought to, or of right can, be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister, contrary to the dictates of his conscience.—*Vt.*, 1793.

No person shall by law be compelled to join or support, or be classed with or associated to, any congregation, church, or religious association.—*Conn.*, 1818.

No man shall be compelled to attend any religious worship.—*Del.*, 1831.

No man shall be compelled to contribute to the erection or support of any place of worship, or to the maintenance of any ministry, against his own free will and consent.—*Del.*, 1831.

No man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Pa.*, 1838.

No man shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, except in fulfillment of his own voluntary contract.—*R. I.*, 1842.

No person shall, under any pretense whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship contrary to his faith and judgment.—*N. J.*, 1844.

Nor shall any person be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing churches or other places of worship, or for the maintenance of any ministry.—*N. J.*, 1844.

Nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Wis.*, 1848.

The Legislature shall pass no law to com-

pel any person to attend, erect, or support any place of religious worship.—*Mich.*, 1850.

Or to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for the support of any minister of the people or teacher of religion.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Ky.*, 1850.

No person shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any form of worship, against his consent.—*Ohio*, 1850–51.

No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Ind.*, 1851.

No person shall be compelled to attend any place of worship, pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing places of worship, or the maintenance of any minister or ministry.—*Iowa*, 1857.

Nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any religious or ecclesiastical ministry, against his consent.—*Minn.*, 1857–8.

Nor shall any person be compelled to attend or support any form of worship.—*Kansas*, 1857.

No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever.—*W. Va.*, 1861–72.

No person shall be compelled to erect, support, or attend any place of worship, or maintain any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion.—*Mo.*, 1865.

No person ought to be compelled to frequent or maintain any place of worship or any ministry.—*Md.*, 1867.

No man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.—*Texas*, 1869.

No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent.—*Ill.*, 1870.

No man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any minister, against his consent.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.—*Va.*, 1870.

The General Assembly (the Legislature, *W. Va.*) shall not enact or pass any law requiring or authorizing any religious society, or the people of any district within this Commonwealth (*W. Va.*, State) to levy on themselves or others any tax for the erection or repair of any house of public worship, or for the support of any church or ministry.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861–72.

But it shall be left free to every person to select his religious instructor, and to make for his support such private contract as he shall please.—*Va.* 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861–72.

Religious Protection.

Every denomination of *Christians* demeaning themselves quietly, and as good subjects of the State, shall be equally under the protection of the law.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All religious societies, or bodies of men that may be hereafter united or incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning, or for other religious and charitable purposes, shall be encouraged and protected in the enjoyment of the privileges, immunities, and estates which they in justice ought to enjoy under such regulations as the General Assembly of this State shall direct.—*Vt.*, 1793.

Every society or denomination of *Christians* shall have equal rights and privileges, &c.—*Conn.*, 1818.

All religious sects and denominations demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1822.

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship.—*Ohio*, 1850–51; *Neb.*, 1867.

Every religious denomination shall be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of worship.—*Ark.*, 1868.

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of worship.—*S. C.*, 1868.

It shall be the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of their own mode of public worship.—*Texas*, 1869.

Establishment of Religion.

There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another.—*N. S.*, 1844.

The General Assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.—*Iowa*, 1857.

No religion shall be established by law.—*Ala.*, 1868.

No form of religion shall be established by law.—*S. C.*, 1868.

The Legislature shall not confer any peculiar privileges or advantages on any sect or denomination.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861–72.

No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship.—*Pa.*, 1838; *Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857–8; *Kansas*, 1859; *Tenn.*, 1870.

No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies or mode of worship.—*Ky.*, 1850; *Ind.*, 1851; *Texas*, 1869.

No preference can ever be given by law to any church, sect, or mode of worship.—*Mo.*, 1865; *Fla.*, 1868.

No preference shall be given by law to any *Christian* sect or mode of worship.—*Conn.*, 1818.

No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious sect or mode of worship.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No preference shall be given by law to any religious societies, denominations, or modes of worship.—*Del.*, 1831.

No preference shall be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship.—*Ill.*, 1870.

No preference shall be given by law to any religious society.—*Ohio*, 1850–51; *Neb.*, 1867.

No subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No subordination nor preference of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.—*Maine*, 1820.

No subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.—*Mass.*, (amendment,) 1833.

PART V.—*Freedom of Religious Opinion, Conscience, and Worship.*

No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to his own conscience; or for his religious professions or sentiments: *Provided*, He doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.—*Mass.*, 1780.

No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or of his religious profession, sentiments, or persuasion: *Provided*, He doth

not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No one shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, nor for his religious professions or sentiments, provided he does not disturb the public peace, nor obstruct others in their religious worship.—*Me.*, 1820.

No person shall be enforced, restrained, or burdened in his body or goods, or otherwise suffer, on account of his religious belief.—*R. I.*, 1842.

Perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant shall ever be molested, in person or property, on account of his or her mode of religious worship.—*Nev.*, 1864.

Note.—This provision is irrevocable without the consent of the United States and of the people of Nevada.

No person ought, by any law, to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession.—*Mo.*, 1865-75.

No person ought, by any law, to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious practice, unless, under the color of religion, he shall disturb the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or shall infringe the laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil, or religious rights.—*Md.*, 1867.

No inhabitant of this State shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his religious opinions.—*Ga.*, 1868.

Nor shall any man be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, or otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861-72.

Every man shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to profess, and by argument to maintain, his opinions in matters of religion.—*R. I.*, 1842.

Full liberty in religious concerns declared.—*R. I.*, 1842.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind.—*N. Y.*, 1846-67.

The exercise of religious profession and worship shall be forever free.—*Conn.*, 1818.

The free exercise of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall be forever allowed.—*Cal.*, 1849.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without dis-

crimination or preference, shall forever be allowed.—*Nev.*, 1864.

All persons are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty.—*Md.*, 1867.

The free exercise and enjoyment of all religious profession and worship shall forever be allowed in this State.—*Fla.*, 1868.

The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall be forever guaranteed.—*Ill.*, 1870.

All men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861.

Perfect freedom of religious sentiment shall be, and the same is hereby, secured.—*Ga.*, 1868.

The free enjoyment of all religious sentiments, and the different modes of worship, shall ever be held sacred.—*Miss.*, 1868.

Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature inalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.—*N. H.*, 1792.

No authority can or ought to be vested in any power whatever that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the rights of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.—*Vt.*, 1793.

No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Pa.*, 1838; *Tenn.*, 1870.

No human authority ought, in any case whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Ky.*, 1850.

No human authority can control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Mo.*, 1865.

No human authority should, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*N. C.*, 1868.

No human authority ought, in any case whatever, to control or interfere with the rights of conscience in matters of religion.—*Texas*, 1869.

No power shall be vested in or assumed by any magistrate to interfere with or control the rights of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.—*Del.*, 1831.

No person shall be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience.—*N. J.*, 1844.

The legislature shall pass no law to prevent any person from worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of reli-

gious opinions or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Ind.*, 1851.

No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of religious opinions or interfere with the rights of conscience.—*Oregon*, 1857.

And, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.—*Va.*, 1870.

Nor shall any control of or interference with the rights of conscience be permitted.—*Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857-58; *Kansas*, 1859.

Nor shall any interference with the rights of conscience be permitted.—*Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867.

Every individual has a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.—*Me.*, 1820; *N. C.*, 1868.

All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.—*Pa.*, 1838; *Mo.*, 1865; *Ky.*, 1850; *Ohio*, 1850-51; *Neb.*, 1867; *Texas*, 1869; *Tenn.*, 1870.

It is the right of all men to render worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of their own consciences.—*Conn.*, 1818.

All men have by nature the right of worshipping and serving their Creator according to the dictates of their consciences.—*Del.*, 1831.

All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understandings, as in their opinion shall be regulated by the word of God.—*Vt.*, 1793.

Every person has the natural right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.—*La.*, 1868.

All men shall be secured in the natural right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.—*Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857.

No person shall be deprived of the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.—*Ala.*, 1868; *S. C.*, 1868.

The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed.—*Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857-8.

The right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience shall never be infringed.—*Kan.*, 1859.

Marriage.

No contract of marriage, if otherwise duly made, shall be invalidated for want of conformity to the requirements of any religious sect.—*Cal.*, 1849.

PART VI.—*Religious Tests.*

No other oath, declaration or test (than the oath of office) shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust.—*Cal.*, 1849; *Mich.*, 1850; *N. Y.*, 1846-47; *Ill.*, 1870.

No religious test ought ever to be required as a qualification for any office of profit or trust in this State, other than a declaration of belief in the existence of God;* nor shall the Legislature prescribe any other oath of office than the oath prescribed by this Constitution.—*Md.*, 1867.

(*NOTE.—The oath of office prescribed by the Constitution of Maryland does not embrace such declaration.)

No political or religious test, or other than an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State, shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this State.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

No religious tests shall ever be required as a qualification for any office of public trust under the State.—*Wis.*, 1848; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *Texas*, 1869-75; *Me.*, 1820; *Del.*, 1831; *N. J.*, 1844; *Iowa*, 1857; *Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857; *Neb.*, 1867-75; *Ohio*, 1850; *La.*, 1868.

No religious test as a qualification for office shall ever be required.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No religious test shall be required for any office of public trust, nor for any vote at elections.—*Kan.*, 1859.

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to vote or hold office.—*Ark.*, 1868.

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification of any voter at any election in this State.—*Minn.*, 1857-8.

No religious or political test shall ever be required as a qualification for jurors.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

The General Assembly (or the Legislature) shall not prescribe any religious test whatever.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861.

No man shall be disqualified from holding any office on account of his religious belief.—*R. I.*, 1842.

No person can, on account of his religious opinions, be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this State.—*Mo.*, 1865.

No inhabitant shall be prohibited from holding any office or public trust on account of his religious opinions.—*Ga.*, 1868.

Competency of Witnesses.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity in consequence of his opinions on the subject of religion.—*Wis.*, 1848.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief.—*Cal.*, 1849.

No person shall be incompetent to be a witness on account of his religious belief.—*Ohio*, 1850–51; *Neb.*, 1867.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness in consequence of his opinion on matters of religion.—*Ind.*, 1851.

Nor shall any person be incompetent to testify on account of religious belief.—*Kan.*, 1859.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness on account of his opinions in matters of religious belief.—*Nevada*, 1864.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religion.—*N. Y.*, 1866–67.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in consequence of his opinion upon the subject of religion.—*Arkansas*, 1868.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness on account of his religious opinions.—*Fla.*, 1868.

No person shall be rendered incompetent as a witness or juror in consequence of his opinions on matters of religion, nor be questioned in any court of justice touching his religious belief to affect the weight of his testimony.—*Oregon*, 1857.

No person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity in consequence of his opinion upon the subject of religion.—*Minn.*, 1857–8.

No person can, on account of his religious opinions, be disqualified from testifying, or serving as a juror.—*Mo.*, 1865.

PART VII.—*Religious Opinions Not to Abridge Rights.*

No person shall be deprived of any of his rights, privileges, or capacities, or disqualified from the performance of any of his public and private duties, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of his opinions on the subject of religion.—*Iowa*, 1857.

Nor can any man be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship.—*Vt.*, 1793.

Religious opinions shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect any civil capacity.—*R. I.*, 1842.

No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.—*N. J.*, 1844.

The civil rights, privileges, or capacities of any citizen shall in nowise be diminished or enlarged on account of his religion.—*Ky.*, 1850.

The Legislature shall not diminish or enlarge the civil or political rights, privileges, and capacities of any person on account of his opinion or belief concerning matters of religion.—*Mich.*, 1850.

No person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege, or capacity on account of his religious opinions.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Opinions in matters of religion shall in nowise affect, diminish, or enlarge any civil capacities.—*Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861–72.

Religious Disqualifications.

No person who acknowledges the being of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this Commonwealth.—*Pa.*, 1838.

No person shall be deemed incompetent as a witness or juror on account of his religious belief, *provided* he believes in the existence of a God, and that, under His dispensation, such person will be held morally accountable for his acts, and be rewarded or punished therefor, either in this world or in the world to come.—*Md.*, 1867.

No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor, or be capable of being a Senator, who is not of the Protestant religion.—*N. H.*, 1792.

All persons who deny the existence of Almighty God shall be disqualified for office.—*N. C.*, 1868.

No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor who denies the existence of the Supreme Being.—*S. C.*, 1868.

No person who denies the existence of the Supreme Being shall hold any office under this Constitution.—*S. C.*, 1865.

No person who denies the existence of a Supreme Being shall hold any office in this State.—*Miss.*, 1868.

No person who denies the being of a God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this State.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

Clerical Disabilities.

No [ordained] clergyman, or [ordained] preacher of the gospel of any denomination shall be capable of holding any civil office in the State, or of being a member of either branch of the Legislature while he continues in the exercise of the pastoral or clerical functions.—*Del.*, 1831.

No person, while he continues to exercise the functions of a clergyman, priest, or teacher of any religious persuasion, society, or sect, shall be eligible to the General Assembly.—*Ky.*, 1850.

No minister of the gospel, or priest of any

denomination whatever, who accepts a seat in the Legislature as representative, shall, after such acceptance, be allowed to claim exemption from military service, road duty, or serving on juries by reason of his said profession.—*Texas*, 1869.

No minister of the gospel, or priest, of any denomination whatever, shall be eligible to a seat in either house of the Legislature.—*Tenn.*, 1870.

PART VIII.—*Recognition of God.*

Acknowledging the goodness of the great Legislator of the Universe, &c.—*Mass.*, 1780.

Acknowledging the good providence of God in permitting the enjoyment of free government.—*Conn.*, 1818.

Acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, &c.—*Me.*, 1820.

Grateful to Almighty God for the free exercise of the right to choose our own form of government.—*Ind.*, 1851.

Grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, &c.—*Iowa*, 1857.

Grateful to Almighty God for our civil and religious privileges.—*Kansas*, 1859.

Grateful to Almighty God, the Sovereign Ruler of Nations, for our State government, &c.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Grateful to Almighty God for the free exercise of the right to choose our own form of government.—*Miss.*, 1868.

Grateful to God for our civil and religious liberty.—*Ark.*, 1868; *Ill.*, 1870; *Md.*, 1867; *Minn.*, 1857–8; *R. I.*, 1842.

Grateful to Almighty God for our freedom.—*N. J.*, 1844; *Wis.*, 1848; *Cal.*, 1849; *Ohio*, 1850–51; *Ala.*, 1868; *Neb.*, 1867.

Grateful to Almighty God.—*Nev.*, 1864; *S. C.*, 1868.

Grateful to Almighty God, the Sovereign Ruler of Nations.—*N. C.*, 1868.

Acknowledging and invoking the guidance of Almighty God, the Author of all good government.—*Fla.*, 1868.

Invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God.—*Ala.*, (*preamble*), 1868.

Invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God.—*Va.*, 1870.

Obligations of Religious Worship.

It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the Universe.—*Mass.*, 1780.

[NOTE.—The provisions of the constitution of 1780 enjoining attendance upon public worship and providing for the compulsory support of "Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality," were abrogated in 1833.]

Nevertheless, every sect or denomination of Christians ought to observe the Sabbath, or Lord's day, and keep up some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God.—*Vt.*, 1793.

It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Author and Preserver of the Universe, &c.—*Conn.*, 1818.

It is the duty of all men frequently to assemble together for the public worship of the Author of the Universe.—*Del.*, 1831.

It is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to Him.—*Md.*, 1867.

That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence.—*Va.*, 1870.

"Morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles," commended.—*N. H.*, 1792.

Piety and morality enjoined.—*Del.*, 1831.

The public worship of God and instruction in piety, religion, and morality promote the happiness and prosperity of a people and the security of a republican government.—*Mass.*, (*amendment*), 1833.

Religion, morality, and knowledge essential to good government.—*Ohio*, 1850–51; *Neb.*, 1867.

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being essential to good government, &c.—*Ark.*, 1868.

Religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind.—*N. C.*, 1868.

PART IX.—*Restriction upon Liberty of Conscience.*

The liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State.—*Cal.*, 1849; *Conn.*, 1818; *Fla.*, 1868; *Ga.*, 1868; *Minn.*, 1857–8; *Nevada*, 1864; *New York*, 1846–67.

The liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, or excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State.—*Ill.*, 1870.

Shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, nor to justify practices inconsistent with the good order, peace, or safety of the State, or with the rights of others.—*Mo.*, 1865.

Shall not justify practices inconsistent with the peace and moral safety of society.—*S. C.*, 1868.

Shall not be construed to justify acts of licentiousness injurious to morals, or dangerous to the peace and safety of the State.—*Miss.*, 1868.

Official Oaths.

The constitutions of the following States make provision for "oaths or affirmations:"—*Ala.*, 1868; *Ark.*, 1868; *Cal.*, 1849; *Conn.*, 1818; *Del.*, 1831; *Fla.*, 1868; *Georgia*, 1868; *Iowa*, 1857; *Ill.*, 1870; *Ky.*, 1850; *La.*, 1868; *Me.*, 1820; *Md.*, 1867; *Mich.*, 1850; *Minn.*, 1857-8; *Miss.*, 1868; *Mo.*, 1865; *Nev.*, 1864; *N. J.*, 1844; *N. Y.*, 1846-67; *N. C.*, 1868; *Ohio*, 1850-1; *Oregon*, 1857; *Pa.*, 1838; *R. I.*, 1842; *S. C.*, 1868; *Tenn.*, 1870; *Texas*, 1869; *Vt.*, 1793; *Va.*, 1870; *W. Va.*, 1861; *Wis.*, 1848.

Persons being "of the denomination called Quakers" may affirm.—*Mass.*, 1780-1821.

[NOTE.—The Constitution of 1780 required a

declaration of belief in the "Christian religion."]

Quakers, and persons scrupulous of swearing, may affirm.—*N. H.*, 1792.

The mode of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as most consistent with and binding upon the conscience of the person to whom administered.—*Ark.*, 1868; *Ind.*, 1851; *Oregon*, 1857.

That the manner of administering an oath or affirmation to any person ought to be such as those of the religious persuasion, &c., of which he is a member generally esteem the most effectual confirmation by the attestation of the Divine Being.—*Md.*, 1867.

The manner of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as is most consistent with the conscience of the deponent, and shall be esteemed by the General Assembly the most solemn appeal to God.—*Ky.*, 1850.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

BROOKLYN, IOWA, *February 28, 1876.*

EDITOR REPUBLIC: I have read the Davis letter written in denial of the charges of Blaine, and in support of Hill, of Georgia, touching the treatment of the prisoners in the South during the late war. I desire, as one of those who passed through the horrors of Andersonville and other prisons of the South, to deny each and every allegation in Davis' letter contained pertaining to such treatment.

While I may not answer his letter in detail, neither may I present one so well written, this communication has the merit of being true in every particular, which his has not. I belonged to the Ninety-second Regiment, Illinois Mounted Infantry, and occupied a position on General Kilpatrick's staff, while he commanded the Third Cavalry Division, D. C., under Sherman. I was, on the 19th of October, 1864, at Vining Station, Georgia, while shipping ammunition from Atlanta to Cartersville to supply the division for the Savannah campaign, taken prisoner, in company with forty-six others, by the First Mississippi Cavalry. My sword and revolvers I surrendered. My hat, watch, money, and pocket knife were taken from me forcibly by different members of the command. We were hurried across the country to Oxford, Alabama, where I was despoiled of my boots, coat, and vest, and put in charge of Lieutenant Will. D. Stone, of Clanton's scouts. Lieutenant Stone treated me handsomely, (and often,) and was a soldier and a gentleman. From Oxford we went to Selma, and thence to Castle Morgan, at Ca-

tawba, Alabama, on the Alabama river, about one hundred miles above Mobile. There, with twenty-one hundred others, I was incarcerated in a brick cotton warehouse, surrounded by a pine log stockade. We were allowed the freedom of the stockade during the day, but at night were driven into the building, and were crowded so that it was impossible to lie down in any but a cramped position. Our food consisted of a pint of coarsely ground cornmeal, and about eight ounces of beef per day per man. We had no cooking utensils, excepting pieces of board, upon which we spread our meal mixed with water, and propped up in front of a meager fire until it became warm through, and roasted our beef by holding it upon sticks in the blaze. This was my first experience of prison life, and I tired of it very shortly. In company with a few adventurous spirits, I formed a conspiracy to overpower the guards and escape to Mobile. Fifty of us banded together for that purpose, and the arrangements were perfected. Sunday morning at half past one o'clock was the time fixed upon, but a renegade Kentuckian, who was with us, betrayed us, and on Saturday afternoon I was led from the prison with a rope around my neck, and brought before the commandant, Captain Henderson.

Here I was speedily arraigned, tried, and, according to real or fancied rules governing the prison, condemned to be hung. Captain H. very kindly gave me permission to live two hours, in order to prepare for death, during which time he visited me, and offered me my life if I would divulge the nature of

the plot and the names of my fellow-conspirators. This I refused to do, telling him I preferred a speedy death by the rope to a lingering one by starvation. I gave him the address of my parents in Carroll county, Illinois, and requested that he inform them of my fate. When brought out of the jail Henderson informed me that on account of my youth, (I was then but nineteen,) and that so long as no *overt* act had been committed he would remit my sentence, but would send me to Andersonville. I left the castle in company with six hundred others, and went up the river to Montgomery, thence by rail to Columbus, Georgia, when, under cover of the darkness, Lieutenant Colonel Showers, of the Ohio Seventeenth, Lieutenant Hudson, of the Iowa Seventeenth, Harvey Hart, of an Indiana regiment, Patrick Welsh, of an Iowa cavalry regiment, and myself, escaped. Traveling by night, more by instinct than else, for the nights were dark and rainy, and we did not dare to travel by day, we made our way north, expecting to strike Atlanta. The negroes furnished us food, and the blood hounds bayed behind us for five days and nights. The falling rain helped us to keep in advance of the dogs, but sometimes we were so closely pursued that we would have to wade in streams and run in a zigzag course for hours together. At Lagrange, Georgia, Hudson and Showers got separated from us, and we never saw them afterwards. I heard since that they made their way through safely. We were recaptured near Newnan, and put in the county jail, a wooden structure, not very secure. The floor of this we tore up, and got out at dawn, but in trying to get into the woods were retaken by some cavalry and put on board a train for West Point, Georgia. I was handcuffed, and shackled and fastened by the hands to the top of the car, and in this way rode to West Point, over a hundred miles. Thence to Andersonville, where I staid but one night, the prisoners having been sent to Millen and Salisbury, to keep them out of Sherman's way. I got, however, a cursing from Captain Wirz before I left; on general principles, I suppose. On my arrival at Millen, the commandant, Captain Cameron, put me under guard outside of the stockade, and kept me there three days, saying if he put me in with the rest I would probably get up another insurrection as I had at Castle Morgan. At the end of that time, however, I was turned into the stockade, and was there three days with nothing to eat, excepting what some members of my own regiment, who were there, divided with me out of their own scanty pittance. I spoke to Captain Cameron about it, and he told me to go to hell. I didn't go, however, being as near to it then as I cared to be. He was a

Scot, and I made myself known to him, and he then assigned me to a company, and I fared somewhat better. Our rations consisted of six ounces of tainted beef per day to the man, and cornmeal mush. The latter was prepared outside the gates in large iron kettles, by first partially filling the kettles with dirty water from a swamp, then shoveling in the meal without salt. It never was allowed to cook, but as soon as it became thick was shoveled into wagons, hauled into camp, and dumped out into piles on the sand, and whosoever could crawl to the heaps and eat were welcome. Numbers of poor fellows who were helpless and could not get to the disgusting mess literally starved to death where they lay.

Another thing that damns them to eternal infamy was, that after emptying a wagon-load of this stuff upon the sand they would fill the box with the corpses of those who had died through the night, piling them up like dead dogs, drive out, and throw the bodies from the top of the wagon into a trench, and then, in the same wagon, haul in another load of mush. This may seem beyond belief, but is strictly true; and Jefferson Davis, nor any other rebel, dare appear before any of the survivors of those woeful days and deny it. From Millen we were sent to Savannah, and there were divided, about half going north to Salisbury, the remainder, myself among them, were sent south to Blackshear. On the road down, with five others, I escaped by jumping off the train at Screven in the darkness. Two of those went north to meet Sherman, and we four started for Brunswick, on the Atlantic coast, intending to find our blockaders. We were out fourteen days, and were picked up by some rebel coast-guards within hearing of the gunboats at the mouth of Turtle river. Of that trip space will not allow me to write. I was carried to Blackshear, and by Captain Bledsoe's orders kept guarded by myself four days. At Blackshear I saw a prisoner shot dead by a rebel guard for passing too close to him while going after water. A thousand men will bear me testimony to that cowardly and brutal act; and the guard who perpetrated it was not even reprimanded. Thence to Thomasville, where we lay in a swamp for three weeks, with the water sometimes so deep we dared not lie down for fear of drowning. Here I saw the work of the bloodhounds. Two of our boys had escaped, were overtaken by the dogs, and brought back. One of these men had his cheek torn away, and his arm bitten through and through; the other had the calf of his leg stripped to the bone by these same dogs, and they were put into camp with the rest of us without medical treatment of any kind, and both died in a few days. Mr. Davis may not have seen this,

but he *knew* that dogs were used to recapture the fugitives.

From Thomasville we went to Albany, and there, on Christmas eve of 1864, we were loaded into box-cars, one hundred men to the car, the doors locked, and started for Andersonville, one hundred miles north. The horrors of that fearful night cannot be described. Without food or water, suffocating, and crowded so thickly that if one man fell he was trampled to death instantly. The roar and surging of the cars, the yells for air, the shouts, curses, and horrible blasphemies of men who had lost their reason, but above all could be heard the shrieks of the poor wretches who sank down and were being trampled out of all semblance to humanity, can never be forgotten by those who took that fearful ride. On Christmas morning, when the church-bells in our peaceful homes were pealing the glad news of a Saviour born, we emerged from our living tombs; and we carried out from my car alone twenty-seven dead bodies, victims to "man's inhumanity to man." The other cars throughout the train furnished their quota of corpses. Who will lift up his voice in defense of this brutality, or dare deny it? If any one, I here denounce him as a traitor and liar. That morning the fatal gates of Andersonville closed upon us. To many this change was a death-knell, and the rattle of their chains sent a chill to the stoutest heart. We filed slowly in, to die; aye, to die; it was a living death.

I had heard of this den; had heard of the horrors of prison-pens of the South; had seen some of them, too; but never realized the condition to which men could be reduced. The pinched, shrunken faces, blackened with smoke, from which gleamed wild, ferocious eyes, the bony, claw-like hands, the fleshless frames clothed in filthy rags, all told of the work starvation and exposure had wrought. Our food consisted of *three gills* of cornmeal and *four ounces* of raw beef per man per day, and once a week each got a tablespoonful of molasses. We were allowed to go out under guard, two men from each squad of twenty-five, each day to gather wood, which we had to carry in upon our backs, sometimes a distance of a mile, and were not allowed to stop and rest on the way. If a man gave out he would have to throw away his wood and go in without it, and eat raw meal and beef until his turn came to go out again. I have seen the water freeze an eighth of an inch thick in the swamp that ran through the camp, and many a night had to walk around for hours to keep from freezing to death. We were without shelter of any kind, and burrowed in the wet sand like coyotes, the cold winter rain falling upon us almost constantly; ate once a day the meager fare mentioned

before; never free from the most fearful gnawings of hunger; and here let me say that no person can imagine the terrible feeling of hunger, unsatisfied for a moment, unless experienced. No hope of succor, nothing before us but a lingering death by starvation. How many prayers for speedy death went up from that noisome prison; how many poor fellows lay down on the sand and refused even the meager fare in order to hasten the end. Davis says that the photographs exhibited of the survivors were spurious. This, like the rest of his letter, is untrue. Some of the men whose likenesses were taken I knew in prison, and I have seen the likenesses, and the only difference I could see was that it did not show enough. No instrument could depict fully the wolfish expression, the wild insane glare of the eyes of an Andersonville prisoner.

When I was captured I weighed one hundred and fifty pounds. I kept my health very well while in prison; but Andersonville fare reduced me in six weeks to less than ninety pounds, and so weak that a walk of fifty yards would compel me to sit down and rest. Once, General Imboden, the Virginia guerrilla, while prison inspector, in company with Captain Wirz, came into the stockade to see the "damned Yankees." A dog followed them in, and was caught, killed and eaten in presence of those rebel officers. I was fortunate enough to secure a portion of the canine. At another time Wirz came in, and some one sang out, "More beef." In an hour orders were promulgated that no more rations would be issued to us until the person who uttered the objectionable words should be sent out for punishment. We stood it for one day, and then hired a poor devil to go out and offer himself for our sins. He went out, and was put into the stocks for two days. Stopping our rations was a favorite pastime with Wirz. About the 1st of April I was taken out and placed in Captain Wirz's office as clerk, to make out a list of the prisoners for exchange. I was there several days, and being sometimes left alone in the office, and being of an inquiring turn of mind, took occasion to look at the Captain's papers. I found there official communications from the War Department, at Richmond, regarding the treatment of the prisoners and the amount of food to be given them, and I found also private letters from men high in authority in the rebel Government touching the same question; and I can here truthfully say that the horrors of Andersonville, of Libby, of Millen, and Tyler, and all the others, were due mainly to instructions received from Richmond. Captain Wirz—who, I must say, treated me somewhat kindly—told me that he was simply following out the instructions he received from his

superiors. Davis could not, probably, have found a fitter tool to carry out his designs against the lives of our soldiers than was Wirz; but the curse rests with the chief, not the subordinate. Hill, of Georgia, claimed that it was impossible for his Government to supply us with more food, on account of the stringency of the Federal blockade. I know this to be untrue, for on the 18th of April I passed through Oglethorpe, ten miles north of Andersonville, where the supplies for the prison were in store, and there was cornmeal in sacks and salt beef and pork sufficient to have furnished the whole prison with full rations for six months, at the very least. He says, also, that they kept no bloodhounds at Andersonville. This is absolutely false. They did keep from ten to twenty, under charge of a man who made it his business to run them, and many a fugitive was returned to prison through their agency. I have seen the hounds and conversed with their keeper. One day, while out after wood, I passed through the prison hospital. It was, if anything, worse than the prison. Old, dilapidated tents, that let in the wind and rain from all sides; no beds, except board bunks, partially filled with straw, damp and unwholesome and alive with fleas; the sick huddled together, with no covering except

the rags they wore, and all under the care of Dr. Mudd! To go to the hospital was to go to the grave. We left Andersonville on the evening of the 17th of April, and started for Macon; but that place was in the hands of General Wilson's (Billy) cavalry, and, on account of the armistice of General Sherman, could not move for our deliverance. We were shipped south to Albany, thence on foot to Thomasville, and by rail to Olustee, Fla., where I went to headquarters again and prepared another exchange list. There I heard of the assassination of President Lincoln and the surrender of Lee. The authorities at Jacksonville refused to receive us for exchange, and a New York lieutenant and myself receipted for the Confederate Government for about twenty-six hundred men; and they shipped us to Baldwin by rail, and, escorting us to the White House, half way to Jacksonville, turned us loose. April 29th, 1865, I saw the old Stars and Stripes, after a lapse of about eight months of privation seldom experienced by man. Of the forty-six taken with me on that 19th of October, only seven of us lived through it. The rest starved in Andersonville.

Respectfully, yours,
DON R. FRAZER.

SOUTHERN JUDICIAL KU-KLUXISM.

The extracts accompanying this are from a communication designed, not for publication, but for the information of gentlemen interested in the well-being of the Southern States and people. There is, however, so clear an analysis of the situation of the freed population therein that its publication could not be withheld in propriety. The statements made by the writer in relation to the judicial conspiracy now progressing, for the gradual disfranchisement of the former bondsmen, and for their permanent subordination, deserve and will receive wide attention. The writer is "native and to the manner born," a gentleman of high character, at present occupying a prominent judicial position in his native State, and his statements may be relied upon as those of a calm, judicial observer, with ample opportunities of understanding the subject on which he writes. For obvious reasons, all indications of name or residence are withheld. The fact that such a course is necessary to insure freedom from personal outrage and social op-

pression is in itself sufficient proof of the character of that Democratic reign of terror which the old Southern leaders have restored. It is a reproduction, in even more hideous forms, of the *ante bellum* conditions. But to the communication. The writer says:

I have read many well written articles in the various leading newspapers of the North, and studied and examined the speeches made by Senator Morton and other leading politicians of the Union, but as yet I have failed to find anything contained in any of these speeches or newspaper articles, and well written communications of reporters and correspondents, (sent South to gather information,) which unravels and exposes the full depth of the hidden policy of the Southern Democracy. The atrocities of Ku-Klux Klans and White League combinations have been fully exposed, and perhaps one-tenth of their murders and other crimes against the colored and white Southern Republicans reported, but there has been no report made of an organization, tenfold more

dangerous and destructive to the liberties, rights, and even lives of the colored people of the South. I know of no better term or name to apply to this organization than "Judicial Ku-Kluxism," because under color of law the law-making bodies and the judiciary of the South are to-day surely accomplishing what they failed to do by midnight assassinations of Republicans, in this, that by murder they have simply taken the lives of their victims, with some danger of prosecution therefor in the Federal courts, but by judicial Ku-Kluxism they take the liberties and political rights of freedmen, and thus reduce them to a state of slavery equally as bad, if not worse, than their former slavery. Before I enter into details and give you undeniable proof of this well organized system of judicial Ku-Kluxism, and its daily record of conspiracy and persecution against the freedmen, I shall first classify the colored people of the South into three separate and distinct classes:

First. This class comprises all of that portion of the freedmen who were formerly owned as slaves by masters who taught them trades, and gave them ample opportunities to learn something of the business affairs of life; in fact, often attending to the management and overseeing, or superintending of the farm labor of other slaves of their masters, and seeing to the gathering of crops and preparing cotton for market.

This class have generally exhibited more thrift and enterprise than any other class of the freedmen, many, or perhaps a majority of them, own small farms in the country, or homes in the towns and cities of the South. This class, I think, compose about one-tenth of the entire colored population.

Second. This class comprise about four-tenths of the freedmen, and were formerly held as slaves by masters who fed and clothed them well, but forced them to work to the full extent of their power, and gave them no opportunities to learn anything beyond hard farm labor. This class are to-day industrious, but know nothing of thrift, economy, or the business qualities of life, and if they make good crops they are easily defrauded out of the bulk of its proceeds by merchants, doctors, and landlords.

In fact, this class are the most lucrative source from which the landlords and merchants of the South derive their profits and gains.

During slavery stringent statutes prohibited merchants from trading or bartering with slaves unless they had a special order or permit from their masters. Clothing, food, and every necessity was bought and provided for by the master of his wholesale merchant, while the small or retail merchant traded with and derived his profits almost exclusively from the non-holding slave element of the whites. The rebellion changed all of this, and the small towns and cities of the South have in populous colored districts grown and increased in wealth and population to a wonderful extent since the close of the rebellion. We have stores at every cross-road, and our merchants are composed of Jews, and men of every nationality. These men, like vultures, await the gathering and incoming of the cotton crops, and in various ways induce the freedmen to exchange the proceeds of the greater part of it for worthless goods and "gew-gaws." If towards the latter part of July the indications are good for a full cotton crop the merchants begin to open credit and take liens upon the cotton crop, and if their accounts do not take quite all of the cotton raised by freedmen they often run them up by selling a few more "gew-gaws." By law the landlords have an expressed lien upon all of the produce raised by the tenant upon his premises for rents and supplies furnished, and it is not often that the tenant has anything left after he has fully paid up his rents, and accounts, doctors, etc., because having no education he cannot tell whether these accounts are fairly rendered and added up or not, and as I shall presently show it is useless for him to appeal to the courts of the country for redress, even if he could see and show frauds in such accounts.

This class of freedmen generally own their teams, wagons, and farming implements, and bare supplies to enable them to make their yearly crops with, but beyond this property line and mark they seldom go, and not many of them seem to think it possible to become the owners of good homes,

nor, indeed, is it in the interests of the large plantation owners that they should buy homes, because they are the most profitable of all other classes of tenants, either black or white.

The third class comprise about five-tenths or full one-half of all the colored population, and were formerly held as slaves by masters who half clothed, half fed, and worked them almost day and night, in fact treated them in every respect more like brutes than human beings, inflicting the severest punishments for the most trivial offenses, frequently giving them from one to three hundred lashes with heavy leather straps or bull whips, literally cutting the skin and flesh into gashes.

The moral status of this class is to-day at a very low ebb, and they furnish two-thirds or more of all the colored criminals that are daily filling our penitentiaries and prisons.

This class own nothing beyond bare clothing, and as farm tenants everything is furnished them (such as teams, farming tools, and all supplies) by the landlord, and at the end of the year the landlord takes for his share of rents one-half of all the produce raised by such tenants, and then deducts from the tenant's half or share of produce the price of all food and clothing furnished during the year to the tenant. This generally takes all the produce of the tenant and often leaves him in debt, and in a starving condition. Being ignorant of business tact and thrift, this class cannot realize the reason why they are thus stripped of all their labor year by year and left either to starve or steal, hence they do often resort to petty thieving, and as such crimes are always so awkwardly and openly done, they are easily detected, indicted, and convicted without mercy, and the highest penalties of the law inflicted upon them. During slavery starvation often forced slaves to steal from their master's neighbors, and this was winked at by these slaveholders, and if they (the slaves) were detected in robbing smoke-houses and corn-cribs they were generally whipped or punished more for being so caught or detected in such thefts than for the act of stealing. Is it any wonder, then, that thieving should be so common now among

this class of freedmen, who were actually forced to do it and encouraged in it while slaves?

I have now fully explained to you the real condition of the colored population of the South, and shall now explain and show you how Judicial Ku-Kluxism is slowly, quietly, and surely reducing the third and second classes to a system of slavery, and wholly disenfranchising them of all political rights.

The Constitution of this State (and I believe of other States) denies all political rights, and excepts from jury service, and the right to testify as witnesses in any of the courts, all men who have or may hereafter be convicted of a felony, unless such disabilities shall be removed by act of the legislature. Now, since this State has passed into the hands of the Democracy any kind of a theft from a house, or the stealing of hogs or cattle, without regard to value, has been by recent legislation made felonies, punishable with from one to ten years' confinement at hard labor in the penitentiary. Before the rebellion the theft of cattle or hogs were by law simply misdemeanors, punishable by fines or imprisonment in the county jails, unless the value of such property exceeded twenty dollars. It is, then, very plain and obvious that the changes in the laws referred to were made to reach the freedmen, who generally steal a few bushels of corn or a hog, the value of which in a large majority of cases seldom exceeds twenty dollars. It is not often that freedmen are made either grand or petit jurors, and the juries who try them are generally composed of men who do not reverse the old rule of law in regard to them, i. e., "that it is better for ninety-nine guilty men to escape than to punish one innocent man." It is hardly possible for a freedman to get a fair trial and even-handed justice before a Democratic jury, unless he has been really guilty of some outrageous crime; and such juries would always rather convict ninety-nine innocent freedmen than to let one guilty man escape. The summoning of juries is made the duty of sheriffs and constables, and as these officers, or at least nine-tenths of them, are Democrats, they summons only such Democrats to

serve as jurors as they know will carry out the policy of wholesale convictions of freedmen. I have for the past four years closely watched this judicial Ku-Kluxism, and often witnessed freedmen convicted by the scores for trifling offenses, while white men guilty of murder, and other high offenses against the law, were acquitted by the same juries. Any wealthy white man who is known to be a good Democrat can commit crime with impunity. By continuances of his case, and a crooked administration of the law, such men can generally evade punishment, and where any kind of a penalty is inflicted, it is always the lightest allowed by law. I know of at least sixty murders committed in this county by white men, and a majority of them were of a cold-blooded character, yet out of this number not one has been hung by law, and only one that I remember was sent to the penitentiary, and he was in a short time afterwards reprieved. How different with freedmen. There is no delay of law. Our State prison is overflowing with them, so much so that they are hired out to planters. To see large plantations worked by this convict labor, superintended by armed guards, one is vividly reminded of the days of slavery, and, indeed, it is nothing less, and I am firmly convinced that this system of slavery will become more general year by year, unless some check is put to it. I do not pretend to say that the freedmen are guilty of no crimes, but I do assert that not one-third of those convicted deserve the severe punishment and penalties inflicted so summarily and speedily upon them; and were they honorably and justly dealt with, and paid for their labor, not one-half, nay, not one-fourth of the real crimes done by them would be committed at all. But this mode of procedure is one of the methods by which the Democracy revenge themselves upon the freedmen for their devotion and fidelity to the Republican party, and it excels in cruelty the midnight assassinations of their murderous organized Ku-Klux Klans; because by the former system they forever disfranchise freedmen, and force them into slavery; whereas by murdering them outright an end would come to all their suffering and miserable existence.

SECOND LETTER.

[THE REPUBLIC presents a second communication on this subject. Its statements substantiate the author's charge of conspiracy against the liberty and rights of the freed people. The writer, a man of calm and judicial judgment, is in a position to know whereof he writes:]

In my last communication I fully explained the manner in which the freedmen are indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced in the wholesale by the Ku-Klux judiciary, and compelled under color of law to serve out long terms of imprisonment at hard labor, not in the State prisons, but upon private plantations. I shall now give you indisputable evidence of the manner in which these colored convicts are fed, clothed, worked, and used in this their second state of slavery. I shall also show that there is not the least authority or shadow of law that authorizes the hiring out and working of convicts, except upon public works, yet contrary to and in the face of all law, hundreds are so hired out. Unremitting labor from daylight until dark is exacted and wrung from them by their so-called guards, who are in fact overseers. Here upon the plantations, surrounded with guards and bloodhounds, these colored convicts daily undergo tortures and punishments which equal, and in many instances excel, the barbarities and cruelties of the infamous Spanish inquisition. In proof of these assertions I shall give you the evidence of one of the convicts as stated to me by him after his discharge, and the sworn statements of an ex-guard of the convicts, and also extracts from the report of one of the inspectors of the Texas penitentiary.

The ex-convict stated that he was worked one year on a railroad and two years on a plantation, and confined two years in the walls of the prison employed as a cook. While on the railroad the convicts worked from early dawn until dark, their rations consisted only of corn bread and boiled beef. The least neglect of duty or disobedience was punished by the lash, wooden racks, etc., and as many as two hundred lashes were often applied at one time. The wooden racks were made in the shape of a cross,

with the addition of a movable iron pin placed in the lower part of the upright beam. The victims were placed astride of the iron pin, which was so adjusted as to barely allow him to touch the ground with the tips of his toes, and his arms were stretched and securely fastened to the ends of the cross beam above. In this position the victims would endure the most excruciating agony for an hour and upwards, and when taken down from the "horse" their manhood would be often crushed. In many instances they would remain forever afterwards utterly imbecile. On the plantations the punishment chiefly inflicted was the lash, and when a convict escaped he was generally recaptured by the bloodhounds, and always severely bitten and torn by the dogs when caught, in order to make the hounds more ferocious and untiring when in pursuit of a fugitive. On one occasion this ex-convict says that a prisoner who had been twice recaptured by the dogs in his attempts to escape was on the second recapture brought back to camp, and placed inside of an inclosure, and his fellow convicts, twenty-eight in number, drawn up in line in plain view; the bloodhounds were then turned loose upon him, and he was torn and mangled by them to such an extent that he died in a few days afterwards from the effects of his wounds. Sick convicts were forced to work as long as they were able to stand, and when they fell fainting from the effects of the intense heat of the sun, and the heavy labor, they were often cruelly beaten and taken back to camp, where, for the want of medical treatment and attention, the majority of them would die in filth and awful suffering. I will not undertake to give you any thing near the sickening details of the cruelties inflicted upon the convicts as narrated to me by this ex-convict, nor can I remember the number of convicts he says were killed during his confinement. I think however he stated that he witnessed the killing of eighteen prisoners. Under the laws of Texas, the testimony of a convict cannot be taken or admitted as evidence in any of the courts of the country, hence no matter how brutally they are punished or maltreated they cannot appeal to the courts for relief.

The guards or overseers who maltreat and murder the convicts under their charge are not likely to turn State's evidence against each other, therefore there is no remedy for these outrages against these unfortunate wretches. Though the testimony of a convict is not allowed in the courts, yet I shall now show that the evidence of this ex-convict is more than substantiated by legal testimony from men whose positions enabled them to see and know something about the inhumanity practiced upon colored convicts.

About one year ago one of the guards employed to guard and oversee prisoners working outside of the prison became so disgusted with what he saw while on duty that he resigned his position, and made some startling disclosures under oath of the horrible barbarities and inhuman punishments inflicted upon the colored convicts while he was a guard, and in his presence.

His statements were published and illustrated in some of the newspapers of the country, and no one ever attempted to deny their truthfulness, therefore I shall refer to what he said and published to the world, viz: "On one occasion, a sick convict calling for medicine and water was so severely beaten by one of the guards that he fainted, and to restore him to consciousness the guard threw a shovelful of red hot ashes and live coals upon him. * * * Constant and unremitting labor from daylight until dark was extorted and wrung from the convicts by every species of punishment that human malignancy could invent. * * * The sick would die for the sheer want of attention. * * * Rags and vermin were all the convicts had to cover them. Starvation was often resorted to, and the convicts were not at any time more than half-fed, their food consisting of the coarsest corn bread with the bran baked in it, and beef often spoiled or badly tainted. Convicts were shot down for the least insubordination; and often driven to frenzy and madness they would sometimes offer resistance in order to force their guards to shoot them down, and thus end their horrible sufferings."

J. K. P. Campbell, one of the inspectors of the Texas penitentiary, in his report made on the 31st day of January last to Governor

Coke, says: "I regard it as unfortunate that the Legislature did not appropriate the necessary funds to commence the construction of the two additional penitentiaries, and I would recommend that it be done at an early day, on the assembling of that body in April next. The number of convicts received and registered here for the year ending August 31st, 1875, averages 81 per month, making 972 received in one year." Referring to the condition of the penitentiary, the report says: "The buildings are all in bad repair. * * * Nearly all of the roofs leak. During last year, after a continuous rain, I have seen the cells in the north end of the prison dripping with water, and hence unfit to be occupied, yet prisoners do occupy and sleep in them. * * * The ages of the convicts vary from 11 to 69 years of age, and full one third are under 25 years of age. The great majority of convicts employed in agricultural labor are NEGROES; all those employed or hired to PLANTERS ARE NEGROES.

"It now being impossible to confine within the walls of the prison all prisoners on hand, outside labor is a necessity, and as there is no law authorizing the working of convicts outside of the walls except upon public works, I would suggest that a law to that effect be passed. * * * At many of the outside camps the lash has been very freely applied, and from all I can learn very cruelly. * * * At the Lake Jackson plantation I saw three trusty convicts whose backs were cut to pieces in a most shocking manner. * * * The lash has been freely used at the farms in Walker county. You cannot convict or punish the guards for their brutality to the convicts under their charge for the want of witnesses, because our laws prohibit the testimony of any person who has been convicted of a felony." (See Paschal's Digest of the Laws of Texas, article 3109.)

In regard to the rations furnished convicts the report says: "At one of the plantations in Brazoria county, where the planters have hired some 80 or more convicts, the food sent to 24 men for dinner could have been consumed by four or five men. The most rations were hog chitterlings, with a portion of the excrement still on them, and only half cooked. No coffee, sugar, tea, or milk

is given to convicts. The rations furnished are generally corn bread and beef." In regard to clothing the report further says: "At many of the camps I visited no washing had been done for weeks, because the prisoners had but one suit per head, and they and their quarters were filled and reeking with vermin, and having no changes of clothing they had to endure their filth and vermin as best they could. Shoes are seldom or ever furnished at all. * * * The clothing consists of cotton stripes about as heavy as common osnaburgs—pants, shirt, and jacket. No underclothing or socks are furnished, and the clothing is the same, both summer and winter. At the Lake Jackson plantation the convicts had not changed their clothing for ten weeks, and their lower extremities were naked. * * * They are not well supplied with bedding; the convicts in some instances have only a straw mattress, with no blankets or covering of any kind, and are thus often compelled in winter to sleep upon the bare boards and cover with their mattresses."

In regard to the manner in which escaped convicts are recaptured, the report says: "From the camps at which BLOODHOUNDS are kept very few prisoners escape, and if they do escape they are soon caught. I will simply state to your excellency that at some three or four camps bloodhounds are kept for the purpose of hunting down escaped convicts." Referring to the manner in which the sick convicts are nursed and treated the report says: "As a general thing the sergeants of outside camps treat the sick. * * * This is, to say the least of it, an economical plan. Last fall a convict who had been sick at an outside camp with the pneumonia for a week or more was brought to the prison, and died in less than twelve hours after his arrival in the prison. No physician had visited him at the farm. In another case a convict who had attempted to escape was shot in the body and was kept on the farm where he was wounded a week or more after he was shot, and that, too, in warm weather. He, too, died in twenty-four hours after his arrival at the prison hospital. With the proper treatment he would have recovered, because his wound was not necessarily mortal. The prison hospital is a very unsuitable building

and should not be used for that purpose. *It is just over the bake-oven and cook-house, with a metal roof overhead.* I have been in this hospital during the summer months, when *the heat was so great that it almost cremated the unfortunate sick confined there.* I have been told by convicts that they had rather remain in their cells, when sick, and be neglected, than to be placed in the prison hospital. *

* * At the Lake Jackson plantation I found 65 sick out of a force of 185. These men had no medical attention at the time, and occupied the same building with the well convicts; and the attention required by the sick prevented the other men from obtaining the sleep required by laboring men. On visiting the prison force at work on the Overton and Henderson road I found 53 sick out of a force of about 200. * * A great many convicts who have died or been killed are buried along the line of this road."

Speaking of the number of hours' labor required per day of the convicts the report says: "In the summer months the convicts are worked from daylight until dark, which is about thirteen hours per day."

The report further shows that in one year 109 convicts died, 28 were reported killed, and 182 not accounted for. Perhaps the majority of the 182 were also killed. In one year Governor Coke has pardoned 96 convicts, 15 of whom were convicted for murder or manslaughter, 52 for theft, 5 for rape, 2 for arson, 10 for an assault with intent to murder, 8 for swindling, forgery, and other offenses. Out of this list I do not think there are many colored names, if any. Governor Coke doubtless believes that all negroes should and ought to be placed into some form of slavery. This executive clemency is bestowed only upon genuine Democrats, and in proof of this I will present two cases in which his pardoning power was invoked and asked for by petition, and the result of the petitions. Last year an old colored man upwards of 78 years of age was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the penitentiary for voting twice, though the evidence upon the trial of his case clearly showed his innocence. The sentence was considered so unjust that a large number of both whites and blacks

signed a petition showing the injustice of the verdict of the jury, together with the great age of the old man, but no attention was paid to the prayer of the petitioners, and the matter finally ended by the negro dying on some of the farms before he had served out six months of his time. This old victim of Judicial Ku-Kluxism was previous to his conviction an active and outspoken Republican worker, and on days of election took an active interest in distributing Republican tickets among his own color, and exhorting them to be unwavering in their fidelity to the Republican party. Now for the other case: A short time after the conviction of the freedman referred to a young white man was tried and convicted for murder and sentenced to five years' imprisonment at hard labor in the penitentiary. Although the murder was clearly proven, yet before he had served out six months of his time he was pardoned by Governor Coke. This was because his parents were wealthy, and influential Democratic politicians and attorneys signed his petition and urged his pardon. These two cases are personally known to me.

The wholesale conviction of freedmen for trivial and pretended crimes, together with the hellish cruelties and brutalities inflicted upon them while convicts, when compared to the manner in which white men guilty of higher crimes escaped punishment altogether, clearly shows that the members of the White League and Ku-Klux organizations when serving as jurors understand how to acquit offenders of their own orders, and how to convict freedmen, whether guilty or not. I suppose that not less than one thousand negroes have been murdered in this State by white men since their emancipation, and yet there is not an instance on record where a single one of these murders have been punished at all for such crimes. On the other hand a freedman who murders a white man seldom escapes capital punishment.

Sometimes the mobs cannot wait for the sentence of death to be executed upon a negro murderer. Some time in June last a negro murderer, who had been tried and sentenced to the gallows for the murder of a

white man in Milson county of this State, was taken from the county jail (after the sentence of death had been passed upon him by a legal tribunal) by an armed mob supposed to be about 200 in number, and burnt to death. There was no excuse for this brutality, because the murderer was securely ironed, and confined within an iron cell, the walls of which were double. Besides being closely confined in a strong jail, he was surrounded by guards both day and night, and there was no chance of escape. The sentence of death would have been executed upon him in less than eight days after he was taken out by the mob and burnt. Notwithstanding the large number of the mob engaged in this horrible outrage, not a single one of them have been arrested, and I doubt very much whether any future grand jury will ever investigate or notice the affair at all, because it is more than probable that pains will be taken to stock the grand jury for several terms with the perpetrators of the outrage.

I could recite several other instances of the horrible cruelties practiced upon the negroes of the South, but think it unnecessary, because I have already fully substantiated by proof—which I respectfully challenge any one to truthfully deny—that the Ku-Klux and White League organizations of the South, by subverting law and the courts of the country, carry out under color of law the very purposes and objects sought to be accomplished by their disguised midnight assassins in their past deeds of murder and arson upon the white and colored Republicans of the South. It is an indisputable fact that to-day there is a political South corresponding with the late Southern Confederacy, and wholly antagonistic in every respect to the loyal States of the Union, which overcame the rebellion. Gradually but only too surely the leaders of the late Southern Confederacy are once more resuming complete and almost undisputed power over the new political South. The great masses of the late conscript soldiers of the rebellion still blindly follow and obey the behests of their old leaders. Nothing is left undone to throttle Republicanism, and to subvert all of the objects and acts of reconstruction. Thousands of white men, warned

by the constant and unremitting persecution of Republicans, dare not vote or act with the Republican party. To-day at least one-fourth of the freedmen in this and probably other States cannot vote the Republican ticket, and I doubt not but that the same or even a larger proportion in other Southern States are either intimidated from voting at all, or are forced to vote the Democratic ticket. The loyal people of the North and West cannot know anything near the extent of the fearful persecutions and bloody tragedies enacted against the Republicans of the South by the Ku-Klux and White League organizations, because nearly all of the press of the South is controlled by these organizations. Hence not one tenth of the political murders is ever published, and where such crimes are exposed the press palliate and excuse them. The basest falsehoods and calumnies are daily invented and widely circulated against Republicans by the press of the South, while on the other hand their midnight assassins of Republicans are either openly applauded on their crimes concealed. Did not all of the Democratic press of the South sneeringly deny the existence of the Ku-Klux organizations until their infernal crimes were well established by the conviction and confession of many of the members of the Ku-Klux Klans? I do not charge that every Democrat of the South is a member of the Ku-Klux Klans or White League, but I do charge that all of the members of these lawless combinations are members and the most zealous supporters of the Democratic party, and that the very purposes and objects of these organizations is to suppress the further growth of Republican principles by murder, persecution, and other unlawful means. Any one is badly mistaken who thinks that these organizations do not number a very large membership, and to-day are well organized and ramified throughout the South.

Well may the Republicans of the South tremble at the base possibility of these Ku-Klux and White League leaders and their allies of the North once more assuming control of the National Government. In that event the lives of the white Republicans would not be safe a single moment, while

the so-called liberties and rights of the freed-men would be wholly disregarded and swept away. Notwithstanding all of the dreadful persecutions and bloody tragedies enacted against the Republicans of the South, not an instance can be shown where they have ever organized into secret societies for the purposes of revenging their innumerable wrongs and retaliating them by resorting to midnight murder, arson, and rapine upon the Ku-Klux and White League assassins. The Republicans of the South may have been guilty of wrongs, but granting the truth of all charges made against them by the Ku-Klux organs, even then these wrongs would be trivial indeed when compared with the wholesale crimes of the Democracy. When

we remember that many of the old leaders of the Democracy under the reconstruction acts of Congress availed themselves of the opportunity while the Republicans were in power in many of the Southern States to obtain official promotion under pretense of conversion to Republicanism, we cannot wonder at peculation, fraud, and corruption in some of the reconstructed State governments. The majority, if not all, of these pretended Republicans have, upon the restoration to power of the old Confederate element, returned to their old party fealty, and to-day the Republican party of the South is no longer cursed and dishonored with the men who have brought past discredit upon the cause of human liberty and progress.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS.

Investigations occupy a large space of the public attention at the present time, not however on account of the disclosures which are made in consequence of them, but from the sensational manner in which they are conducted, and the paltry partisan, and the wholly unjustifiable purpose by which they are instituted. Investigation, examination, search, with the desire to obtain important information may never be challenged. This is one thing; but when there exists a foregone determination to affix a stigma upon a party or an individual, out of revenge, or to promote the party advantages and prospects of a rival organization, it is quite another thing, and becomes fully as pernicious as in the other case it is beneficial. In the one case the object is a desire for needed truth; in the other a determination to create scandal, regardless of truth. When the latter is the animating purpose, the method must correspond to the design, and secrecy, trickery, detraction, insinuation, aided by more or less invention and downright lying, necessarily take the place of fairness, honor, and a sacred regard to innocence and personal virtue.

In order to determine, therefore, the nature of the purpose which is at the bottom of any investigation there is no need to look beyond the methods employed in conducting them, and if they are found judicious, patient, open, and just to parties implicated it may be in-

ferred that behind them stand uprightness, judicial impartiality, and that patriotic regard for the public welfare which is high above all party and personal considerations.

In relation to the investigations now going forward, it is well known that the Democratic majority expressed beforehand an intention to blacken the character of the Administration, and to drive investigation into every crack and crevice and corner for the discovery of material to render it obnoxious to the people.

The method has exactly harmonized with this avowed intention. In the first place the House committees were studiously selected with a view to investigation rather than public business. They were organized and proceeded to business by the unusual and informal manner of proceeding without the knowledge or the presence of the minority, by examining witnesses in secret, by giving no chance to the minority to ask questions, and to obtain explanations which could clear up or modify the dark features of the testimony or expose the tergiversation and lying and perjury of the witnesses; by shutting out the public and the press; by giving out and perverting for publication the most damaging portions of the evidence, in many cases unaccompanied by mitigating testimony, or facts which were in flat contradiction thereof; by the use

of witnesses manifestly influenced by revenge and malice, more or less of whom were of infamous or, if not, of doubtful character for honesty and truthfulness, and some of whom confessed to having been hired to manufacture lies and accepted payment for various iniquities involving theft, fraud, and perjury, and, worse than all, by exaggerating the stories, and getting into the papers most given to falsehood and unfairness accounts of the same entirely at variance with the record and the general tenor of the developments.

Such has been the method of these investigators from the start, showing lowness of intent, simple, naked, vulgar partisanship, without manliness, without openness, without candor, with a reckless disregard of the honor of the country and private right to the last degree unworthy, indecent, and unjustifiable.

In the Belknap case the Democrats on the committee examined Marsh without the knowledge of Bass and Danford, the Republicans, coached him to suit themselves, and then, after a cursory rehearsal with these members present, the chairman aided him to get out of town in the first train, in a manner strongly suspicious of impropriety at least, and utterly at variance with the demands of the public good, which could only be met by the President coming to the rescue and getting him back through a promise of immunity for rascalities which he had confessed perpetrating. The cases of Bell, Webster, Whitley, Nettleship, partly fools, but largely rascals, are illustrations of the same nature, and are too well known to need particularizing here. We merely allude to them as confirming the view taken at the commencement of this article. Now, the history of the two parties in the last fifteen years shows that the Democratic party in its present role is not on its native heath, and is neither doing justice to itself, to the Republicans, to the country, or to the cause of free institutions. Historically the Democratic party is not an investigating institution, and the Republican party is, the records being abundant in evidence on these points, and admitting of no cavil or doubt. The Republicans have never desired to shield rascals, and not-

withstanding many infamous villains have seen their way to gain through its ranks, and some Republican officials have not been able to resist the temptation of the times, the general elements of lawlessness and iniquity do not take kindly to the organization, and on election days its strength in our large cities, or elsewhere, is not found in the thieves' dens, low grogeries, and kindred establishments, its newspapers are not found in such places, but what literature they submit to have around is furnished by Pomeroy's *Democrat* and the feeble imitators of that vile sheet, all of whom get their support from other than the Republican party. This is an unwelcome truth, but too well known to be seriously disputed. As a result of this condition of things, rascality *per se*, the Democrats do not much investigate. Only Republican rascality excites their virtuous indignation, and this not because it is rascality, but because it is Republican.

Looking back a little, this will be found to be so. They find twenty thousand dollars, not Government money, but the profits of a post-tradership, taken by Belknap a high crime and misdemeanor worthy of impeachment; but the Democrat who is to move the impeachment of John B. Floyd, Democratic Secretary of War, who stole guns, ammunition, arsenals, and munitions of war by the million dollars worth, has not, after the lapse of fifteen and a half years, yet put in an appearance. They are alarmed at the alleged thievery of Robeson, not proven, and ready to despair of the country on account of it; but the Democratic Secretary of the Navy who handed over to the enemies of the country ships, steamers, clothing, navy-yards, houses, and other property by the wholesale, has not yet provoked any Democrat to put on record a motion for resolutions of censure. The bond-stealing Secretary of the Interior, Jake Thompson, awaits in calm patience the Democratic committee which is to investigate him, by no means anxious that his case, though long first in order of time, shall be concluded before Delano has been overhauled and punished.

And there are other cases quite pertinent to this inquiry. Many people can remember when Andy Johnson was President, and that office-brokers thronged the White House sell-

ing patronage right under the peculiar nose of that illustrious functionary; when pardon-brokers, not always of the most proper sex or immaculate reputation, were disposing of pardons for money under the same olfactory and eminent protection, until the country sickened with the scandal and nauseated at its very mention, and when other offenses were charged of so grave a nature that these seemed almost too insignificant to speak of, and an investigation before a high court of impeachment was proposed by the Republicans, every Democrat voted against it, and not a mother's son of them gave his voice in favor of calling him to account. The Democrat and carpet-bagger Steedman was made collector of New Orleans, and defaulted in the sum of half a million, and other Democratic collectors stole enough more to make double the amount of losses under the four years of Johnson to the four years of Lincoln and the seven years of Grant; and though Johnson never pursued one of them, and no committee of Democrats ever made inquiries for them, Johnson was welcomed to the Senate as a Democratic brother who came in with skirts cleaner than the driven snow, and his Administration was pointed at as one to be remembered with affectionate and permanent regard by all lovers of purity and all friends of governmental reform.

The notorious sale of pardons by a disreputable female who was in high favor with the White House clique, and went in and out at the Executive mansion, did not seem to detract in the least from the high respect and steadfast friendship of Democrats for Andrew Johnson, and they never allowed any vulgar rumor or any positive charges to excite them to action intended or calculated to establish the proof of these things, or any others in that connection.

The cases of extravagance and improper use of funds by Democratic officials are too numerous to be even mentioned in this article. A few must suffice. Take the celebrated McGarraghan case, which some people pronounced a fraud and some thought otherwise, but in which Judge Black, Buchanan's Attorney General, paid an almost unknown, obscure lawyer named Hartman the sum of \$19,000 to prosecute an appeal, which the

Supreme Court instantly threw out as worthless. This was before the war, when that sum was as valuable as \$35,000 at the present time, or ten thousand dollars more than the amount deemed proper by the present House of Representatives for the compensation of the President of the United States, and yet thrown away in a worthless case upon a common lawyer by the United States Attorney General, has never stirred the righteous indignation of Hiester Clymer, Proctor Knott, or any one of the present guardians of the public interest in search of wrong-doing in high places.

Or take the case of that eminent Democrat, Hon. Nathan Clifford, who, from the 18th of March, 1848, to the 6th September, 1849, one year and about five months, drew for services in Mexico the snug little sum, as personal compensation, of \$31,259.20 in gold, when, according to the opinion of Mr. Randall's committee, \$10,000 per annum is ample compensation for a minister to the Court of our Southern neighbor.

The case of James Buchanan, who, discovering an error in the adjustment of his account as Minister to England, informed the Department that he could not conscientiously take the money, let it lay in the Treasury to his credit for five years, and until his retirement from the Presidency, and then, during the civil war, when the Government was in a strait for funds, sent a demand to the Comptroller of the Treasury for the money to be remitted to him at Wheatland, may not be commonly known, but is suggestive of the high tone of Democratic virtue, as manifested by the representative men of that party when they hold the high places of Government.

When the annexation of Texas was mooted by the Democratic party that interesting nation was much in the condition of the ancient prodigal son or his distinguished successor in disposing of the circulating medium of the country, his Highness the Prince of Wales, and had out scrip amounting to the sum of ten millions of dollars which was worth nothing, and nominally quoted and sold in the market at about fifteen cents on the dollar. As Texas was played out nationally and financially she

was annexed by joint resolution; that is, we resolved to grab her bodily, and all the arrangement of terms was a bold, unblushing farce, designed to permit of the manipulation of this ten millions of dollars in the interest of the men who were to furnish the votes for annexation. An abundance of Texas scrip was accordingly supplied to parties in the city of Washington, and was set floating about the halls of Congress within easy reach of members whose votes were to determine the annexation with the privilege of the country paying eighty-five cents loss on every dollar of the ten millions. The Democratic Congress considered this a good trade financially, and they closed the bargain in a hurry. The moment the resolutions of annexation passed every man knew that Texas scrip would be worth par, dollar for dollar, and we will not so insult the common sense of this country as to affirm that the men who saw what a good trade they were making for the country did not also see what the scrip would be worth the moment Uncle Sam assumed the obligation to pay it. Did a Democratic Congress ever inquire how many members who voted for annexation were holders of this worthless scrip, and voted a fortune into their own pockets, for which every man, woman, and child in the United States were compelled to pay taxes until the whole ten millions were sponged out of them? This, the foulest robbery, the unblushing swindle, was also the most astounding instance of bribery and corruption that ever disgraced the annals of a nation, and the Democratic party with a majority in both houses never raised a committee, never summoned a witness, never called for any body's books, and never put anybody in jail for connection with the affair.

These cases are notorious, and they prove conclusively that the Democratic party is not by instinct, or intention, or habit what may be called *præ*-eminently an investigating concern, notwithstanding the recent symptoms of zeal in that line which have been manifested by the committees of the present House. It has confined itself exclusively to investigating its opponents, and when nothing can be done in that line it goes at once out of business and is heard from no more.

With the Republican party it has been different. The Republicans do not defend scoundrels because they may belong to the party. We are not disposed to assert that all has been done which should have been in exposing frauds and correcting abuses, but as a general thing the party has not spared its own friends. Andy Johnson was elected by the Republicans, but the moment he betrayed their confidence and commenced his games in chicanery, they went for him, and his scalp was only saved by the solid vote of the Democracy.

When it was alleged that there were heavy frauds in connection with the Choctaw and Cherokee indemnity, the Republicans were prompt to create a committee of investigation, who made an elaborate report, and gave a full *exposé* of the whole thing, without whitewashing a single member of the party. When it was alleged that Samuel A. Way, one of the richest men in Boston, Moses Williams, Wm. F. Weld & Co., the heaviest merchants in Boston, and Phelps, Dodge & Co., and the Clafins, big Republican merchants, were undervaluing goods and depriving the revenues of the country of the proper legal duties, they were all, at once and promptly, compelled to answer in court or pay the penalty provided by law. When there were responsible men found making charges against the directors of the Union Pacific Railroad, did not the Speaker of the House leave his chair, take the floor, make the case a privileged question, and bring in a resolution demanding an investigation; and did not that committee present resolutions of censure against Oakes Ames, who had been a large contributor to campaign funds, and disgrace him before the public?

And the Republicans have raised committees to investigate the conduct of the war, the Ku-Klux affairs in Mississippi, affairs in Louisiana, the post office defalcation in New York, the Board of Public Works in the District of Columbia, and given a unanimous vote for the impeachment of Belknap. Have they not prosecuted the distillers of crooked whiskey, sent Joyce and McDonald and Avery and McKee to prison, and created general consternation all along the line of illicit manufacture of spirituous liquors? Have not the

robbers, Seth Johnson, Hodges, Halleck, Hartwell, Ottman, been arrested, tried, and punished? Has not the unanimous voice of the Republicans in Congress been given for the impeachment of Belknap, and does not the utterance of Grant, "let no guilty man escape," find a cordial and unanimous response from the press and rank and file of the party?

It would not be strange that the President and others should find it hard to admit that men whom he and they have been on intimate relations with can have been guilty of crime, and slow to accept as proof the statements of malicious and unworthy persons which have been made against such officers. This is but human nature, and is defensible. It is the same honorable trait which causes a wife to doubt the guiltiness of an accused husband, and to suspend judgment against him until the evidence admits of no doubt. This is no proof of complicity in crime, nor is it proof of an intention to screen the guilty and defeat the demands of justice. The Republican party has shown its disposition to

expose fraud and punish the wrong-doers. It is the only party that has done this, and its tendency and the tendency of its opponent are widely apart, and too clearly marked is the line of distinction to permit any mistake in the premises. It exposes and punishes its own partisans with the same rigor that it metes out deserved justice to Democrats who smuggle themselves within its fold for the purpose of theft and plunder.

The general demoralization of society has affected official life, and many men have fallen, many unsuspected officers have been found unworthy; but, after all, the Government loss has been small, and, allowing for the difference in the magnitude of business since the war, the losses have been less than under other Administrations, while the detections and convictions have been far greater, owing to the fact that the Republican party is the enemy of speculation, and wherever the frauds and swindlers are found intrenched it makes an immediate move upon their works, and compels an unconditional surrender.

THE OFFICIAL CLERICAL WORK IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

The immense business of the Treasury Department at Washington fairly staggers calculation when looked at in the aggregate, and few experienced clerks in ordinary mercantile houses can form any conception of its vastness or of the system by which it is accomplished. Most persons have an idea, however, that not much is done in that great granite pile, and that whatever is done is so insignificant that a single individual, called the Head of the Department, has his eye on the whole machinery, and personally superintends the labor performed, and keeps within his head an accurate knowledge of all that transpires. The total force in the Department varies from time to time, and may be stated at somewhere from 2,000 to 2,500 persons. The working force is divided into offices, with clerks ranging from 10 to 250, among whom the work is apportioned, each office having its separate and appropriate functions and duties. By taking a single office, and that a small one, one of the smallest in the Depart-

ment, and examining its machinery and operations, we shall be able to conceive some idea of what the institution must be as a whole, and we shall be able to judge whether the labors are of much or little importance. When the Committee of Appropriations presented the bill for cutting down the compensation and reducing the force in the Department, Mr. Mann, the Deputy Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, prepared a statement of the business of that office, and a protest against the proposed reductions affecting his bureau, which answers very well as an illustration for our present purpose, and which is here subjoined:

PROTEST AGAINST THE REDUCTION OF SALARIES IN THE OFFICE OF THE FIFTH AUDITOR OF THE TREASURY.

The proposition to reduce the clerical force of this office by abolishing the two heads of divisions and making a total reduction of nine employes, will, if carried out, do the office great injustice, and be likely to serious-

ly injure and retard the public business. There can be conceived two reasons only why any discrimination should be made, neither of which apply to the office. These are, that, the office being small, heads of divisions are not required, or the work is of that unimportant character that less capacity and responsibility in the clerks is demanded in the conduct of business.

In regard to the first reason: It appears, from the organization of the other bureaus where the work is of importance, that a principal clerk is provided for each ten or twelve of force, viz:

Office.	Force.	Principal clerks.
Second Comptroller	48	4, being 1 to 12.
First Comptroller ..	39	4, being 1 to 10.
Commis'er Customs	21	2, being 1 to 10.
National Banks	19	2, being 1 to 10.
Supervising Arch't.	9	3, being 1 to 3.
Fifth Auditor	28	0

If any reason can be given why each ten clerks in these other offices require a chief or supervising principal clerk that does not apply to this office it is not known to me.

In regard to the second imagined reason, I have to say that there is no auditing office of the Treasury which, in the complicated character of the work and the amounts adjusted, seems to call for a higher order of clerks than this office. All the accounts with foreign ministers, secretaries of legations, consuls, and commercial agents are adjusted here.

These officers have the privilege of making drafts from time to time on the Departments of State and Treasury, which they sell to bankers, and which come to the Treasury through third parties. In order to prevent losses by overdrafts and improper drafts, the state of the accounts has to be examined and considered by the clerks in this office, and the clerks in the Treasurer's office have no check on errors or overdrafts, but must pay the sum called for by the warrant. This business must be seen to by careful, accurate, and reliable men. The accounts of ministers, chargés, and secretaries exceed \$300,000 per annum, contingencies \$77,000. The accounts of consuls for compensation are over \$540,000, for fees about \$700,000, loss by exchange \$8,000, relief of seamen \$44,000, extra wages \$47,000, estates of persons deceased abroad

\$21,000, and sundry other accounts of a miscellaneous character, which last year amounted to about two and three-quarter millions of dollars.

The foreign accounts are made up in foreign countries as various as the countries where our officers are stationed, and the exchange is constantly varying, requiring clerks of judgment and capacity to attend to the proper adjustment of them.

The internal revenue last year was \$110,000,000, the customs \$157,000,000. But the customs revenue is collected mostly in a dozen principal ports, while the internal revenue is from one hundred and sixty-six districts in the interior, and employing thousands of officers, who are paid by fees, commissions, special allowances, salaries, and per diem. The nature of the business is such that many collectors have to be changed frequently, suits have to be instituted, and the accounts for suits have to be made up by the clerks in this office; and when they are tried the district attorneys, judges, and juries, not being acquainted with accounts, have to be instructed by the clerks who settle them. The case of the Government depends wholly upon the capacity and integrity of the clerk who appears as a witness, and upon the explanations he can give. This requires the highest order of ability, and through the blundering of an incompetent clerk the Government might in a single case lose more money than would pay the proper salary of half a dozen good clerks for as many years. There were made up in this office last year *sixty cases for suit*, involving great care and much labor to get them into such a form as is required to enable the court and jury to comprehend them. Besides these there were *eighty-eight* final adjustments of an intricate nature, involving the revision of accounts of the whole of the collectors' term of office, covering from one to fourteen years' service.

I find by the records that, for the four years which ended with the close of the Administration of Mr. Buchanan, the average force of this office consisted of eight clerks, and that they adjusted during the period 5,261 accounts, being 167 accounts annually for each clerk. For the four years ended June 30, 1875, there were adjusted 56,670 accounts, on

which were employed an average of twenty-six clerks, the other clerks being employed in counting coupons, copying and recording reports, examining the records and tax-lists of the direct tax commissioners in the insurrectionary States, and other casual and incidental work; making an average of 544 accounts per year for each clerk, being more than three and one-fourth times the amount performed during the former period, allowing the accounts to average the same in amount of labor required. In point of fact, however, the accounts require more labor than formerly. Those of the diplomatic and consular division are about the same, but the internal revenue accounts are much heavier. The total sum passed upon in 1861 was less than *one million dollars*, while in 1875 it had reached to *six hundred and seventy-eight millions*. (It will be understood that a considerable portion of this appears in three accounts, and is therefore involved three times; also, that sometimes a clerk may work months on a single account, and can settle several each day of another class; but this affects equally both periods.)

Appended is a classification of the accounts adjusted in this office, an examination of which will show that *the work is neither small nor unimportant*:

Classification of Accounts Adjusted in the Fifth Auditor's Office.

United States foreign ministers.
 United States consuls.
 United States consular agents.
 Relief of destitute American seamen.
 Passage of destitute American seamen.
 Contingent expenses of State Department.
 Publishing the laws in pamphlet form and in newspapers.
 Expense of editing the Revised Statutes, &c.
 Expenses of rescuing American citizens from shipwreck.
 Stationery, furniture, &c., for Department of State.
 Contingent expenses of United States consulates.
 Contingent expenses of foreign intercourse and missions abroad.
 Books, maps, and lithographing for Department of State.
 Salaries and expenses of tribunal of arbitration.
 Survey of boundary between United States and British Possessions.
 Salaries and expenses of the United States and Spanish Claims Commission.

Salaries and expenses of the United States and Mexican Claims Commission.
 Maintenance of the light-house at Cape Spartel.
 Awards to British claimants and expenses.
 Salaries and expenses of Court of Alabama Claims.
 Interpreters to the consulates in China, Japan, and Siam.
 Marshals for the consular courts in Japan and China, Siam and Turkey.
 Rent of prisons for American convicts in Japan, China, Siam, and Turkey, &c.
 Interpreters, guards, and other expenses at the consulates at Constantinople, Smyrna, Candia, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Beirut, in the Turkish Dominions.
 United States bankers' accounts, London.
 Expenses of the eighth and ninth censuses.
 Contingent expenses office Commissioner of Patents.
 Photo-lithographing for Patent Office.
 Plates for Patent Office Official Gazette.
 Copies of drawings, office of Commissioner of Patents.
 Tracings of drawings, office Commissioner of Patents.
 Expenses of packing and distributing official documents.
 Preservation of the collections of the surveying and exploring expeditions.
 Contingent expenses of the Post Office Department.
 Compensation accounts of collectors of internal revenue.
 Revenue accounts of collectors of internal revenue, which includes statements prepared for suit against defaulting collectors, involving much labor and care.
 Disbursing accounts of collectors of internal revenue to United States storekeepers.
 Salaries in office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue.
 Miscellaneous expenses of Internal Revenue Bureau.
 Counsel fees and expenses, moieties and rewards.
 Salaries and expenses of supervisors.
 Salaries and expenses of revenue agents.
 Salaries and expenses of surveyors of distilleries.
 Fees and expenses of gaugers.
 Taxes erroneously assessed and collected.
 Fines, penalties, and forfeitures received and disbursed by the Secretary of the Treasury.
 Moneys refunded on lands sold for taxes and redeemed.
 Moneys refunded under private acts of Congress.
 Moneys refunded, tax on spirits destroyed by fire.
 Moneys collected in insurrectionary districts refunded.
 Direct tax accounts of States and commissioners.

Disbursements of direct tax commissioners.
Certificates for drawbacks on merchandise exported.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue stamps for distilled spirits.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue stamps for tobacco, snuff, and cigars.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue special tax stamps.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue beer stamps.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue for revenue adhesive stamps.

Expense of engraving and printing stamps by Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Expense of engraving and printing stamps by bank-note companies.

Expense of stamp paper, &c.

Redemption of internal revenue stamps.

Agents' accounts for adhesive stamps sold.

In view of the facts herein presented, I respectfully protest against the reduction proposed in the pending bill, feeling satisfied that it cannot be carried out without detriment to the service.

THE POVERTY OF THE SOUTH.

Southern Democratic newspapers, Congressmen, and other vehicles of such public opinion as exist in that section, are continually "exalting their hour" over the poverty of the South. In view of the constant recurrence of good crops, the increase of manufacturing industries, the additional amount of bank capital reported for several years past, the growth of small farms, towns, and retail stores, etc., in all directions, this outcry does not seem to be well grounded. The last cotton crop, now being marketed, has already reached to 3,813,000 bales, and will probably reach an aggregate of 4,500,000. There has been an increase of 440,000 bales exported over the preceding crop. Prices have not ruled high, but are not unprofitable.

The truth is that the outcry about Southern poverty has a two-fold source: one is political, and the other is of the social class or caste character. Take the latter, and it will be found that the growlers are the former plantation barons and their dependents, who have been unable to adapt themselves to the new order of things, and as a rule are poorer than they were. For political reasons the Confederate Democratic leaders are continually encouraging the cry of poverty, sectional and personal, among their associates and followers. It increases the hostility to the Union, or rather the national party and sentiment, on the existence of which the "lost cause" sentiment is fed.

The Congressional branch of this talk is adroitly managed. Two points are aimed at. These are to relieve the South as far as practical from the payment of taxes or revenue to the General Government. Hence the re-

duction of the force needed to collect the taxes on whisky, tobacco, &c. But little can, however, be done in that direction. The other branch is very industriously worked. The Congressional Record shows the activity of the men who attempted to destroy the Union in the present endeavor to plunder its Treasury.

Southern war and other claims to the amount of many score of millions are all ready. The House has already passed a bill restoring thereto Southern men who were borne on the pension-rolls in 1861. The Confederate brigadiers all voted for the payment of arrearages.

An attempt has already been made to put in train a measure to secure the refunding of the direct war tax on lands collected under the act of Congress of August 5, 1861, imposing a tax of \$20,000,000 upon the various States, under which nearly \$16,000,000 were collected. A resolution was offered and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, where an examination showed the purpose of the Confederate proposer. The law provides that any State or Territory might assume the duty of collecting the tax and pay its proportion into the National Treasury, in default of which it became the duty of the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint commissioners to make the necessary assessments and collections. All but Colorado and the eleven rebel States assumed the responsibility, and paid their quota, except New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, California, Colorado, Washington Territory, Utah, and Oregon, from which there is a small unadjusted balance due the United

States, amounting in the aggregate to \$1,237,317. This balance will undoubtedly be properly settled, but the ex-rebel States do not show well, as the following table illustrates ;

States.	Quota.	Uncol'd.
Virginia.....	\$937,550	\$260,396
North Carolina.....	576,194	173,144
South Carolina.....	363,570	140,869
Georgia	584,367	502,167
Florida.....	77,522	71,027
Alabama	529,313	529,313
Mississippi	413,084	343,137
Louisiana	385,886	75,022
Texas	355,016	197,055
Arkansas	261,886	102,983
Tennessee	669,498	66,654
Total	\$5,153,886	\$2,661,776

Recapitulation.

Balance due from loyal States.....	\$1,237,317
Balance due from rebel States.....	2,661,776
Total	\$3,899,093

In 1865 the collection of the tax was suspended until January 1, 1869, but no further attempt has been made to renew the collecting. The design of the measure is not only to save the ex-rebel States from the uncollected amount of \$2,661,776, but also to pay back the \$5,153,886 already collected from them.

A kindred measure is that to secure a refunding of the cotton tax—over \$60,000,000 in amount. The powerful lobby behind this scheme have shrewdly kept it back during the present session, but it may be expected to reappear next winter, to be urged with great persistency in the closing days of the ex-Confederate House.

Other measures, such as the extravagant appropriations for Southern rivers and harbors, the Southern Pacific and related railroad schemes, with their demand for guarantying interest to the extent of \$400,000,000, are being urged as measures of relief for the poverty-stricken South. Their refusal will be as persistently presented as a proof of Northern and Union hostility to that section.

Both views are false. The South is not poverty-stricken, and the loyal North is not hostile to that portion of a common Union. The country is everywhere suffering from a partial paralysis of business ; but the South is, on the whole, better off than any equal portion of the agricultural North and West, all other things being considered. The ex-rebel States paid out for wages to farm laborers alone, during the year 1875, not a cent

less than \$120,000,000. In former days this large sum was converted to the use, in the main, of the 300,000 persons who owned the slaves, and of the small class of free workers, etc., created by the system. Of course the old South—the privileged few—are not as rich, but the masses are better off than ever before, be those masses white or colored. The poverty of the South is but little more than a party cry. Fair investigation will prove this assertion. It is as well not to be deceived.

THE following figures show to what extent the English Parliament legislates, and how extended is the habit of "special" legislation. The measures designated as "local bills" are simply acts of incorporation, or laws to the same effect. It is shown by a recent Parliamentary paper that the capital by shares and loans on the 266 local bills presented in a recent session was 49,944,307*l*. In 1866 the number was 634, and the capital 175,490,646*l*; in 1867 the number 321, and the capital 42,638,775*l*; in 1868 the number 228, and the proposed capital 25,207,356*l*; in 1869 the number 212, and capital 29,221,706*l*; in 1870 the number was 244, and capital 23,676,499*l*; in 1871 the number 280, and the capital 29,719,190*l*; in 1872 the number 304, and the capital 86,444,831*l*; in 1873 the number 334, and the capital 86,893,943*l*; and last year 281, and the proposed capital 63,365,240*l*.

The effect of this pressure for local and special privileges is the same as in the United States. It creates powerful lobbies, whose attorneys are known in London as parliamentary agents, and it brings into the electoral field ambitious and scheming barristers and shrewd business manipulators, who get into the House of Commons as members for the sole purpose of forwarding their profitable schemes.

THE DAWN OF JUSTICE.—After months of laborious investigation, and a heavy outlay of money, the Democratic House of Representatives have found scarcely anything to justify the wholesale charges which the opposition had raised against the Republican party. Its administration of power has been marked by integrity and ability, and the more its opponents investigate the more clearly is this claim established. Human government cannot be faultless, but the management of public affairs by the Republican party has more than justified the faith of its early friends. It has been true to freedom, true to the nation, and true to the people who have trusted it.

DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

Two important documents were published to the world in 1776. One was of a purely public character, the joint effort of the wise and good men of that period, entitled the "Declaration of Independence of the United States of America;" the other was the work of a single man, a poor obscure Scotch professor, under the title of the "Causes of Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith.

It has been confidently asserted that had the last mentioned production been issued fifty years earlier the first would never have been written; for the causes which led to its composition would not have existed, or if they had arisen would have been remedied without the arbitration of arms.

It was a lack of the simple acknowledgments of mutuality of service that led to the separation. It was an almost inexcusable ignorance of this powerful auxiliary of national prosperity that created the wrongs out of which grew the Revolution. Had these principles been understood as laid down by Mr. Smith in his treatise, had they formed a part of the common education of the English law-makers of that period, no such results could have been reached.

Commerce, whether between individuals, states, or nations, exists and can be maintained only because of the benefits arising to each party through the exchange. Had the British ministry comprehended the vast magnitude of this interchange of products there would have been no interference with, or restrictions placed upon colonial manufacture.

The persistent enforcement of measures calculated to cripple the energies and resources of the new country, to make them subservient only to the interests of the English aristocracy, threw obstacles in the way of a free exchange of commerce, provoked revolution, and the result was a confederation of the States.

These erroneous theories, perverting the true nature and functions of trade by substituting stringent and unreasonable exaction, were particularly noticeable in English statesmen of a century ago; and a similar spirit of incompatibility to the higher grades of

national development largely influenced the actions of Great Britain up to within the last ten or fifteen years.

Through all the various enactments for the government of commerce this injurious and false idea stands out conspicuous, that what one nation, or community of the same nation, gained by an interchange of commodities another must lose: and not only was this contracted view of the subject inculcated in English dealings with foreign countries, but enforced between different sections of the empire. The policy of England toward her American colonies was of this character, and here we have an illustration of the dangers arising from the restriction of the control of public affairs and the rights of suffrage to the privileged few.

For many years England was governed by this class, by men whose claim to rule was mainly founded upon the possession of property. War at this time was a prevailing occupation, and the profession of arms wielded a potent influence, carrying its successful votaries to the highest distinction. It was a period when the management of the Empire rested with the fortunate few, ostensibly for the safety and welfare of the many; while in fact it was the debasing of the many, and the aggrandizement of the favored few.

Engaging in mercantile pursuits was scarcely respectable, and the tradesman was looked upon as occupying a social position too low for recognition. In this condition of landed privileges, and of lineal bigotry, many of the great commercial and manufacturing centers of the Kingdom were unrepresented in the Government.

The success of the American colonies in achieving their independence was a lesson the English nation did not readily comprehend, and for half a century following struggled on with the same international notions, putting forth every exertion to control the commerce of the world. Gigantic wars were inaugurated and prosecuted with vigorous determination in the mad career to restrain and cripple this powerful source of internal wealth. These efforts, however,

served only to burden the people with enormous taxes, which even to this day retard the progress and are the main causes of the poverty of so large a portion of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

It was fifty years subsequent to the publication of Mr. Smith's "Wealth of Nations" before the more enlarged ideas of commerce, as set forth by him, began to be understood and a reform to commence. About this period, under the lead of Huskisson, a series of modifications and changes were inaugurated, which have in a measure relieved England from the meddlesome and ill-advised legislation previously so conspicuous; and yet only within a very few years has English commerce been truly free and prosperous.

As late as 1820 it is said there were over two thousand enactments on the statute-books of Great Britain unrepealed which had been enacted at various times for the regulation of commerce; but the strangest of all strange things is, how England should have held to and maintained for so long a period these ruinous theories while such an example in the opposite direction was presented in the history of the Dutch Republic.

Heedless of the benefits a change of policy was certain to bring, a spirit of jealousy seems to have taken possession of the English law-makers, and increased vigilance was manifested in opposing with even more stringent measures fundamental principles that should have enlisted their hearty co-operation. This bitter determination to rule or ruin led to two expensive wars, and produced the first funded debt of the Empire.

The same arbitrary disposition, the same ignorance of the true functions of trade, was imposed upon the American colonies, resulting in resistance and independence of the latter. Failing to acknowledge their error, blind to the benefits certain to arise from the most liberal encouragement of industry, the opposite was adopted, and another attempt made to coerce the infant country into the narrow gauge of their own limited views upon commerce. Resistance again ensued, and the war of 1812 followed.

Finally, by sheer force of progress, as developed through the common people in their deal one with another, in the same or be-

tween different communities, and in examples shown in the rapid advance of other countries, the English Government began to comprehend the malign effect their obstinacy to a unison of action in the furtherance of a more liberal policy in the interchange of commodities was having upon their own industries.

Under this pressure the more absurd ideas governing commerce were gradually laid aside, the more objectionable features repealed, and England began the advance toward a higher excellence in her restrictions, not only upon dependent colonies, but with the world.

Fully appreciating the importance of the Declaration of Independence, and the existence of a free and liberal government, the fact is patent that the great and unprecedented progress made in all the branches of national industry, as developed in the first century of the Republic, is but an imperfect realization of the principles of liberty and progress therein embodied.

Our forefathers severed their connection with the mother country because of obnoxious restrictions upon commerce, yet for years persistently clung to the errors that led to the separation; and notwithstanding the advance of the century, the "half way place" has not been reached.

The adoption of the Constitution, in 1787, incorporating a provision that, no State should enact laws to restrain, or in any way interfere with the exchange of commerce between the States, was the first important step looking toward a true union.

Previous to this period the vast territory comprising the several colonies was not free from petty regulations and laws respecting the interchange of commodities; and yet enough had been achieved through this imperfect liberty to insure the material wealth of the country, and secure its perpetuity even against the machinations and corruption of slavery.

Without entering upon any discussion, *pro* or *con*, with reference to the policy of absolute free trade between nations, or questioning the right to maintain a properly regulated tariff for the protection of home industries, a succinct treatise upon the subject

of domestic-interchange of commodities will engage our attention.

It is important, in this connection, that we should fully understand the terms "Commerce" and "Manufactures." These words are often, and by persons of acknowledged ability, accepted as synonymous; yet to one whose conception of manufactures is confined to vast factories for the working of cotton, wool, iron and steel, has a very narrow conception of what constitutes the true manufactures of the country. Or, to one whom the word "commerce" suggests merely the thousand steamers, barges, and sails, laden with products, with goods, articles, and commodities of general use from far away places, plowing the ocean between foreign ports, has an equally faint and imperfect realization of what constitutes commerce.

Men serve each other through the interchange of commerce. It is a transaction in which both parties derive benefit, parting with an article not needed for one desired.

A prominent writer upon this subject says :

"True commerce in useful things lies at the foundation of human welfare, and unless a good and wholesome subsistence is possible, there can be neither spiritual, intellectual, nor æsthetic culture, and such a subsistence is only possible to the mass of men by means of an exchange of products."

Scattered broadcast over our fair land is a mighty host of free, industrious farmers, manufacturers, and artisans, plying their various trades and occupations, steadily swelling the great volume of commerce, which, under the benign influence and protection of a free people, is sweeping us on to a future excellence in the advance of science, of art, of self-government and self-reliance, as superior to that now attained as what we have reached is beyond the bigoted views of the mother country in her dealings with the colonies.

In order to obtain some idea of the extent of simply two branches of our domestic commerce tabular statements are annexed, selecting the champion county of each State and giving the number of establishments, the amount of capital invested, the outlay for materials, with the gross products:

MANUFACTURES.

County and State.	No. of establishments.	Capital invested.	Materials used.	Gross products.
Mobile county, Alabama.....	272	\$1,099,435	\$1,300,574	\$2,760,390
Pulaski county, Arkansas.....	77	240,185	250,880	688,003
San Francisco county, California...	1,223	21,170,956	20,046,321	37,410,829
New Haven county, Connecticut...	940	29,445,640	22,054,303	45,156,181
New Castle county, Delaware.....	459	9,995,175	9,184,544	15,093,131
Duval county, Florida.....	105	419,450	1,090,425	1,883,225
Chatham county, Georgia.....	98	1,148,075	1,009,511	2,805,771
Cook county, Illinois.....	1,440	39,372,276	60,362,188	92,518,742
Marion county, Indiana.....	740	8,303,185	9,776,656	16,642,105
Scott county, Iowa.....	340	2,117,750	2,008,740	3,455,479
Leavenworth county, Kansas.....	220	1,187,148	1,101,743	2,411,073
Jefferson county, Kentucky.....	801	11,129,291	10,369,556	20,364,250
Orleans county, Louisiana.....	911	5,751,985	4,566,543	9,980,278
Cumberland county, Maine.....	676	6,121,547	10,905,522	16,557,581
Baltimore county, Maryland.....	2,759	26,049,040	36,144,425	59,219,933
Suffolk county, Massachusetts.....	2,546	47,311,906	59,384,305	111,380,840
Wayne county, Michigan.....	1,191	14,732,160	15,336,259	26,217,685
Hennepin county, Minnesota.....	314	3,908,550	3,913,214	6,810,970
Warren county, Mississippi.....	212	609,818	674,165	1,237,217
Saint Louis county, Missouri.....	4,579	60,357,001	87,388,252	158,761,013
Douglas county, Nebraska.....	229	1,127,555	1,254,323	2,968,747
Story county, Nevada.....	73	1,036,200	3,604,343	4,928,170
Hillsborough county, N. H.....	564	13,443,890	17,586,821	25,330,611
Essex county, New Jersey.....	1,198	22,606,662	29,255,062	52,108,958
New York county, New York.....	7,624	129,952,262	178,696,939	332,951,520
New Hanover county, N. C.....	93	943,220	1,427,829	2,069,804
Hamilton county, Ohio.....	2,469	42,646,152	44,876,148	78,905,980
Multnomah county, Oregon.....	307	1,573,875	1,297,847	2,698,817
Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania.	8,184	174,016,674	180,325,713	322,004,517
Providence county, Rhode Island ..	1,503	54,485,967	55,147,483	85,142,032
Charleston county, North Carolina.	224	1,538,539	1,264,731	2,431,763
Shelby county, Tennessee.....	757	3,155,957	2,738,062	6,644,137
Galveston county, Texas.....	91	710,950	678,980	1,214,814
Chittenden county, Vermont.....	300	3,760,520	3,643,707	6,537,230
Henrico county, Virginia.....	595	5,503,525	6,720,104	11,436,616
Ohio county, West Virginia.....	286	4,011,590	6,836,387	10,765,859
Milwaukee county, Wisconsin.....	828	8,109,199	11,649,995	18,798,122
District of Columbia.....	952	5,021,925	4,754,883	9,292,173

Quite as interesting an exhibit in agriculture as that shown in manufactures will be observed from the following table, selecting, as before, the county in each State pro-

ducing the most, and giving the number of acres of improved land, the value of the farms, with the gross agricultural receipts:

AGRICULTURE.

County and State.	Improved land.	Value of farms.	Agricultural production.
Montgomery county, Alabama.....	222,200	\$3,793,895	\$3,403,332
Pulaski county, Arkansas.....	62,702	2,633,509	2,046,987
San Joaquin county, California	428,061	7,874,365	4,376,673
Hartford county, Connecticut.....	278,436	28,289,158	6,220,911
New Castle county, Delaware	203,167	24,573,079	4,004,098
Jefferson county, Florida.....	73,113	1,044,805	904,921
Houston county, Georgia	154,433	2,539,566	2,250,743
La Salle county, Illinois.....	533,724	25,274,479	5,502,502
Boone county, Indiana	126,942	8,974,665	3,814,552
Clinton county, Iowa	323,182	12,964,845	3,909,589
Douglas county, Kansas.....	94,852	6,689,989	3,514,452
Jefferson county, Kentucky	152,494	17,253,897	2,631,076
Tensas county, Louisiana.....	77,724	3,223,840	2,493,250
Penobscot county, Maine	297,263	10,324,213	3,880,532
Baltimore county, Maryland	226,040	29,181,762	3,447,945
Worcester county, Massachusetts	370,386	22,495,282	6,551,411
Oakland county, Michigan	336,060	25,554,239	5,154,231
Olmsted county, Minnesota.....	202,008	7,308,111	2,877,800
Washington county, Mississippi	70,119	6,002,270	3,818,040
Saint Louis county, Missouri.....	132,556	28,409,635	3,566,476
Cass county, Nebraska	65,195	2,886,152	1,408,406
White Pine county, Nevada	5,815	120,400	226,129
Merrimack county, New Hampshire	335,882	12,096,577	3,120,292
Burlington county, New Jersey.....	180,775	23,616,049	4,908,839
St. Lawrence county, New York	664,823	37,661,214	9,598,071
Edgecombe county, North Carolina	108,019	3,353,471	2,348,276
Hamilton county, Ohio.....	158,028	27,723,353	4,306,248
Douglas county, Oregon	132,657	1,791,723	674,094
Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.....	462,833	70,724,908	11,845,008
Providence county, Rhode Island.....	93,415	9,245,106	2,140,477
Barnwell county, South Carolina.....	383,140	4,589,974	4,099,460
Shelby county, Tennessee.....	164,431	9,987,974	4,169,342
Washington county, Texas	122,833	3,765,786	1,872,244
Windsor county, Vermont	398,106	13,193,240	3,479,098
Augusta county, Virginia	222,843	10,232,552	2,130,430
Harrison county, West Virginia.....	147,488	6,935,258	1,302,545
Dane county, Wisconsin.....	396,900	21,111,058	5,706,491

When we have added to the first table here presented the statement that the aggregate amount of capital invested in all the manufactories of the United States in 1870 was \$2,118,208,796, yielding in gross \$4,232,325,442, some realization may be had of the vast magnitude of this branch of industry; and to the last exhibit—that of agriculture—we append the fact that the gross product of the entire United States for the year named was \$2,447,538,658.

The various interchanging of all these articles produced from the workshop and the farm constitutes the chief bulk of our domestic commerce; and it is estimated, from the best possible authority, that the aggregate values carried over the seventy thousand miles of railroad exceed \$10,000,000 annually. And for this service, together with that paid as transportation of passen-

gers, the sum of \$526,000,000 was secured to the railroad corporations in 1875.

This commerce, over a country differing as widely as almost any section of the earth's surface in soil, climate, and condition, in rates of interest, taxes, and wages, has yet called into existence this immense system of railways, at an expense of not less than \$4,000,000,000, and over which exchanges of goods were made in 1875 amounting to 200,000,000 tons.

In the production of cereal crops—the most important of all agricultural interests—the question of labor has ceased to be a matter of concern. The hard, persistent toil of earlier days is now neatly executed through mechanical inventions, requiring few field-hands in proportion to the amount of work heretofore thus performed. Had it not been for these new methods, supplant-

ing the tedious, tiresome operations of other years by a system of horse-power and machinery, executing more work with less help than formerly, and doing it better even, the war for the preservation of the Union might not have been so successful. A large per cent of the million men at one time in the loyal army were from the industrial elements of the country, and had not the means been provided through the inventive genius of the age to make their places good on the farm and in the workshop a famine would have ensued, and there would have been no equipments or munitions of war for the army. Instead of this, the power of production and the facilities of transportation had been so largely increased that, had the fields and manufactories alone been considered, it would not have appeared that a single man was absent from his accustomed avocation. In fact, the war brought into existence new energies, new incentives to action, and at no time since the formation of the Government were the Northern States more prosperous in every department of home industry than during the four years of the slaveholders' rebellion.

There is one other prominent feature in our national growth which is worthy of notice as being closely allied to the advance of the higher departments of science. As a less number of men are needed in tilling the soil, a greater per cent. can be employed in the store, the factory, and in the studio. And in this there is an explanation of the greater relative increase of these industries over that of agriculture, necessitating a steady concentration of population in commercial centers. Men once engaged in professional, mercantile, or mechanical occupation rarely exchange it for the more hardy toil of the farm, while the country lad intuitively inclines toward the metropolis. It is in the order of events—from the very nature of our free institutions, where every man is the architect of his own future—that this concentration should continue. Ideas of life, in all its varied phases, have kept fully up with the advance of the age in other particulars. The slow plodding career of the farmer is illy suited to the rapidly developed purposes of the young men of to-

day, and, throwing aside the dusty garments of husbandry, the boy turns his face toward the city. Eagerness for wealth and distinction, the allurements of popularity and applause, the spirit of independence and of self-reliance, were born with the rising generation, and you could no more stay the onward march than you could move the fixedness of the north star.

Notwithstanding this predisposition of our native-born youth to seek higher fields of general usefulness, the great prairies of the West, the broad expanse of our thinly-populated Territories, are being rapidly settled by solid, substantial sons of toil. Forests are being swept away, swamps drained, and fields of rich, waving grain deck the hills and valleys far away toward the setting sun. Cities, towns, and villages are springing up where a few short years ago the buffalo fed in undisturbed tranquillity, and the Indian roamed in all his native wilds; railroads are being built, highways constructed, and the white cottage of the thrifty pioneer dots the frontier with gems of industry, pressing on and on, until in a few more decades the eastern and the western slopes will have joined farms upon the apex of the Rocky Mountains.

A large per cent of these sturdy settlers are immigrants from foreign lands, to whom every courtesy and encouragement are extended, and who already are numbered among the most industrious elements of the country.

This is a fruitful theme, and full of interest, but being only indirectly connected with the subject under consideration, I leave it to take up, respectively, a few specific articles of commerce for a more thorough comprehension of their extent and importance in our midst.

It will readily be conceded that the aggregate result of all commerce is the compilation of small transactions. Take, for instance, the man or boy who leaves a half-pint of milk at your door every morning. This of itself seems a very small commercial deal, and yet it represents a commerce almost equal in this country to the aggregate sum of our foreign importations.

The system of cheese factories is purely

an American invention. In 1857 Mr. Jesse Williams, of Oneida county, New York, erected the first establishment of this kind. In April, 1860, there were 21 in operation. In 1866 there were 500 in the State of New York alone, and the capital incidentally involved amounted to \$40,000,000. In 1870 there were 1,300 factories in the United States, producing 55,000 tons of cheese, which, with the gross value of dairy products for that year, exceeded \$400,000,000, and the exports of cheese for the same period were in excess of 90,000,000 pounds.

In 1870 the gross yield of the three principal articles was as follows: Milk sold, (to factories and customers for private consumption,) 235,500,599 gallons; butter made, 514,092,683 pounds; cheese, 53,492,153 pounds.

New York was at the head in this article of commerce, having 1,350,661 milch cows, producing 135,775,919 gallons of milk, (reported sold,) 107,147,526 pounds of butter, and 22,769,964 pounds of cheese. Pennsylvania was second, with 706,437 milch cows, giving 14,411,729 gallons of milk, (sold,) 60,834,644 pounds of butter, and 1,145,209 pounds of cheese. Ohio was the next on the list, having 654,390 milch cows, yielding 22,275,344 gallons of milk, (sold,) 50,266,372 pounds of butter, and 8,169,486 pounds of cheese.

The first cotton mill in America was erected at Nottingham, N. H., in 1770, by Mr. Arkwright, and worked by horse-power. In 1771 he built another, attaching water-power, and then still another in 1787. In 1807 the whole number of spindles in the United States was estimated at 4,000; in 1808 at 8,000. In 1815 the three States—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—had 165 factories and 119,510 spindles. In 1831, 795 factories and 1,246,500 spindles were reported for the whole country. In 1840 there were, in total, 2,285,000 spindles; in 1850, for New England States alone, 2,728,000; in 1860, (from total of census report,) 5,035,798 spindles, and in 1870, 7,114,000. In 1874 (July 1) there were 9,415,383 spindles, of which 8,927,754 were in the Northern States and 487,629 in the South. The cotton crop of all the States in 1791 was 189,316 pounds,

against 2,000,000,000 pounds in 1859 and 1,204,798,000 in 1870. The total extent of our commerce in cotton manufactures for the year ending July 1, 1874, was 149,000,000 pounds of thread yarns and twines; 707,000,000 yards of sheeting, shirting, and similar plain goods; 306,000,000 yards of twilled and fancy goods, osnaburgs, jeans, etc.; 588,000,000 yards print cloths; 33,000,000 yards gingham; 30,000,000 yards ducks, and 6,000,000 bags.

The gross yield of wool for 1870 was 100,102,387 pounds, clipped from 28,477,951 sheep, being an average of 3.52 pounds per head. Ohio was the champion State in this article, producing 20,539,643 pounds, from 4,928,635 sheep; California 11,391,743 pounds, from 2,768,187 sheep; and New York 10,599,225 pounds, from 2,181,578 sheep. For the manufacture of woolen goods in 1870 there were 2,891 establishments, having a capital of \$108,998,000, and yielding a product of \$177,963,000.

The manufacture of silk has recently become an important branch of industry, and already is a prominent article of commerce. In 1870 there were 86 establishments of this character in the United States, having a working capital of \$6,231,130, and using \$7,817,559 of raw material. From this was produced 1,026,422 yards of silk goods; 3,224,264 yards of silk ribbon; 370,031 pounds of machine silk; 127,590 pounds of spool silk; 19,000 pounds silk thread, in all amounting to \$12,210,662 in valuation. The annual yield has since doubled, and now reaches in value about \$25,000,000.

Another quite extensive article of commerce, and also of late origin, is sewing machines. The ninth census puts down 49 factories devoted to this business, with \$8,759,431 capital; \$3,055,786 material consumed, and \$14,097,446 in products.

Iron, in all its various forms, is one of the staple articles of commerce, and though at the present time there is a depression in this particular branch of industry, yet the production is of great magnitude, and upon the revival of business certain to succeed the establishing of the currency upon a basis in which full confidence in the integrity and good faith of the Government shall have

been secured, the turnaces and forges, the blooms and the rolling mills, will again open to a new life and a greater prosperity than ever before. Our figures show the condition of this interest in 1870, prior to the crisis of 1873. At this date there were 82 iron blooms in successful operation, having \$4,506,733 capital, and yielding \$7,647,054 product. There were 310 rolling mills, with a capital of \$54,774,615, receipts \$120,311,158. Iron forges numbered 104, with \$4,620,959 capital and gross return \$8,385,669. Of pig iron there were 386 establishments, using \$45,498,017 in materials, with a result of \$69,640,498. In the construction of cast iron, 2,654 factories were at work, consuming \$48,222,550 in materials, and yielding \$99,843,218.

The manufacture of steel is also worthy of special notice. In 1870, there were 30 manufactories of this article, having an aggregate capital of \$5,166,003, and producing 1,185 tons of puddled steel, 1,100 tons of blistered steel, and 28,069 tons cast steel.

The manufacture of pneumatic or Bessemer steel, chiefly in rails for railroads, is represented in the following statistics: In 1849, 24,314 tons; 1855, 138,674 tons; 1860, 205,038 tons; 1865, 356,292 tons; 1870, 620,000 tons; 1872, 941,000 tons, and 1873, 850,000 tons.

The traffic in and interchange of all these various commodities of manufacture and agriculture, together with the innumerable other articles, small of themselves, perhaps, but large in the aggregate, made by busy hands of amateur artisans, or worked by the needle of the industrious housewife during spare moments from her daily routine occupation, go to make up the vitality, the life of the nation, and constitute the great aggregate of domestic commerce.

This interdependence of the States, the free untrammelled exchange of commerce, and the service which each renders the other, is the potent power that has raised the country to a standard of wealth, of population, and of strength with a rapidity unprecedented.

The deep rich soil of the West produces such abundance that even now with all the means of transportation and intercommunica-

tion portions of the old crop are often retained on the farm till the ensuing year. And there are many instances where the farmer, far remote from railroad or water conveyances, can obtain but a trifling sum for his corn. Under these circumstances it not unfrequently is used for fuel. This is rather an evidence of economy than waste, for while it is the best, it is at the same time the cheapest he can obtain.

Here is where the swine is wholesomely fed; here is where that staple of the country is produced. Fattened upon corn, surfeited with unadulterated milk, the meat is solid, sweet, and good. These hogs when ready for market are gathered into droves, driven to the nearest railroad station, and shipped to the East, an ever ready and profitable market. Here, aided by that one crop so famous in New England—ice—the pork is prepared for consumption, then again shipped to the mechanic and workmen of the North, to the tradesmen and freedmen of the South, and to the artisans of the world wherever our ships of commerce float. This is not all: The blood carefully preserved at the slaughter-house, is dried to powder in a few hours by an ingenious process, and this sent to the Southern States, where it is mixed with the phosphatic rocks of the coast, and serves to increase the production of cotton—that staple which enters so largely into the wearing purposes of the common people. This is commerce; this is men, communities, and States serving each other, and yet each deriving benefit from the exchange.

One hundred years ago a small fleet sailed out of a New England harbor, laden with muskets, red flannel, beads, and tobacco. Their destination was the extreme northwest coast. On the voyage the cargoes were divided into bund'es, each containing a musket, a piece of flannel, some beads and tobacco. On the northern coast these articles were exchanged with the Indians for furs, the rate of exchange being one package for a bale of fur skins. This accomplished, the fleet sailed away for China. Here the furs were exchanged for teas, at equally as high a rate of profit as had been made upon the old muskets and flannel; and then, after a long, long interval, this pioneer commercial enterprise returned to Boston with the result—

of the venture. Under this system of commerce tea was a luxury enjoyed only by the few. Now it is within the reach of all, and a general article of consumption.

To-day a telegram is received in New York from St. Petersburg calling for flour and meat for the Russian army. The merchant in New York on whom the demand is made telegraphs to San Francisco, and the articles required are promptly shipped from that port. A banker's credit, furnished by the Russian Government, is transferred in a moment to China, and the same day the tea starts from Canton for America. In a few short weeks this tea, having passed over the Pacific railroad, is being consumed by the productive element of the country; at the same moment the Russian soldiers are feeding upon the flour and meat given in exchange. This is modern commerce.

It has been truly said: "The end of all commerce is an abundant and general consumption, not only of the necessary articles of subsistence, but of the comforts and luxuries of life; and the material prosperity of the country is to be gauged by the amount of its annual consumption more than by the magnitude of its accumulation."

The attempt even to approximate the wealth and progress of the country by any system of figures or calculations is a difficult task. The report furnished by the Census Bureau is utterly fallacious taken by itself. There is but one true standard by which to measure substantial prosperity, and that is by the amount of life's comforts and luxuries which the wages of workmen, equal in intelligence and skill will purchase.

The amount of manual exertion that a hundred years ago served to procure a bare subsistence would now insure early competency and exemption from toil. The industrious craftsman now soon becomes the master. Commerce and invention, with the division of labor, have procured an abundance, and by separating the functions of those who work with the head from those who toil with the hands the common people are raised to a comparative competency.

The Republic has solved the problem of commercial success, achieved a triumph over the productive forces of nature, and the promises of future material wealth are indeed grand. All that is now requisite to a comfortable subsistence for man or woman are prudence, intelligence, health, and integrity.

WHY NOT NOMINATE ADAMS?

The Civil Service Reformers, so-called, have a very grand ideal, with a very indefinite plan, and a totally inadequate conception of the difficulties which lie in the way of the accomplishment of their desires. Some of their ideas are conflicting, some are impossible, and not a few are impracticable in a country like ours. In a late interview of Mr. Charles Francis Adams with a reporter we get at his notions of the matter in a very concise form, and his notions are fairly representative of his class. Not to use his precise language, his idea briefly is, that he is not a party man, and for this reason, he being qualified by character, talent, education, experience, and other requisites, is not wanted as a candidate for President by either party, and stands no chance whatever of getting the nomination. He has evidently a correct notion of the case. The fact is just so.

Now the leading Reformers, Bowles, White, James Freeman Clarke, and the others, are unanimously of the opinion that Adams, because of his independence of party, being otherwise qualified, is the very man who should be nominated. At the same time they concede the impossibility of nominating him by shouting for Bristow, who, though a good man, is admitted to be a party man, and must depend upon a party nomination to be elected. By this concession they at the start admit the impossibility of carrying out their highest ideal, their no-party plan, and of taking a candidate solely on his merits. Adams admits that he is not wanted.

They see that he is not wanted, and at once they commence to cater to the supposed popular taste or prejudice, or whatever it may be called. They are compelled to introduce the arts of the politician which they

so much affect to despise. They find that there is a machine to be run, though they dislike machinery in politics very much. Indeed, the mission they started on was to abolish machine politics, and break down altogether the machine-runners; but they cannot take the first step without an organization, without committees, and funds, and caucusses, and they get up conferences, and lay plans, which, when laid by others, they stigmatize as "pipe." But the building of an organization they soon find is a great work, involving time and thought, and money and men, and as they have not these at command in sufficient proportion they wisely resolve to get the control of some existing organization, and use that to enforce the ideas which they have adopted. So far, then, they find themselves obliged to do exactly as the politicians do, and the very things which they denounce the politicians for doing. They have to manage, and it is management which is the offensive thing. They have to practice the arts of the politician, and it is those arts which have caused the mischief. They are opposed to stealing, and yet they begin by attempting to steal an organization.

By this we mean simply that they propose to take command of one of the two parties, neither of which they created, and which are in no sense their property, rather than to accomplish their ends by building up another organization. They will do as the others do in this respect, use a little judicious strategy.

This brings us back to the starting point, that, in a country like ours, the ideas and methods of these men are impracticable where they are not impossible. The case of Mr. Adams is settled simply by the fact that he is not wanted, and he is not wanted, not because he is not a good and able man and an accomplished statesman, and a person of integrity, but because he has not been a party man, and this leads to the consideration of the reasons for the disability. Why is a non-party man condemned? Is there any propriety, or any sense in it?

The reasons are ample and obvious—probably they are sound, as they are certainly effectual. At the outset we may say that govern-

ment by the people implies that the people take a sufficient interest in affairs to look after them; that to most public questions there is a right and a wrong side; that in order for the government to succeed, and the people be satisfied with it, the right side must generally prevail; that the adoption of the right side by some and the wrong side by others creates parties; hence the very necessity for government involves the certainty of parties, and must as long as there is a wrong and right side, and people who adopt the wrong. In this condition of things the man who takes the wrong side is ruled out of the administration of affairs by the deliberate judgment of those who believe in the right. This is so sensible that even James Freeman Clarke and Carl Schurz propose to rule out Morton, Conkling, and perhaps Blaine, on that very ground, and if they do this, of course the great majority of people who are confessedly party men must do the same. Well, next to being on the wrong side of public questions, not to be on the right side is in public opinion an offense which cannot be pleasing. To be on the fence is not a popular lodgment. It looks like cowardice, or incapacity to judge, or weakness, or a sacrifice of principle to gain the support of God and the devil, or indifference to right and wrong that is disgraceful, or dangerous, or contemptible. In a republic a man is expected to show his colors, and he who does not do it is regarded as lacking convictions and earnestness, or else as being governed by sinister or unworthy designs.

Mr. Adams evidently assumes a superior merit for having occupied a position so lofty that few have been able to attain unto it; but because he has been neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm, have the people spewed him out of their mouths. His kind of merit is not liked. The people like frank and outspoken men, and they will not attach themselves to the man on the fence, to the man who is first on this side and then on that, who is wavering and unsettled and uncertain, and not to be depended upon.

It may be said that Mr. Adams is a man of such habits and character that he can be trusted. Trusted to do what? What is best of course. But this means what is best

as viewed by Mr. Adams, and not what is best as viewed by the people themselves. It is an abdication of the function of government by the people to Mr. Adams, who is to be taken, not for what he represents of the people, but because he is independent of the popular influence, and boasts that he has always been on his own hook, and intends to be. The people feel this if they do not see it, and this is why Mr. Adams is the failure that he confesses, and that everybody realizes. They do not like that kind of a politician, and they ought not to. The man who goes to the caucus, who mingles with his fellow men, interests himself in their plans, and does his part toward helping on the movements of the time, shows that he is of the people and belongs to the people. The man that fails to do this is quite likely to be forgotten in proportion as he forgets his duties and evades his responsibilities, and manifests his indifference to the real work of political life.

It is the habit of the class of reformers to which Mr. Adams belongs to lament the retirement from politics of the scholars of the country, and it is claimed by them that the educated men do not have their proper influence in our public affairs. They ascribe this to the dismal fact that politics have fallen into vulgar hands and are so managed as to excite the disgust of the educated and refined and compel them to this course or to a sacrifice of their self-respect. But they mistake the fact altogether. The scholar is not excluded from politics only as he voluntarily excludes himself. The trouble is that these men, like Mr. Adams, when they are voted down, or give advice which is not accepted, or are chosen to the second place when they aspired to the first, not only get disgusted, but show their disgust, lose their tempers, and render themselves unfit for further use by the people. They become grumblers and scolds, and no-party men, and reformers, and sore-heads. They simply fall out of line and let the great army of the people march on without them. They seem to expect that the people are to do all the work and they are to come in and enjoy all the honors and emoluments. They decry politics as base and unworthy business,

set the example of keeping out, and then go about weeping because the scholar is without influence, and things are going to the bad in consequence. This is all there is in that.

Admitting, therefore, that there must be parties, as we are compelled to so long as there is a wrong side in politics, the question of party management is the first one to be considered. The reformers have their plan, though they have not reduced it to a simple formula. It crops out in various newspaper articles and speeches, however, and there is no difficulty in arriving at what it is. The first point is not to have any caucus, and that instrumentality is denounced as unworthy if not base. But the caucus not being preventable, the next thing to do is to bolt its nominations unless you are absolutely suited, which being impossible unless yourself is nominated, necessitates a bolt anyhow. Beyond this there does not appear to be any settled principle save that it is deemed high evidence of wisdom to permit those who do not belong to the party to have the management of it, or at any rate to hold the offices and reap the honors.

It being so obvious that a party managed in this way is doomed to defeat every time, an argument is not needed. These men in 1872 forgot their first principle in their first attempt to get into power, and went into a caucus, but they rallied on the second, and bolted the nomination of poor Greeley, who forsook the practice of a long life to please them and secure a nomination; or a part of them did, while the remainder fell back on the reserve principle, and took into partnership all the old and confirmed enemies of reform to manage matters in case they had won a victory. How they would have managed had they obtained power can be seen by the way the same fellows have conducted the present House of Representatives, and comment is unnecessary. We need no further illustration of that method of managing a party.

To manage parties properly we must be guided by the results of experience, and that teaches the necessity of combining various elements, making more or less concessions to prejudices, to diversified interests;

to arranging, in greater or less degree, the ambitions and the whims of men; the yielding sometimes to what seems notional, and the proper dividing of the honors and the emoluments of office among the different classes who are qualified, and by character and ability are fit to have them. No set of men can hold power in this country that neglects these things.

The eminent and learned gentlemen who lately met in New York to consider what is to be done assume that somehow they are the few righteous, and only by their wisdom can the country be saved. They were not delegated by anybody to meet and act, and they had nothing in common but the instinct of aristocracy, which demands leadership by virtue of a wisdom which is a pure assumption. Their wisdom, single or combined, has never originated a policy, and most of them are men who have tried to figure in public life and were not able to secure a constituency, or men who, on getting positions have been speedily kicked out. That they are honest men and good

citizens need not be questioned, but they are too erratic and crotchety for party leaders, and they are too feeble to carry the country without the aid of party. They are for sound money, for the payment of the national debt, for having good men in office, but they would so conduct a campaign as to secure the election of men who are for unsound money, for repudiation, and who would fill the offices with the Hambletons, Smiths, Fitzhughs, and other fellows who are reckoned "bigger men than old Grant." They have the right to meet and use their influence for whom they please, but if they wish to have the government in the hands of the friends of national unity, respect for law, honest money, and honest payment of the debt, they had better keep in the background until the people call them to the front; a merit which they have thought worthy of mention as a good qualification in a Presidential candidate, but whose application to their own case they wholly failed to see; modesty not being one of their eccentricities.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...The one event of importance during the month past has, of course, been the successful opening of the Universal Exhibition at Philadelphia, in commemoration of the first Centennial Anniversary of American Independence. Perhaps no one illustration will so vividly point the changes made during the century past than the position assumed by and the recognition accorded to the mother country, with which we were so sorrowfully at war one hundred years ago. The Second Continental Congress—the immortal assembly which adopted the Declaration of Independence—met at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on the Tenth of May, 1776, and on the Tenth of May, 1876, two hundred thousand persons, embracing representatives of every race and of most nations known to the civilized world, met in the beautiful Fairmount Park, in the midst of the myriad-gathered trophies of industry and utility, art and beauty, to greet the Nation's natal Century day. It is a notable

fact that the foremost foreign guest should be Great Britain, and that here, on American soil, is gathered the amplest representation ever seen of the skill and industry, the genius, culture, and progress of the English-speaking peoples of the world. The American World's Fair is in truth the largest industrial possible triumph achieved of the Anglo-Saxon stock. John Mitchell once spoke of it as the "Anglo-Saxon bully that strides the world like a Colossus." The works here gathered are indeed colossal, however far removed, thank God! from the other attribute. The British government and people seem to have outvied all their past efforts in order to place in our midst the fairest and fullest representation to be had of their industrial, technical, artistic, and social life, progress, and skill. Not only the mother country, but all her wondrous brood of nurslings are with us—the giant children of the Australian Island-Continent; the patient and swarming Anglo-Indian communities from under the tropics, grave with the

weighty task that is always with them; our neighbors of the near Canadas, and the nascent Confederation of South Africa, just pointing the way to the inevitable task that awaits the world's continent opener—the English colonizer—of bringing the almost unknown interiors of that continental peninsula, through traffic and travel, into close relations with modern civilization. It is fitting and fine, too, that the British exhibits should be only next to our own in extent, and that together we present such an evidence of the power for use, the capacity for civilization, the means of serving mankind, as none others of the great race stocks can excel, even if they anywhere or anyhow can equal. That the first social recognition should come from the representative here of Great Britain was appropriate, while it was pleasing to see how very generally the English Union-Jack—the flag of the nation—could be seen twined fraternally with that of the United States.

...We must not forget nearer lessons in the largeness of the cosmopolitan spectacle. One comes from the century's dawn, bearing the memories roused by the then most eloquent tongue of the land, and the other poured out in unbroken melody from the sweet-voiced solo singer on that wonderful opening day.

...When the Second Continental Congress met on that memorable Tenth of May, 1776, which was the forerunner of so much that is great, there rose in the assembly a man of rustic appearance and somewhat ungainly withal, who proceeded to address the delegates. It has been recorded that the Secretary and others, who knew him not, were annoyed at this rude stranger's apparent unfitness for the task he had assumed. "Fools," they thought, "rush in where angels fear to tread." But Patrick Henry's tongue, for it was he, touched with Promethean fire, soon held all spell-bound, as in grave but eloquent speech he pointed out the dangers and duties before the Congress. His closing sentence comes back with appealing force in these days and with recent and surrounding memories, clearly and solemnly across the "hundred-terraced height" on which we now stand: "As FOR ME, I AM NOT A VIRGINIAN, BUT AN AMERICAN!" Mingling and meeting therewith comes the

music-breathing words of Lanier's cantata. Hark! how the poet through the singer's notes bears out and completes the lessons of that sentiment and of the mighty federative Republic which has arisen thereon. Columbia or the Century, whosoever may be the dramatic interpretation of the poet's apostrophizing voice, asks—

How long, Good Angel, O how long?

Sing me from Heaven a man's own song!

And then the reply comes, as is fitting, clear, alone, above all, and in the rare melody only of the human voice:

"Long as thine Art shall love true love,

Long as thy Science truth shall know,

Long as thine Eagle harms no Dove,

Long as thy Law by law shall grow,

Long as thy God is God above,

Thy brother every man below,

So long, dear land of all my love,

Thy name shall shine, thy fame shall glow!

Patrick Henry, the Virginian patriot, and Sidney Lanier, the Georgia poet, across the century, completely express the prophetic lessons of American history—*safety and stability only through unity and liberty*, even though those they may represent, past or present, have often been chief obstacles in the way of the final consummation which waits on our progress.

...There is one part of the opening ceremonies to which it would appear no exception can be taken. The speeches were brief and fitting—THE PRESIDENT'S being, as becomes him, simple and strong, modest and manly. But the music was in all respects worthy of the occasion. Wagner's great March would have been admirable, indeed, had Theodore Thomas been able to have secured and trained in time two hundred instruments instead of fifty. The choral singing, however, seems to have been regarded almost as perfect. Whittier's simply melodious hymn was given through the accompanying music with the effectiveness of some of the old and massive Gregorian chants. Lanier's cantata meets more adverse criticism, not musically so much as verbally. The poet was largely hampered by the necessities of his occasion, and of the medium through which to the multitude he was alone to be expressed. A great deal of cheap wit has been expended on the cantata as a poem—unjustly, too. It is, dramatically considered, a noble poem, somewhat mystical or transcendental in character and expression, and with its thought involved to some ex-

tent, and therefore lacking in the noble simplicity which best befits music. To that extent it was not wholly appropriate for the occasion. But after all the poet may not find ability to understand for all, even though he possesses that of expression. The attempt at witty criticisms are as a rule of the cheapest sort. Mr. Lanier, even if he did not rise quite to the occasion in clearness and simplicity, as he certainly does in originality and vigor, shows clearly that with artistic experience he is sure to meet all the demands the future may make on his genius.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS—REPUBLICAN.

...The State Republican Convention of Massachusetts, held at Worcester, April 26, was a body marked by the ability and earnestness of the attending delegates. It selected a delegation at large for the National Convention, unpledged as to persons, and instructed only as to the character of the nominations. The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That this Convention leave the delegates of Massachusetts to the Republican National Convention unpledged and uninstructed in respect of individual candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, but expects and requires them each and all to work and vote for those candidates, and those only, whose characters give unquestionable assurance to the whole country that they will be faithful and zealous to maintain the equal rights of all citizens under the Constitution, to bring about the resumption of specie payments at a date not later than that already fixed by law, and to effect a thorough and radical reform of the civil service, to the end that the administration of public affairs may be characterized by efficiency, economy, and purity.

...On the 27th of April, the Republicans of Arkansas held a spirited convention at Little Rock, by which body delegates were appointed to the National Convention and instructed to vote for Senator Morton's nomination as President. The platform asserts allegiance to the Republican party and the equal rights of citizens of the several States, without regard to birth, color, race, or previous condition; favors an honest and economical Government, and prompt punishment of official dishonesty, and good common schools; and charges the Democratic party with robbing the State of school funds.

...On the same day the Republicans of California met at San Francisco and selected

their delegates, approving by resolutions the candidature of Mr. Blaine. The reports received show that the convention represented a reunited party. It adopted a platform expressing confidence in the Republican party; approving the prosecution and punishment of official dishonesty; deprecating Chinese immigration and favoring such a modification of the Burlingame treaty as will effectually prevent a further influx of Chinese; favoring a return to metallic currency, and the restoration of silver coin to its constitutional equality with gold as a legal tender, and the payment of the national debt in gold.

...The Republicans of Oregon met in convention at Portland, May 3d, and nominated for Congress, Richard Williams, and for Presidential electors, W. H. Odell, J. W. Watts, J. C. Cartwright, and Judge R. P. Boise. The delegates to Cincinnati were instructed to vote for Mr. Blaine.

...May 5th, the Georgia Republicans convened in Atlanta and selected delegates to the National Convention, as well as appointed State committees, general and executive. In both selections they appear to have been governed by the wish to secure the strongest men, most representative of their condition and circumstances. Colonel Bryant, of Savannah, was selected as chairman of the State Executive Committee. It adjourned without nominating a Governor or an electoral ticket, recommending a convention for that purpose to assemble in Macon before the first of August.

...The Maryland Republicans met May 4, at Frederick City. The resolutions adopted express gratitude that all investigations have failed to touch the honor and integrity of President Grant, whose administration has been wise, patriotic, and prudent in the reduction of the public debt, and the adoption of measures looking to an early resumption of specie payment. They pledge the votes of Maryland to Blaine as the candidate for President, and commend Bristow for his efforts to expose and prevent corruption. The delegates were directed to vote for Blaine as long as there is reasonable hope for his nomination.

...The Michigan Republican Convention which met at Grand Rapids, May 10, vied with that of Massachusetts in the c'

of its delegates and the earnestness displayed. Delegates to Cincinnati were selected and left unpledged. The following was adopted:

*Resolved, That * * ** While we are willing to waive personal preferences, our delegates must never consent to commit Republican principles to any standard bearer of doubtful position, or who does not in his own character afford assurances of practical economy, honesty, and purity in all matters of administration.

...The Republicans of West Virginia, at their Convention, Clarksburg, May 11th, complimented Mr. Bristow and indorsed Mr. Blaine's candidacy. Ex-Senator Willey and ex-Governor Stevenson are among the delegates selected.

...The Tennessee Republican Convention met at Nashville May 17th. Uninstructed delegates were chosen for the National Convention. A strong feeling in favor of Senator Morton was manifested. It was decided to postpone State nominations until after the Democratic Convention met in August.

...At Montgomery the Republican Convention called by the anti-Spencer committee, of which ex-Governor Smith is chairman, met on the 17th ultimo. It was decided to make nominations regardless of the other wing, and to select delegates to Cincinnati. This State is the only one that will have a divided delegation. The following nominations were made:—Thomas M. Peters, governor; J. J. McLemore, secretary of state; J. S. Clarke, attorney general; W. B. Harris, state treasurer; C. Cadle, jr., auditor; J. H. Houston, superintendent of education. Delegates at large for Cincinnati, and sixteen delegates from the eight districts were selected. No instructions were given.

...The Republicans of New Jersey met at Trenton, May 17, adopted vigorous resolutions, and selected delegates for Cincinnati. They were uninstructed, but are understood to favor Mr. Blaine.

...The Kentucky Republican convention met at Louisville on the 18th. The attendance was large and the delegates were enthusiastic. The feeling in favor of Mr. Bristow's candidacy was unqualified, but no instructions were adopted.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS.

...The Nebraska Democrats indorsed the

nomination of Governor Tilden. They met at Lincoln, April 21st.

...On the 26th of April, Governor Tilden's convention met at Utica, New York. Morrissey and the anti-Tammany Democrats were excluded, John Kelly and the Tammany sachems ruling the convention. It was in session and adjourned, on passing what it was convened for, by electing a delegation to secure the nomination of S. J. Tilden as the Democratic candidate for President.

...The Oregon Democratic Convention met on the same day, selected its delegates to St. Louis, leaving them unpledged, though leaning to Tilden, and renominated Representative Lafayette Lane to Congress.

...The Georgia Democrats met in Congressional district conventions on the same date, and elected delegates to St. Louis. The general tendency was to indorse Gov. Tilden's candidacy.

...The South Carolina Democracy convened at Columbia May 4, one hundred and seventy-six delegates being present, representing all but two counties. The Grange element, which it is to be feared is being used in all the cotton States as a political instrument and for the wage-oppression of the colored laborer, was represented in the person of D. W. Aiken, master of the State Grange, an unreconstructed Confederate Democrat, who was chosen temporary president. The delegates to St. Louis were left uninstructed, and a platform of strict party character was, after heated debate, adopted.

...The Nevada Democracy, at their State Convention May 15, selected a delegation unpledged to candidates, Tilden and Thurman were the first and second choices of the delegates. Anti-Chinese resolutions were adopted.

...The Ohio Democracy met at Columbus May 17. The convention was large. A sharp contest had preceded its meeting, the friends of Governor Allen and Senator Thurman having worked hard to control it in behalf of their candidates. George H. Pendleton was selected as permanent chairman. Allen's friends carried the convention, adopting minority report. Two reports were presented, the majority (twelve) favoring a return to specie payment when it can be

accomplished without serious business disturbance; also opposing a fixed day of resumption and urging that the charters of national banks be not renewed, legal tenders to be substituted for their circulation. The minority report demands repeal of resumption act; early substitution of greenbacks for bank notes; circulation to be issued only by the General Government; three-sixty-five convertible bonds; a graduated income tax and tariff for revenue only. It urged the nomination for President of Governor Allen. The following were placed in nomination: Secretary of State, William Bell; Judge of the Supreme Court, William E. Finck; Member of Board of Public Works, H. P. Clough.

...The Iowa Democrats met on the 17th and elected delegates to St. Louis. They were uninstructed. A resolution favoring early resumption was adopted.

INDEPENDENTS—GREENBACK—LIBERALS.

...State conventions were held during the month past in Detroit, (May 3,) Topeka, Kansas, (May 4,) Des Moines, Indiana, (May 10,) and at Nashville, (May 13,) by which delegates were selected to the (so-called) National Independent Convention that convened at Indianapolis May 18. This body represents the Greenback theorists. It has been manipulated in advance for Judge David Davis, of Illinois, who in 1872 was nominated by the Labor Reformers at Columbus, Ohio. Others favored straight nominations, and the names of Peter Cooper, General Benj. F. Butler, William D. Kelley, General Spinner, and Senator Booth, all of whom favor the interconvertible bond plan in some form, were brought forward as Presidential candidates. Two hundred and thirty-nine delegates, representing nineteen States, were present. Thomas J. Durant, of Washington, presided as permanent chairman. The platform favors an interconvertible bond, increase of currency, abolition of national bank circulation, and repeal of resumption act. Peter Cooper and Senator Newton Booth were nominated for President and Vice-President.

...A body of gentlemen calling themselves the Liberal Republican National Committee met May 8th at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York. A small number of those appointed

as such committee by the Cincinnati Convention of 1872, holding proxies from others, were present. The inevitable Californian, promoted from an ex-Secretary of State to an ex-Lieutenant Governorship, (which he never held,) who has not been in that State to reside for nearly ten years, was a prominent member of the conference. Ex-Governor Warmoth, who is certainly without, politically speaking, a local habitation or name, was also among the confreres. This gathering must not be confounded with the "National Reform League," or indeed with John Cochrane's Liberal shop "over the way," which, it will be seen, repudiates Ethan Allen and his confreres. The following call was adopted, and afterward practically nullified by the resolution that follows:

The National Liberal Republican Committee appointed by the convention held in Cincinnati in May, 1872, being fully authorized so to do, hereby orders that a National Liberal Republican Convention be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 26th day of July, 1876, at 12 o'clock.

Each State is invited to send to such convention a representation equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

All citizens who desire to perpetuate the national honor and the national prosperity; who are in favor of the equality of all men before the law, of whatever race, color, religion, or politics; who desire the permanence of the Union and the Constitution with the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, and are opposed to reopening any of the questions of the late fratricidal war, long since regarded as settled; who believe that in time of profound peace the civil authority should be supreme; that the civil service of the Government should be so reformed that honesty, capacity, and fidelity shall constitute the only valid claim to public employment, and that to secure this no President of the United States should be a candidate for re-election; who believe that all laws of imposts should be for the purposes of revenue only, and adjusted so far as possible with impartiality as to all sections and interests; who are in favor of a speedy return to specie payment, as demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government; and, above all, who are in favor of honest men at the head of the Republic to carry out honest measures, are cordially invited to join in sending delegates to this National Convention.

The present demoralized condition of the public service, the startling revela-

corruption, and the consequent prostration of all industrial interests, more than confirm the warnings of the Liberal Republicans in the campaign of 1872, and have vindicated their efforts then made for national reform. The work of political purification then defeated yet remains to be done. In this work each elector, as a patriot, must perform his part. The citizen must rise above the partisan. Allegiance to country in this hour of trouble is a higher duty than allegiance to party. It is necessary that the peculator be eliminated as a controlling power in party politics, that office may again become the post of honor and not the avenue to crime. Both of the old parties have a pernicious history that makes them equally impotent for further public good. While all things are possible, it nevertheless seems improbable that reform will be secured "within party lines." While this is to be hailed with joy if accomplished, experience gives but little cause to hope for it. The reformed convict is not usually the best citizen, nor will a reformed party be the best exponent of morality. The party that badly needs reformation needs burial. Out of the ruins of both of the decaying organizations true reform must come, and in such a way that the conscience of the nation will approve; otherwise all efforts will be in vain. The nominees, in the purity of their characters, must be the guarantors of the principles they profess, and for their support when placed before the country we cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

ETHAN ALLEN,

Chairman National Liberal Republican Committee.

Resolved, That if after the Republican and Democratic Conventions have been held in June next, one or both of these parties shall seem, in the judgment of our chairman, Mr. Ethan Allen, to have responded to the principles and aims of the Liberal Republican organization, both in measures and men, in that event our chairman, after further conference with this committee, is hereby authorized by proclamation to annul the call for a national convention this day ordered. But after said conventions, their actions being unfavorable to reform, he is empowered to take such action in furthering the call for a convention this day ordered as he may deem necessary.

...The New York State Liberal Executive Committee met the next day, and declaring that as "no Liberal organization is known to have survived in any State, except in the State of New York," that the committee thereof "fail to recognize the organized existence of the Liberal Republicans whom, in

their national capacity, that body aims to represent and direct," and then

Resolved, That in view of the formidable influence with which events have invested the men of independent opinions in the politics of the country, and of the importance of unity of action in their efforts for reform, we advise the Liberal Republicans of the State of New York to await the action of the approaching conventions in Cincinnati and St. Louis, with the purpose of directing their support to any unobjectionable Presidential candidate thereby nominated, or in default thereof, of participating with other non-partisan or independent electors in whatever feasible movement shall seem to promise the delivery of our National Government and institutions from the ravages of corruption.

When the reform doctors disagree, how can the politicians succeed?

...Two really notable gatherings have been held in New York city. One was convened by a letter signed by Messrs. Schurz, Grosvenor, Horace White, and others who led in the Cincinnati movement. The other met at the call of the "National Reform League." The Republican party is nowhere, by platform, declaration, or action, in opposition to the views put forth in either call or expressed at the gatherings alluded to.

An address has been issued by the Reform League's Executive Committee, which reads as follows:

The National Reform League is a popular movement, intended to unite and transform into action that sentiment of the people which everywhere demands reform in the civil service and honest government.

In the accomplishment of its purposes it does not aspire to competition with either of the existing parties in the wielding of political power, but pledges itself to constant and earnest efforts for the overthrow of every influence, whether represented by parties or individuals, which has a tendency to foster or promote corruption.

As an organization formed by representatives from the different States it will seek to give such expression to the demands of patriotic and independent citizens as shall secure through the agency of the existing parties, or by such other means as it may be necessary to adopt, a policy in harmony with the best sentiment of the people.

Its members regard with alarm the state of affairs which permits the election of venal and incompetent men to positions of trust, the bartering, for unworthy considerations,

of appointments to places of honor and profit, and the consequent shameful malfeasance in office. They look upon the corruption by which these things are rendered possible as a cause for immediate and indignant action on the part of the great mass of the people who do not recognize as their proper representatives the trafficking politicians into whose hands the management of the national affairs has so largely fallen.

They believe that the redemption of the country from the hands of those who have thus betrayed the trust of the people demands the exercise—through the existing parties if possible, independently of them if necessary—of a power vested in the hands of those whose utterances shall represent the intelligence and patriotism of the country; and whose work, uninfluenced by the hidden machinery of party politics, shall be open, honest, and thorough.

Thus believing the members of the National Reform League will stand pledged to the use of all legitimate means for securing the nomination and election to the Chief Magistracy of the nation, and to all minor offices, National, State, and local, of men who shall worthily represent the people and the institutions of the United States. * *

This is signed by Henry Randall Waite, J. G. Holland, Franz Sigel, George H. Putnam, R. Heber Newton, George Cary Eggleston, and Kinahan Cornwallis, of New York; James Freeman Clarke, Henry T. Cheever, and Henry F. Bishop, of Massachusetts; M. S. Dudley, of Connecticut; Samuel C. Anderson and R. W. Weeks, of New Jersey; John Sill, of Pennsylvania; James D. Browne, of Virginia; R. Brinkerhoff and M. D. Harter, of Ohio; and John W. Hoyt, of Wisconsin. These gentlemen compose the Executive Committee.

...At the conference held on the 15th May, under the Carl Schurz call, among the officers appointed were the following:

President—Theodore D. Woolsey. Vice-Presidents—G. G. Fogg, New Hampshire; C. W. Willard, Vermont; H. L. Pierce, Martin Bremmer, Julius H. Seelye, Mark Hopkins, James F. Clark, Massachusetts; Leonard Bacon, Joseph Cummings, Connecticut; R. Hazard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Rhode Island; W. C. Bryant, John Jay, O. Ottendorfer, E. Salomen, Branford R. Wood, Cyrus W. Field, Charles Butler, and Samuel Osgood, New York; Thomas Balch, Henry Lea, A. M. Welsh, Pennsylvania; ex-Governor Miller, J. D. Cox, Ohio; Colonel Martin, Indiana; John D. Bryant and Robert Collyer, Illinois; M. M. Davis

and F. W. Horn, Wisconsin; John McNeil and Joseph S. Rollins, Missouri. Secretaries—H. C. Lodge, Massachusetts; F. A. Walker, Connecticut; H. A. Brown, Pennsylvania; A. Thieme, Ohio; Thomas Clark, Missouri.

All the New England names are those of gentlemen who have always been identified with the Republican party. So also with most of those from New York. Ottendorfer has always been, and still is, a German Democratic leader. Mr. Rollins, of Missouri, has had no regular associations, sometimes acting with both parties, for a long time past. Nearly all the others who participated are still affiliated with the Republican party. It is worthy notice that however exaggerated may be the appeals made, yet all these efforts looking to reform come from those who are in full accord with the principles and policy under and by which the Republican party have accomplished so much.

There were a great many Jeremiahs in the assemblage, and a dismal picture was drawn. President Woolsey, who thinks honor does not belong to a Democracy, declared that the country blushed with shame. The meeting was to decide how to remove the blushes. Carl Schurz described himself and associates as on the fence, afraid of the mud on the either side. Dr. Osgood didn't like the odor from the White House and made a wry speech thereat. Mr. McVeigh thought the confreres were boys in politics and thought they would do better to be personal and definite. He wanted to recommend Mr. Bristow. Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., didn't see it, and would wait for a report from their committees. A Philadelphia Henry Brown declared that a rigorous course of politics had excluded every respectable man from office in that city. He forgot to mention that a rigorous abstention from voting by from fifty to one hundred thousand respectable citizens thereof had more to do with it. Dr. Bacon wanted the country's debts paid, and Professor Seelye did not believe the American people either "fallen or degenerated." There were some cases of corruption, but very few. A courageous, self-forgetting man as President would reform even these. Colonel Higginson thought the Re-

party would do well, it only needed stirring up; and busy Wm. Welsh, of Pennsylvania, thought the people were not slaves but in the hands of office-seekers. The conference seemed to be a confusion of tongues, indeed.

After deciding against all Presidential making, the conference adopted an address, which begins by a declaration that no new party organization is sought. Most of those represented adhere to old and cherished associations, and would be best gratified by seeing candidates nominated having the requisites now esteemed imperative. But the moral reform of our public concerns is above all party considerations. The presentation simply of a choice of evils is a prolific source of public corruption. It renders possible that subtle tyranny of organization which must be broken. The address earnestly hopes that all efforts within party lines for reform may be successful, but is not hopeful to that end. Demonstrations must be made in their aid. An appeal is therefore made to all agreeing to organize, and manifest their opinion in or out of party lines. Let every effort be made to influence nominating conventions in the best way to aid the Republic's best interest. It closes and is signed as follows:

Our generation has to open the second century of our national life, as the fathers opened the first. Theirs was the work of independence; ours is the work of reformation. The one is as vital now as the other was then. Now, as then, every true man must have the courage of his duty.

CARL SCHURZ, Missouri, Chairman.

MARTIN BRIMMER, Massachusetts.

L. F. S. FOSTER, Connecticut.

PARKE GODWIN, New York.

JOHN W. HOYT, Wisconsin.

Published by order of the conference.

Signed by

THEO. WOLSEY, *President*.

If it were not irreverent, the parallel to the spirit of this occasion might be found in the parable of the Pharisee, who made broad his phylactery and raised his voice aloud, thanking God he was not as other men, even as this publican—Republican we should say the modern Pharisees meant.

...The Prohibitionists of Kansas have put the following ticket in the field: Governor, Col. John P. St. John; Lieutenant Governor, Wm. Fairchild; Auditor, Hon. P. I. Bone-

brake; Secretary of State, M. E. Hudson; Treasurer, John Francis; Superintendent Public Instruction, Professor B. F. Mudge; Associate Justice, Judge D. J. Brewer.

...A National Prohibition Convention met at Cleveland, Ohio, May 17. The attendance was not large. Green Clay Smith, ex-Member of Congress from Kentucky, was nominated for president, and G. F. Stewart, of Ohio, for vice president. The platform adopted urged an amendment of the Constitution so as to make prohibitory legislation universal and permanent; conclusion of treaties with foreign Powers to prevent the importation of liquors; abolition of class legislation; reduction of rates of postage, telegraphs, transportation, and travel; suppression of gambling; abolition of polygamy and the social evil; national observance of the Sabbath; compulsory education; use of the Bible in the public schools; complete separation of Church and State; settlement of international disputes by arbitration; prison reform; direct election of the President by the people; protection and equal rights to immigrants; issue of paper money only by the Government, and redeemable on demand in specie; reduction of expenditures; and thorough investigation of corruption.

HYPOCRITICAL CLAMOR.—The country is about sick of the hypocritical clamor about political corruption. There is less now than fifty years ago. The standard of public morality is higher than ever before. If a few spots, ugly-looking to the eye, are found on the surface, it is because the people are searching for them. Never since the beginning of the Government have the people been so vigilant and so deeply interested in political affairs as at the present time. This has led to a higher standard of merit in public men. Officials who, twenty years ago, could have enriched themselves without detection can find no rest or comfort now. It is safe to say, that, considering the immense transactions of the Government, the vast interests involved, the hundreds of millions yearly expended, that the percentage of official dishonesty is smaller now than under the most favored period of our national existence. The cry of "Thief, stop thief!" comes from those who are thieves themselves, who hope, by raising a false alarm, to keep the vigilant eye of the people off their own rascally purposes. Depend upon it, this cry of public corruption comes either from Democrats who wish to get their arms into the public treasury, or from sore-headed politicians who see no chance of their personal promotion except through the formation of a third party, that shall be run in their interests and under their management.

WASHINGTON'S VETOES.

We are asked, "Did George Washington ever exercise the veto power during his Presidency; and if so, under what circumstances?"

Washington "exercised the veto power" twice. His first veto is dated April 5, 1792, and returns to the House of Representatives "an act for an apportionment of representation among the several States according to the first enumeration."

It was the first act under the Constitution for an apportionment of representation among the several States. In the House, (which embraced such men as James Madison, Elbridge Gerry, William B. Giles, Fisher Ames, Theodore Sedgwick, Fred. A. Muhlenburg, Nathaniel Macon, Thomas Sumter, and Thomas Tudor Tucker,) a very animated and interesting debate had occurred upon its passage, and the wide difference of opinion expressed witnesses the speculative character of the notions then held upon the subject by leading men.

The Constitution had fixed the minimum ratio at one representative to every 30,000 persons. According to that ratio under the apportionment of the new census the number of members of the House would be increased to 113, which some feared was dangerously large, and moved to strike out 30,000 and increase the ratio to 35,000, and to 40,000. A lively debate ensued.

Some urged that the existing representation was too small to secure the liberties of the country; that if the number be small a majority may be the more easily corrupted; that the people expected an increase in the representation; that an increased representation would be a security against corruption; and the necessary additional expense in the increased total of the pay of members would be trifling as compared with the benefits; that the expense would be more than compensated by the shortening of the session, as a larger number would have a greater capacity for work and by the greater security to the liberties of the people. Indeed, the existence of the Union might depend upon the fullness of the representation. Hence they favored the retention of the Constitutional minimum of 30,000.

Others again contended that an increased representation would positively endanger the liberties of the republic; that the total of pay would not only be increased, but the number of officers would be increased, and every man would wish his friend provided for; that corruption would necessarily be the consequence; that the corruption of the French Assembly was owing to its large numbers; that a very numerous representation would weaken, if not destroy, the State and Federal Governments; that an increase would divide and diminish the responsibility of the House, make it too unwieldy, and retard public business. Hence, they moved to increase the ratio of representation.

A jealousy or fear of the Executive cropped out strongly with some. The Federal Government was "already pretty highly seasoned with prerogative"—already overshadowed the popular branch, and with a small representation, and its manifold forces of corruption, would soon destroy its integrity. Others again saw in an energetic government the only guaranty of the blessings of liberty; but Mr. Giles was the strongest exponent of the Democratic notions of the period. He said:

"An inequality of circumstances produces revolutions in government—from democracy to aristocracy and monarchy. Great wealth produces a desire of distinctions, rank, and titles. The revolutions in property in this country have produced great inequality of circumstances. Government has contributed to this inequality. The Bank of the United States is a most important machine in promoting the objects of this moneyed interest. This bank will be the most powerful engine to corrupt this House. Some of the members are directors of this institution, and it will only be by increasing the representation that an adequate barrier can be opposed to this moneyed interest." * * * "The strong Executive of this Government ought to be balanced by a full representation in the House."

The result of the debate was the passage of a bill which Washington was compelled to veto, principally because it violated the Con-

stitution "in allotting in eight of the States more than one in every 30,000."

In the House, the vote upon the passage of the bill over the President's veto was: Yeas, 23; nays, 33; Fisher Ames, Elbridge Gerry, Theodore Sedgwick, and Artemas Ward voting for its passage, and Wm B. Giles, Nathaniel Macon, James Madison, Fred. A. Muhlenberg, Thomas Sumter, and Thos. Tudor Tucker voting against its passage.

The second veto is dated February 28, 1798, and returns to the House "an act to ascertain and fix the military establishment of the United States," partly because it discharged from the military service men without providing means for their payment from the date of the law and that of their muster out, but chiefly because of the inconvenience and injury to the public interest by mustering out men engaged in a necessary and important service.

MUNICIPAL AND TOWN ELECTIONS.

The drift wood floating on a stream indicate often the force of the current. Straws, says the old adage, show which way the wind blows. With all due respect to the local self pride which may be affected by being looked at as drift wood or straws, it is worth while to note somewhat in consecutive order the results of the various local elections throughout the country during the past three months.

From the beginning of the current year (1876) the great majority of the municipal elections have, as is usual in the Presidential period, been decided on partisan proclivities and interests. It is not, as a rule, a good year for Independents, and the rule holds more than good at the present time.

The New England town elections all tended toward one point—an increased Republican activity. In New Hampshire especially their results clearly indicated the later triumph had in the State. In Connecticut, too, they gave reasonable hope of a similar result. The disappointment seems due to apathy and want of capacity in conducting the campaign. The Maine elections were very significant, the city of Portland, among others, being carried by the Republicans the first time for several years.

In the State of New York elections for supervisors are always closely watched by the politicians who "make slates" and forecast probabilities. Especially is this the case in the Presidential year. The Republican party made large gains, carrying nearly one hundred more supervisors than it did in 1875.

Along the whole line of cities and States,

especially those regarded as doubtful, the Republicans made clear and positive gains.

In Michigan, for instance, where last spring the reaction almost reached to the "bed-rock," the political complexion of the supervisors elected is more than satisfactory. The results given in forty-six counties of that State as compared with last year will prove this. Counting the liberals and independents as Democrats, and in the forty-six counties alluded to the Republicans gained fifty-six supervisors. The totals were as follows:

	Total No. of Supervisors.	
	1875.	1876.
Republicans.....	472	528
Democrats.....	333	279
Majority.....	139	249

The county elections in New Jersey follow, as a general thing, the same rule as those of New York. At the elections last fall, when members of the Legislature and sheriffs were to be elected, the result was an almost complete reversal of the Democratic gains of the year preceding. At the recent local elections the same result is seen. A majority of the counties elect Republicans.

Mercer county gave a marked victory. In Jersey City, the Republican mayor was elected by about 400 majority against a Democratic majority last year of 3,000. In Union, Passaic, and Morris counties the Board of Chosen Freeholders will be Republican.

But Indiana, as a decidedly "doubtful" State, has been watched with great interest. The results of the municipal elections therein surprise even the most sanguine Republicans. The city of Indianapolis was carried by a Republican majority of 4,315, and this, too, in the face of an apportionment expressly made by a Democratic Common Council to prevent it, and in despite of a violent riot designed to deter voters.

The Republicans also carried Lafayette, Fort Wayne, South Bend, Terre Haute, Laporte, Richmond, Rochester, Wabash, Franklin, Warsaw, Lebanon, Crawfordsville, Elkhart, Greensburg, Greencastle, Shelbyville, Kokomo, Bloomington, Connorsville, and Madison out of the twenty-five principal places in the State. Plymouth, Valparaiso, Logansport, and New Albany alone were carried by the Democracy. In Shelbyville, usually Democratic and the home of

Governor Hendricks, the Republicans carried every ward. There were many other changes quite as striking.

Similar reports come from all quarters. The Illinois town elections were generally in the same groove. So with those of Kansas, Nebraska, California, etc. If, as political managers, these indications are signs of significant portent, then the prospects for a Republican victory, through hard work and strong nominations, are very encouraging.

THE RIGHT OF TAXATION AND THE RAILROADS.

The Supreme Court has recently rendered a very important decision, unanimous in character and delivered through Mr. Justice Miller. It was on a case of appeal, taken by certain Illinois railroads, against the right of that State under the new constitution, and by means of the State Board of Equalization, to levy certain taxes on such corporations, under the following provision:

Sec. 10. The rolling stock, and all other moveable property belonging to any railroad company or corporation in this State, shall be considered personal property, and shall be liable to execution and sale in the same manner as the personal property of individuals, and the General Assembly shall pass no law exempting such property from execution and sale.

Mr. Justice Miller's decision and review establishes the following important propositions:

First. Neither irregularity in the proceedings, excess in the valuation, nor hardship of the law, if it be constitutional, nor any grievance remediable by a suit at law will authorize an injunction against the collection of taxes.

Second. This rule is founded on the principle that the levy of taxes is a legislative and not a judicial function, and also in the necessity that the taxes, without which the State cannot exist, should be regularly and promptly paid into its treasury.

Third. The same rigid rule would probably not apply to taxes levied by municipal corporations for corporation purposes.

Fourth. No injunction preliminary or final can be granted to stay collection of taxes until it is shown that all the taxes really due have been paid or tendered without demanding a receipt in full.

Fifth. The Constitution of Illinois declares in express terms that certain persons and corporations engaged in special pursuits may be taxed by a general law, uniform as to the class upon which it operates, and under this provision a statute is not unconstitutional which prescribes a different rule of taxation

for railroad companies from that for individuals.

Sixth. Nor does it violate any provision of the Constitution of the United States.

Seventh. The capital stock, franchises, and all the real and personal property of corporations are justly liable to taxation, and a rule that ascertains the value of all this by ascertaining the cash value of the funded debt, and of the shares of the capital stock, as the basis of assessment, is probably as fair as any other.

Eighth. Deducting from this the assessed value of all the tangible real and personal property, which is also taxed, leaves the real value of the capital stock and franchise subject to taxation as justly as any other mode, all modes being more or less imperfect.

Ninth. It is neither in conflict with the Constitution of Illinois nor unequitable that the entire taxable property of the railroad should be ascertained by the State Board of Equalization, and that the State, county, and city taxes should be collected within each municipality on this assessment in the proportion which the length of the road within such municipality bears to the whole length of the road within the State.

Tenth. The courts cannot substitute their judgment as to valuation for that of the Board.

Eleventh. The Supreme Court of Illinois having decided that the law complained of in these cases is valid, this court adopts that decision as a rule to be followed in the Federal courts.

Twelfth. Does it follow that in cases where the proceedings are faulty or illegal that a court of equity will enjoin the collection of the whole tax, when it is obvious that a large part should be paid, and if not paid the complainant would escape taxation altogether? The question is important because the immense weight of taxation rendered necessary by the debts of the United States, of the several States, and of the counties, cities, and towns, has resulted very naturally in a resort to every possible expedient to evade its force. It has been repeatedly decided that neither the mere illegality of the tax

complained of, nor its injustice nor irregularity, of themselves give the right to an injunction.

The United States has a complete system for the correction of injustice to tax-payers, but there is no place in it for application to the Courts until after the tax is paid. An act of 1867 covers this point particularly. This is a wise policy. It is founded on the simple philosophy derived from the experience of ages, that the payment of taxes has to be enforced by summary and stringent means against a reluctant and often ill-advised sentiment. No court of equity will, therefore, allow its injunction to issue to restrain their action, except where it appears that the enforcement of the tax would lead to a multiplicity of suits or produce irreparable injury, or, when the property is real estate, throw a cloud upon the title of the complainant before the aid of a court of equity can be invoked. The Court will always incline to require a clear case of equitable relief before it will sustain an injunction against the collection of a tax, which is part of the revenue of a State.

But there is another principle of equitable jurisprudence which forbids in these cases the interference of a court of chancery in favor of complainants. It is that universal rule which requires that he who seeks equity at the hands of the court must first do equity. It is clear that the road-bed within each county is liable to be taxed at the same rate that other property is taxed. Why have not complainants paid this tax?

Before complainants seek the aid of the court to be relieved of the excessive tax they should pay what is due. Before they ask equitable relief they should do that justice which is necessary to enable the court to hear them.

It is a satisfaction that our judgment concurs with that of the State Court, and leads us to the same conclusions. The decrees in all these cases are reversed. The cases are remanded to the Circuit Court, with directions to dissolve the injunction granted in each case and to dismiss the bills.

Justice Miller's reputation as a jurist, already so high, will be greatly enhanced by this luminous exposition of jurisprudence as applied to the relations of the State and the railway system. Step by step, in that broad and popular sense without which no political truth can become a practical rule of action in a democratic society, we are coming to an acceptance of the great fact that railroads, like telegraphs and banks, are in no just sense private enterprises or property, but public trusts, chartered by the State and deriving their only vitality from such action, "charged with remuneration for private capital invested, or run by private corporations because the public feel that to be the most convenient method of management." This doctrine once accepted offers open roads to correct all evils arising from present or future monopolies. The profit made is of course taxable, as are also the means of making it.

CIVIL LIBERTY.

In October, 1840, Robert H. Morris, then Recorder of the city of New York, proceeded in the night time to the house of a citizen and demanded of him certain papers which were sealed in a package, and had been delivered to that citizen by an individual against whom a criminal complaint had been made before the Recorder, "which complaint did not involve the charge of having unlawfully obtained the papers" so demanded. The citizen hesitated to deliver the papers. The Recorder then declared to him that if he did not deliver the same, he, the Recorder, would search for the papers and forcibly seize them by virtue of his authority as a magistrate. Under the coercion of this threat the papers were delivered to the Recorder.

Governor Seward promptly removed the Recorder from office on the ground that he had clearly violated the constitutional right of the citizen to be secure in his person and papers.* The Governor held that any search warrant for the private papers of the accused, "which papers were not alleged to have been lawfully stolen or unlawfully acquired,"

would have been a violation of the most sacred private rights and of the most cherished principles of civil liberty, and that the seizure of the papers *without warrant on oath* was a flagrant aggravation of the offense. The Attorney General discussed the grave question in a luminous report of the case. It is needless to say that the Recorder was a Democrat, and that he committed the outrage in the interest of the Democratic party, which afterward elected him Mayor of the city of New York.

We all know where that party stands, to-day, on the question of Civil Liberty. A citizen of Washington refused to deliver up his private papers unless some charge under oath was made that those papers were in some manner connected with crime or feloniously or unlawfully acquired.

For thus claiming his constitutional rights he was for a political object only sent to the common jail and there imprisoned like a felon!

[*See Constitution of the United States, Amendments, Article IV.]

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1876.

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VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH, 1876.

No. 3.

WHAT MUST BE DONE IN THE CRISIS?

We have proceeded thus far in the discussion of the Southern question entirely upon the theory that reconciliation is an essential element in producing a true and lasting union of the States, and that reconciliation can be arrived at only by the hearty adoption on the part of the South of the conditions under which the readmission of the States was effected, viz: the amendments to the Constitution. These amendments involve the equality of the colored people before the law, and also before public opinion. Whately says: "If there be any one truth which the deductions of reason alone, independent of history, would lead us to anticipate, and which again history alone would establish independently of antecedent reasoning, it is this: that a whole class of men placed permanently under the ascendancy of another as subjects without the rights of citizens must be a source, at the best, of weakness, and generally of danger, to the State."

The disposition to be made of the colored people has been from the first the only question of grave moment, assuming that loyalty to the Union has been secured on the part of the late rebels. All thought of punishment of the mass of rebels was universally abandoned at the moment Lee surrendered, and not for years has there been any expectation that even Jeff Davis would be required to suffer any penalty for offenses committed against the United States. The desire for a restoration of good feeling led the Republican party to a policy of absolute forgiveness as fast as prudence would permit, if not much faster, and amnesty was tendered

right and left with the largest liberality, and restrictions which were chiefly mere matters of form. Had these favors, which were pure offerings of grace, been accepted in the spirit which prompted them, this part of the difficulty would have been arranged and ended; but the language used in Congress shows that they failed of securing reconciliation, and the demand still is that something more shall be done to secure it. What that something is they call self government, or local government, but they really mean a government by the white race alone. This is the substance of all the complaints made against the measures of reconstruction which were adopted, all other objections being aimed at administration of affairs in which individuals and not the National Government were chiefly at fault.

The governments of the States by the colored people were not satisfactory, and it was not in the nature of things that they should be. A whole race born into slavery and brought up in ignorance could not be expected to become wise legislators in a moment. There was ignorance, and corruption, and mismanagement—still not worse than the municipal corruption and mismanagement in some of our large cities, and not so bad as that of Tweed in the city of New York. If, however, we turn the case around, and see how the white people have for generations stripped their colored brethren of houses, lands, and all the earnings of their hands, and of all chance to profit by their wits, we shall realize that the colored people are not the only sinners, and that on the score of hardship and suffering they are ye

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much the heaviest victims. We do not say this in justification, but it palliates largely the offense which the colored people have perpetrated, and must be taken into account in striking a balance between the races, if a balance is demanded by those who are now crying out and bewailing their fearful sufferings.

But our purpose is not to attack or defend either side. We are stating some unpleasant truths because they are truths, and not to villify, and because it is important to look at the actual condition of things in order to any improvement therein. The elements of the problem we are dealing with are perplexing to the last degree, and the evils of the situation are not of a nature to be cured by a few centennial speeches, dinners, hand shakings, and complimentary resolutions of conventions, boards of trade, and ecclesiastical councils. The question goes directly to the foundations of society in the Southern States. Two races with wide differences in their composition and temperament and considerable differences in capacity occupy the ground together, the inferior race striving to place itself on a level with the other, and at this distance of time from the adoption of the constitutional amendments which were intended to secure their rights they are met by prejudices which are so violent, and by measures so unjustifiable, as to amount to a practical defeat of those amendments.

This condition of hostility between the races is fatal to Southern progress, fatal to industrial success, fatal to social order, fatal to the redemption of the South from its extreme of weakness and poverty. The colored people know now that they are men, that they are free men, that they are entitled to a recognition of their rights, and they are so nearly like other men that any serious infringement of their rights, any serious oppression, any systematic and continued wrong will certainly arouse in them and keep up a burning flame of revenge and retaliation; and this is nothing more or less than war. And such a war must drive away capital, frighten and keep away the enterprising and energetic elements of population which have done so much for New England

and New York, and built up the great West with such astonishing rapidity. Unless the South can organize industry and increase her productions she must continue to fall behind, and she must become to the rest of the country what Ireland has been to England. The load of debt and taxation which rests upon that section can only be lifted by industry intelligently directed, and by thrift. The curse of God rested on slavery as all now can see, but it rests also upon society in a state of anarchy, and upon unintelligent labor. Social anarchy can be averted only by justice and a recognition of the rights of the oppressed, and intelligent industry can be secured only by the common school and by social peace.

The condition of industry in the South is something appalling. Much of the population is unfit for mechanical employment, lacking skill, ingenuity, the inventive and executive faculty. A large moiety of the people not only work at a great disadvantage but they spoil the raw material, and destroy the machinery and works which others have made. Look at an ignorant, blundering servant girl. How she smashes the china and costly glassware, wastes the fuel, burns out prematurely the cooking stove, defaces furniture, walls, and the ornamentation of the house, and reigns in her realm with a carelessness that is destructive of both property and the peace of mind of the proprietor. And it is the same with the serving man-of-all-work. He leaves the hoe and shovel where they can be readily stolen, leaves the harness out in the rain to spoil, drives the wagon against somebody's carriage, causing damage to both vehicles, and in a thousand ways destroys property and renders himself a curse to his employer and the community. But all this appertains entirely to the simpler forms of labor, and is a mere trifle to what is lost to the producing force of society by rendering whole classes of men, white as well as black, unfit for any higher order of work. The difference between intelligent and unintelligent labor can be measured in various ways: by comparing one man with another, one village with another, one section of country with another. It can be measured by dollars and cents, and

is so measured by boss and hand, by master and servant, by manufacturer and employee, and by every one who has labor to buy or labor to sell. A strong, healthy, industrious man will break his back at shoveling gravel and accept a dollar for a day's work with gladness, while the skilled mechanic will receive for the same outlay of strength, or less, three or four dollars during the same time. The hand on the farm will earn thirty dollars per month, and the serving man only ten.

The difference in these prices is due entirely to the difference in intelligence between the two classes. Payment is according to product, and product depends upon skill and knowledge. As the result of knowledge the poor soil and bleak hills of Massachusetts are made to yield more from year to year, while for the want of knowledge the fertile valleys of Virginia have gradually been running out and the population have been reduced to extremity. Ignorance, therefore, is plainly destructive. It impoverishes labor; it reduces the productive power of the community; it robs the stomachs of people by disabling them of the power to get proper and sufficient food; it robs the backs of men and women by destroying their power to obtain proper and sufficient clothing; it reduces the value of land by bad methods of cultivation; and, worse than all, it creates a dangerous, turbulent, vicious population which effectually excludes healthy immigration to keep up the recuperative energy of the community. The safety of the State, the recuperation of the State, the happiness of the people, and the proper organization of industry in the Southern States all depend primarily upon education, as may be readily seen by what we have said above, and, without an improvement of a marked character in the interest which the Southern leaders have in the cause of education, there is absolutely no hope for that section of the country.

We have arrived now on practical ground. There must be equality of rights, and the population must be educated. As it is unsafe to the whole Union to have one entire section remain ignorant and turbulent, and as it is unprofitable to have the people of

an entire section ground down in the dust by poverty, and to have their labor misdirected and but half rewarded, this question becomes one of high national concern and transcendantly important. The whole future of the country hangs upon this issue. North, West, South are vitally interested in its determination; and we are driven to ask, "What are you going to do about it?" "Can we save the country?"

When the war broke out the people responded by saying "We can;" and the job was undertaken. They waded through oceans of blood; but the work is yet unfinished. The Democratic party throws itself in front of the friends of equality and education and demands a halt. It signalizes its return to partial power by bringing in a bill to abolish the Bureau of Education. It goes with unerring instinct against all the prominent instrumentalities of education and the dissemination of knowledge. It goes back on the ideas of all the Presidents from Washington to Polk, and frowns upon the efforts of the apostles of education, and proposes to cut the official throat of every disseminator of human knowledge within its reach. The beggared South, unable to provide the means for teaching its children the alphabet, and doubly unable to secure and maintain an organization which shall collate and publish the facts and statistics necessary to an organized system of education, is to be deprived of the only agency which can be made available to promote the great cause of the common people and the great cause of all the people.

The Democrats strike at education because they are not in sympathy with knowledge and equality. The Southern white man's party hopes to keep the negro under by keeping him ignorant, and it offers the votes of the Southern States solid as the consideration to the Democracy for making war upon the machinery of education and upon all measures for the protection of the colored man's rights. Slavery is dead, but ignorance and inequality, disunionism and Democracy, are still in alliance and go hand in hand as lovingly as in former days when slavery was with them as senior partner and chief capitalist. Education can be carried only by the triumph of the party of education, and without education the South must

remain ignorant, poor, disturbed, discouraged, an element of weakness to the Union, a foe to good government, and her own worst enemy.

To avert this great calamity the triumph of the Republican party is necessary. Dispute as we may about the fact of present outrages, quarrel as we may about the regu-

larity of elections, scoff as we will concerning "the bloody shirt," there is danger in the situation as important to have met, and met rightly, as any of the appalling dangers which have been met and conquered in the past. The mission of the Republican party is not ended. We are not out of the woods. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

TO THE SURVIVORS OF REBEL PRISON PENS.

Jefferson Davis, in a letter dated New Orleans, Louisiana, January 29, 1876, and addressed to the Honorable James Lyons, Petersburg, Virginia, makes a defiant denial of the arraignment made by the Honorable James G. Blaine, of Maine, and by General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, of his direct and personal responsibility for the cruel treatment of the Union soldiers who were prisoners of war to the Confederacy of which Mr. Davis was President. He goes further, and, like Mr. Benjamin H. Hill, Representative in the Forty fourth Congress, from Georgia, who was also a member of the Confederate States Senate, from the same State, the rebel ex-President denies altogether that unnecessary suffering ensued among, or unjustifiable harshness or cruelty was practiced against, those of our soldiers who were so unfortunate as to be prisoners within the pens at Andersonville, Florence, Salisbury, Belle Isle, and Tyler, or in the tobacco warehouses of Libby and Castle Thunder. The denial is a bold and sweeping one. Its audacity rises to sublimity. It not only denies but accuses. The Union is assailed as having, through its officials and policy, treated the Confederate prisoners in its hands as bad or worse than our men were used at Andersonville, Belle Isle, and elsewhere. It is also charged with causing the sufferings of the latter by the policy it pursued of refusing to exchange.

Now, as to one part of Mr. Jefferson Davis' denial and counter accusation, there is a direct and unassailable method of obtaining evidence. The survivors of the rebel prison pens still remain among us. Those of Andersonville formed an association which is still in existence. We call upon every man who was captured and confined by the Confederates during the civil war for slavery

and disunion to at once give to the public a brief and direct account of his personal experiences. Let each man write to the nearest Republican paper a simple statement of his name, regiment, rank, date of capture, length of confinement, when exchanged, the treatment he himself received as to food, shelter, medical care, &c., as well as to the action of those in charge. Avoid all rhetoric, denounce no one, give as far as practicable the names of Confederate officers, &c., in command; also, any special instances as to others known to the survivors, the details of which are readily substantiable.

With regard to the treatment of rebel prisoners in the northern entrepôts, there is as direct a method of obtaining reliable testimony. Officers who were in command of such prisons are still living, as are also soldiers who were stationed thereat. Their evidence will be of value. In every place where such prisons were located local sanitary and Christian associations existed, the members of which busied themselves in caring for the sick and wounded, and in visiting the prisons and camps. Reputable citizens at Elmira, Rock Island, Chicago, Columbus, and elsewhere know the facts. Let them give their testimony. The honor of one's country should be sacred. We who fought for liberty and union surely have as vital an interest in that honor as the men who compeiled us to fight by their mad attempt to perpetuate slavery and destroy the Union. Let us have the facts.

Bear in mind that the object of such communications is not partisan but historical. Two civilizations or systems of government have been and still are on trial. This question of Andersonville and its attendant horrors belong to the trial. The case has been reopened, and the verdict once solemnly rendered is now challenged. A cloud of witnesses are still living. Let them give the facts. Communications can also be sent to the office of THE REPUBLIC, Washington, D. C., if writers do not desire to send to their county or other journals. Let every man respond, and at once. The good name of the Union is sought to be assailed, and a feculent treason seeks historical vindication by these audacious falsehoods.

SUMMARY OF THE FIELD WORK OF THE HAYDEN GEOLOGICAL SURVEY DURING THE SEASON OF 1875.

The United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, under the direction of Professor Hayden, during the season of 1875 continued its work of the two previous seasons in Colorado, completing the southern and southwestern portions, including a belt, fifteen miles in width, of northern New Mexico and eastern Utah.

The entire force of the survey was divided into seven parties for special duty, four of which were assigned to specific areas for the performance of topographical and geological work. One party attended to the primary triangulation; a second collected photographic views of the most interesting scenery and ancient ruins, while a third transported the supplies to the various districts.

The areas for exploration the present season were much further from the base of supplies than heretofore, rendering the labor greater and causing great loss of time in traveling to and from these bases. Yet the amount of topographical and geological work accomplished has not been exceeded by any previous year.

As heretofore, the starting point was at Denver. The first or southern division operated in southeastern Colorado. It was composed of A. D. Wilson, chief topographer, directing; Franklin Rhoda, assistant topographer; Dr. F. M. Eudlich, geologist; with two packers and a cook. The district surveyed by this party embraced an area of 12,400 square miles. Within these limits Mr. Wilson made 143 stations on the more commanding peaks.

A system of triangles was extended over the whole area, while at the same time the topographical sketches and angles were taken, barometrical readings were made at all occupied points, at all camps, passes, and other places of note visited during the season. Many of the stations have been carefully connected in height by fore and back angles of elevation and depression, to be used as a check on the barometric heights, while the heights of all located points have

been determined by a system of angles of depression and elevation.

The district assigned to this division for the summer of 1875 joined on to the south borders of that surveyed in 1873 and 1874. The $104^{\circ} 30'$ longitude formed the eastern, 108° longitude the western, and $36^{\circ} 45' N.$ latitude the southern boundaries. About 12,400 square miles were contained in the district.

A plan for the most rapid and successful completion of the work undertaken was prepared by Mr. Wilson and subsequently carried out as proposed. This district contained the foot-hills sloping eastward from the Front range, the southern continuation of the Sangre de Cristo range, the southern end of San Luis valley, the extension of the La Plata mountains, and the lower country of the Rio San Juan and its tributaries. A small portion of the sedimentary eastern foot-hills was first surveyed, and the work then carried westward to the mountainous vicinity of the Upper Rio Grande. Instead of forming a well-defined, sharply-limited range, the mountains south of the Rio Grande are formed by a high plateau with numerous isolated peaks. Both plateau and the peaks mentioned are volcanic, showing the characteristic regularity of flows prevalent there. From the position of volcanic beds composing the higher peaks, it may be inferred that at one time the summit of the plateau extended to a considerably higher altitude than at present. Toward the southwest it drops off suddenly into the lower country containing Rios Piedra and Pinos. Presenting a line of steep, rough mountains—formed in part by the abrupt termination of the plateau, in part by the peaks above mentioned—the former contrasts strongly with the rich land in the valleys of the two rivers. Here, as at so many points in the districts surveyed by the southern division, the geological features determine the orographic character. With the plateau end the volcanic beds and the sedimentaries of cretaceous age set in. But few stratigraphic

ical disturbances have changed the relative position of the beds, and the country therefore shows regular features. Long lines of high ridges, abrupt on the north side, sloping more gently toward the south, extend from east to west, and are cut by the drainage of the San Juan. Eastward the edge of the plateau recedes, losing at the same time some of its roughness, and a broad expanse of comparatively low, bluff country appears. Rich valleys, partly timbered or covered with grass, follow the course of the larger streams, owing their formations to the rapid erosions and ready disintegration of the shales belonging to Cretaceous No. 2. Springs containing an unusual amount of mineral ingredients, some of them hot, occur in these valleys. Owing to the slight southerly dip of the cretaceous beds, this formation claims a considerable area of the region extending from the Rio Animas eastward to the border of the district. Above the well-determined strata of Nos. 2 and 3 a series of shales and sandstones set in, in which no characteristic fossils whatever were found. They reach a thickness of about 3,000 feet, and contain coal at a number of points. It will not be possible to determine their geological age with any degree of certainty until careful comparisons of the parallel formations observed by Mr. Holmes and Dr. Peale can be made. The absence of fossils is greatly to be regretted, but none were found, although many square miles were traversed containing the series. Speaking with the reserve that imperfect comparison of the notes taken dictates, it would appear that the Trinidad coal-bearing series is parallel to this one.

After having completed the survey of this lower region along the Rio San Juan and its tributaries, the work was continued to the extension of the La Plata mountains. Here again volcanic rocks were met with, identical in every respect with those further north and west. Here, as well as previously on the headwaters of the Pinos and Piedra, evidence of former glaciers was found. Considerable areas showed the grooving and striation of rocks in situ, produced by the motion of ice and boulders. Deep canons were cut into, volcanic conglomerate occur-

ring there, that had not preserved the grooving and striation, however, owing to the rapidity with which it yields to the effect of atmospheric influences. A gentle slope eastward of the volcanic rocks, that there reached to the youngest member of the group, basalt, gradually merged into the San Luis valley. Affected by local basaltic eruptions, as well as by the easterly dip of the volcanic beds, the drainage on the west side of this valley presents some interesting features, consisting in sudden curves northward. Northward the unbroken flows of basalt continue on the west side of the valley until Rio Alamosa is reached, where they end and drift begins. A number of volcanic bluffs, trending nearly north and south, separate this portion from the valley through which the Rio Grande runs after making its turn southward west of Fort Garland. This region, geologically, is more interesting than the western one, on account of the evidence furnished demonstrating the existence of two very large lakes at the close of the volcanic activity there. The two were connected by a narrow strip of water south of Fort Garland, and the lower one extended southward nearly to the Rio Colorado. At that time, too, the course of the Rio Grande was different from its present one. By the formation of a narrow canon in the basaltic beds the course of the river was deflected, the lakes drained, and the topography left very nearly in the shape we now observe it. The accurate determination of all the points connected with the existence of these lakes offers no material obstacle, but requires by far more time than could be bestowed upon it in the regular course of the survey.

Separating the eastern foot-hills and the great plains from San Luis valley is the southern continuation of the Sangre de Cristo range. Several peaks of this range rise to an elevation of nearly 14,000 feet, while many of them reach 13,000 feet above sea level. Here again metamorphic rocks set in, containing indications of metalliferous veins. Sedimentary beds, belonging to the carboniferous and cretaceous ages, the latter only on the eastern slope, however, rest against the metamorphic "core" of the range. Volcanic eruptions of the trachytic series have occurred, and show an arrangement parallel to the general course of the

chain. A more or less isolated group of peaks is north of Fort Garland, termed the Sierra Blanca. Passes are both north and south of it—Mosco pass and the Sangre de Christo and Abeyta passes. While cretaceous beds, overlying the carboniferous and subjected to considerable disturbances, slope off from the range toward the eastward, their area is somewhat limited, as the lignitic group there again makes its appearance in the Raton hills and north of them. Lithologically this is identical with the one observed on the Rio San Juan. Comparisons of the succession of strata and relative thickness, &c., will be found in the report for 1875. The age of this group has for some time occupied the attention of geologists and given occasion for dissenting views. It is highly probable that the results obtained during the past season will not admit of a definite decision with regard thereto. They will at least be entitled to more consideration than those of explorers having merely traveled over a limited area, as so large a continuous district containing the formation has been examined. It is not possible at present to state positively what these results will be, but from the observations taken in the field it can be deduced that the age of the lignitic group near Trinidad is *not* cretaceous. A full discussion of this important subject will be found in the report for 1875.

Upon the completion of the examination of the just-mentioned group the work of the season was connected to the north and northeast with that of 1874 and therewith finished. On October 12 the party returned to Denver, having fully accomplished the purpose for which it was sent out. Important and useful information has been obtained regarding mineral and agricultural resources of the district, and data has been obtained for the preparation of a topographical and geological map of the area surveyed.

The southwestern division was conducted by W. H. Holmes as geologist, with G. B. Chittenden as chief topographer and T. S. Brandegee as assistant topographer. Mr. Brandegee acted as botanist also.

The area assigned to this division is bounded on the east by the work done by Mr. Wil-

son in 1874, or a line about on the meridian of 108° west longitude; on the south by the parallel of $36^{\circ} 45'$; on the west by meridian $109^{\circ} 30'$; and on the north by $37^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. These boundaries included an area of about 6,500 square miles. An area of about 500 square miles was surveyed on the eastern base of the mountains on the outward march. Here Mr. Chittenden made about twelve stations, connecting with the former work and completing the sheets to the proposed eastern line of the survey.

The easternmost line of the district assigned to this division was over four hundred miles from Denver. The party arrived there on the 30th June, and commenced work immediately.

The work was generally done by means of the plane table, and re-enforced by both vertical and drainage sketches from all the stations, and also by time meanders of all the main streams, and generally by a running sketch of the routes traveled. The main stations averaged *one to every seventy-five square miles* of area.

By meandering Mr. Chittenden surveyed the San Juan river, the La Plata, the Mancos, and the Dolores, all of them considerable streams, and besides these the McElmo and Montezuma creeks, which, though well defined stream beds, contain no running water. These last named dry rivers are each upwards of seventy-five miles long, and for a considerable part of their course are in deep canons. In the meander he made a trigonometric location as often as once in ten miles.

The great trouble in working was lack of water. The party were often obliged to ride out ten, fifteen, and even twenty miles from the rivers to make a station and back again for camp, because outside of the rivers themselves there was no water at all.

In regard to the systems of working generally employed now in the different surveys west of the Missouri River, the plane-table system which was generally used this summer is admirably adapted to a low broken country, where good "points" are abundant, and works also extremely well in a simple canon country, where there are surrounding prominent points at not too great distance. But

in a mountain country it could not be used to any advantage, and was eventually abandoned in all the mountain work. In low broken and canon country it is probably the best system that can be used; but in the ordinary rolling and mountainous country of the northwest it will not repay the extra weight and time which its use entails.

In any but a very mountainous country a system of *meander* seems to be almost necessary to make work on a scale of four inches to a mile complete. It is the abuse and not the use of the old odometer system that has brought it into so much discredit. If properly checked the meanders give the more important portions of the country, as the traveled routes and principal rivers, the greater degree of accuracy which is their due. The third and only remaining system in use in the West is that generally employed on this survey and formerly used both in the California survey and in that of the 40th parallel. It consists of a system of vertical and horizontal sketches based on a rather elaborate triangulation and checked by numerous angles, both vertical and horizontal. This system is peculiarly adapted to a rolling or mountainous country, and in such country can not be equaled by either of the other modes. It works well, too, in country of different character, and is, probably on the whole, the best system on which to base work in the average country of the West. It should, however, be supplemented by good meanders of all the main roads and rivers. In the work of the survey this summer the three systems were employed, and the above remarks are the immediate result of the summer's observations.

The party completed about six thousand square miles in the West, being obliged, after the trouble with the Indians, to leave unworked a small corner in the Northwest, which will require about five days to complete. This patch joins directly on to Mr. Gannett's uncompleted area, and lies entirely west of the Colorado line. In going to and from the work six full weeks were spent in marching. Mr. Chittenden worked about six thousand five hundred square miles, and made eighty-four main stations.

The geological examination by Mr. Holmes was fruitful of most important results. His

investigations were extended from Colorado into portions of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

No previous study of this region had been made, excepting that by Dr. Newberry, in 1859, of which nothing has been published up to this time.

In 1874, Dr. Eudlich examined the district lying to the east, so that Mr. Holmes took up the work where he left off at 108° west longitude, and carried it without difficulty to $109^{\circ} 30'$. In general the geology is not greatly complicated. The section of stratified rocks exposed extends from the lignitic series to the carboniferous, including about 2,000 feet of the former and slight exposures merely of the latter. About 8,000 feet of measures, therefore, passed under examination. Of other rocks, there are four small areas of trachyte, one limited area of metamorphic rock, and a few unimportant dikes.

Beginning at the east, Dr. Eudlich's section on meridian 108° includes the entire series, beginning with the lower carboniferous in the north and extending up into the tertiary at the south. The strike is east and west, the dip south from 5° to 45° . Working to the westward Mr. Holmes found the whole series flattening out, i. e., approaching a horizontal position. At the same time a gentle rise toward the northwest brings the cretaceous rocks to the surface, or at least up to the general level of the country. The lignitic group is, therefore, confined to the southeast. From Station I an outcrop of the light colored sandstone belonging to the base of this series could be traced along its entire course through his district.

The heaviest seam of coal examined in these beds is 26 feet in thickness. It is rather light and impure on the surface, but probably of moderately good quality. A number of less important seams could also be recognized.

West of the Rio La Plata the upper cretaceous beds are raised to a higher plane by a slight monoclinical fold, after which they spread out to the west, forming the *Mesa Verde*. This plateau extends nearly to the San Juan on the south, west beyond the Rio Mancos, and north to the middle of the district, an area of more than 700 square miles. On

these three sides the mesa breaks abruptly off in lines of irregular escaped cliffs, generally from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in height.

The striking features of this series are the exposures of two horizons of massive sandstones. The upper forms the top of the mesa, the lower, 1,000 feet below, produces a subordinate shelf. Shales intervene between the sandstones of the lignitic and the upper sandstones of the mesa and between these and the lower sandstones. Around the base of the mesa the lower cretaceous shales outcrop. The belt covered by these is narrow and is followed by the hard sandstones of the Dakota group, which is very persistent here as elsewhere, and occupies the higher level of the entire mesa country to the west and north. The jurassic strata and the "red beds" are exposed in the sides and bottoms of the numerous canons and stream courses, the latter only in the greater valleys, and in patches about the bases of the trachytic areas. The jurassic section is, in the upper part, almost identical with the corresponding series in other parts of Colorado, but at the base has a larger development of soft sandstones and marls. The identification rests upon the analogy of position and lithology. The "red beds" are massive sandstones and conglomerates as usual.

The only important mountains are the Sierra La Plata. They lie toward the northwest, and are principally of carboniferous rocks, so highly metamorphosed as to have lost all apparent structure. A large number of rich lodes of gold and silver have been recently discovered in this group about the sources of the Rio La Plata, and an extensive placer bar is located near its exit from the mountains.

In the extreme northeast corner of this district there is a group of trachytic buttes, including Lone Cove, which belongs to the San Miguel mountains. West of the Mesa Verde, almost in the center of the district, stands the "Late" group, of which Ute Peak is the culminating summit. It covers an area of some 40 square miles, and is simply a mass of trachyte pushed up through and poured out over the floor of the Dakota group.

In the extreme southwest corner, principally in Arizona, are the Sierra Carisso, identical with the Late in nearly every re-

spect, differing only in having carried up portions of the carboniferous rocks about their base, while a fragment of the same beds is caught up in the center of the group.

Of the 6,000 square miles, 5,700 are of sedimentary rocks. 230 of these in the southeast are of the so-called lignitic, 800, chiefly included in the Mesa Verde, belong to the upper cretaceous, and the remaining 4,900 to the lower cretaceous, and such of the earlier periods as are exposed in the crooked and narrow valleys and about the trachytic groups. In the cretaceous series Mr. Holmes examined a number of seams of workable coal, procured fossils in ten distinct horizons, and expects to be able to identify these horizons with such corresponding ones as exist on the Atlantic slope. The section obtained is the most complete and satisfactory made in Colorado up to this time. The trachyte areas include about 250 square miles, and seem to present no remarkable or unusual features.

The prehistoric remains in the canons and lowlands of the southwest are of great interest, and the study of them by Mr. Holmes was as complete as possible under the circumstances. Many cliff houses built in extraordinary situations, and still in a fine state of preservation, were examined. A good collection of pottery, stone implements, the latter including arrow-heads, axes, and ear ornaments, &c., &c., some pieces of rope, fragments of matting, water jars, corn and beans, and other articles were exhumed from the debris of a house. Many graves were found, and a number of skulls and skeletons that may fairly be attributed to the prehistoric inhabitants were added to the collection.

The western, or Grand River division consisted of Henry Gannett, topographer-in-charge, W. R. Atkinson, assistant topographer, A. C. Peale, geologist, two packers, and a cook.

The district assigned to this party lies between the parallels of latitude $37^{\circ} 52'$ and $39^{\circ} 15'$; is limited on the west by the meridian $109^{\circ} 30'$, and on the east by the western limit of the work of last year, approximately the Gunnison and Uncompahgre rivers. This embraces the country drained by the Uncompahgre and Dolores rivers and their branches.

The party left Denver on June 7th, and on July 3d commenced work. They worked uninterruptedly until August 15th, when the work was brought to a sudden close by the Indians.

The work was carried to the western line of Colorado, toward the northern end, extending 25 or 30 miles into Utah, and reaching the north and south lines throughout, except in the southwestern part. The total area surveyed is about 6,000 square miles. In doing this 74 stations were made.

The country is extremely diversified. The Uncompahgre flows through a broad valley, fifty miles in length by about twenty in width, almost perfectly flat, and very dry. The elevation is 4,500 to 6,000 feet. The soil is poor, and vegetation, except in the river bottom, very scanty.

Between the Uncompahgre and the Dolores is a high ridge, whose axis is parallel to the course of the rivers, *i. e.*, about N. 30° W. It has a long, gradual slope to the Uncompahgre valley, while it breaks off sharply and steeply to the Dolores. The average elevation of the crest is 8,000 to 9,000 feet. Most of this country is well timbered with heavy pine, quaking aspen, and some spruce. There is also considerable open country, which is covered with luxuriant grass.

The Sierra la Sal is a short, isolated range of mountains, just west of the Dolores, separating it from the Grand river. The direction of the range is about north and south, its length about fifteen miles, and the elevation of the summits 12,000 to 12,500 feet.

The Grand river from the mouth of the Gunnison to that of the Dolores is alternately in open valley and low canons. On the south the river hugs the edge of the plateau closely, while on the north low, open, desert country extends about fifteen miles back from the river. This desert country extends down the Grand, and across to the Green, forming the great plateau in which these streams and the Colorado cut their canons.

South of the Sierra la Sal are fine valleys extending nearly to the head of the Dolores. Further west the country is a plateau, without water, covered with sage and pinion pine, and cut by numberless dry canons.

The geological features of the district surveyed by the Grand River division during

the season of 1875 are comparatively simple, there being no great uplifts nor many local disturbances. The sedimentary formations represented are all included under carboniferous, red beds (triassic?), jurassic, and cretaceous. Exposures of metamorphic rocks are seen in several parts of the district, limited mainly to the bottoms of canons, the streams having cut through the overlying sedimentaries. The eruptive areas are also limited. In the southern part of the district we had the overlapping edges of various trachytic flows whose sources of origin were in the Uncompahgre mountains still further south. Besides these, there are three distinct centers of eruption, viz: The Lone Cove group of mountains on the south, the Abajo mountains in the southwest, and the Sierra la Sal mountains toward the northwest. These are of porphyritic trachyte, and have been pushed up through the cretaceous layers, which dip gently from them. The greater part of the district, however, is covered with sedimentary rocks, generally horizontal, or if dipping, but little inclined. In these beds the drainage is outlined by canons which are from a few hundred to over a thousand feet in depth. During the summer months the streams are dry.

Leaving the Los Pinos Indian agency, the first work was on the south side of the Gunnison river in a narrow strip of country lying between Mr. Gannett's district of 1874 and that of Mr. Wilson for the same year. The rocks here are trachytes interlaminated with tuffs in horizontal layers. They rest partly on metamorphic rocks, and partly on the remnants of cretaceous sandstones. Previous to the outpouring of these trachytes the country was evidently subjected to considerable erosion, the sandstones being in many places entirely removed, exposing the gneissic rocks upon which they were deposited. Going westward toward the Uncompahgre river, the volcanic rocks disappear, and rocks of upper cretaceous age show in bluffs on the east side. The weathering of these beds has produced a barren alkaline soil, in which there is no vegetation. In the immediate river bottom there is some good soil, but it is limited in extent. The course of the Uncompahgre is a few degrees west of north, and between it and the drainage of the San Miguel and Dolores rivers, which has approxi-

mately the same direction, is a plateau-like country with a gentle slope to the eastward toward the Uncompahgre, and breaking off in benches on the Dolores side. Seen from the mountains, this plateau appears very regular, nevertheless it is very much cut up by numerous canons, which carry water only in wet seasons. The floor of the plateau is composed chiefly of sandstones of the Dakota group, (cretaceous No. 1,) underlaid by jurassic shales and red beds, (triassic?) which rest upon metamorphic rocks, as seen in the canons. On the western side of the plateau is a monoclinal fold, which in some places becomes a fault of 300 to 500 feet. One of the most curious features of this region is a canon extending from the Dolores river to the Gunnison river. It is evidently the bed of an old stream which probably once flowed toward the Gunnison. At present, there are in it two creeks, one a tributary of the Gunnison and the other a branch of the Dolores, the latter the principal stream of the two. At the divide between them the canon is about 1,200 feet deep, 900 feet of gneissic rock and 300 of sedimentaries on the top. The dip is toward the east, and the creek flowing in that direction gradually gets higher and higher in the schists, and finally cuts through the overlying sandstones in which it joins the Gunnison. Toward the west the canon rapidly increases in depth until it is 3,000 feet below the general surface. The stream on this side cuts across the line of faulting of the west side of the plateau, and enters the red sandstones which incline westward. In these it joins the Dolores river. North of the canon, between it and Grand river, the Dakota group, which prevails to the southward, is almost entirely absent, the red beds forming the greater part of the surface, which is here a maze of dry canons. The country gradually falls off toward Grand river, the western line of faulting becomes a fold, and the eastern fold, which is also faulted in places, gradually becomes less. North of Grand river beds of upper cretaceous age appear, probably succeeded by tertiary as we go north. On the San Miguel river, and Dolores river, and extending westward, the rocks are sandstones. There are broad folds extending across the country whose axis are parallel, the general direction being north and south.

Between the San Miguel and Dolores the Dakota group forms the floor. Beyond the Dolores the red beds prevail, capped with isolated patches of jurassic shales, and underlaid with beds of carboniferous age. The latter show but in few places. The drainage here has two general courses at right angles to each other. The main streams flow in a general northerly direction.

In the Sierra la Sal the prevailing rock is a beautiful porphyritic trachyte, which in some places has included masses of cretaceous shales. One of the most prominent peaks has a capping of sandstone which was lifted up by the eruption of the mass, the base of the peak being entirely of trachyte. There are evidences of glacial action here. Northwest, and west of the group, the red beds have the Roches Montognes form, beautifully seen from the summits of the mountains.

The Abajo mountains are of porphyritic trachyte, similar to the Sierra la Sal, as are the mountains about Lone Cove, which properly belong to the district assigned to the San Juan division.

The work of the fourth division, directed by G. R. Bechler, extended over a large area, situated between meridians $104^{\circ} 30'$ and $106^{\circ} 30'$ and parallels $38^{\circ} 40'$ and $40^{\circ} 30'$, or from the foot-hills of the Rocky mountains to the Upper Arkansas and Eagle rivers, and from a point six miles south of Pike's Peak to within fifteen miles of Long's Peak.

In this district the entire Middle and South Parks are located and three of the large rivers of the west, the Arkansas, Grand, and Platte rivers, together with several of their large tributaries, have their origin. The principal branches are Blue, Snake, Williamson, and Frazer rivers on the west slope, and Tarryall, Fountain of the Bowille, Bear, Clear, St. Vrain, Boulder, Thompson, and Buckhorn rivers on the eastern slope.

The main Rocky range and its minor ranges are, in this district, peculiarly complicated, for the latter, at times, on account of their height and magnitude, seem to lose their subordinate character and become independent ranges, while the main range contains groups or clusters of peaks so complicated in their form and connections that it requires close observation on the part of the topographer to lay down the true drainage.

Among the minor ranges, the Park, Williams or Blue river, Gore, Tarryall, and Platte River ranges rank in height among the largest, while for extreme ruggedness, the Gore and Tarryall mountains cannot well be surpassed. In this district the great mining industries of Colorado are found.

The geographical features of this area are as follows: Between the Argentine and Georgia passes, a ridge of mountains leaves the main chain and follows a course about southeast and connects with the mountains near the Pike's Peak group on its west side. This is the Tarryall range, a rugged and abrupt granite wall, with several peaks over 12,500 feet in height and most of the others rising above timber line. The greatest depressions in this range are where the Tarryall and South Platte rivers break through in canons, and where the Ute Pass and Kanosha Pass afford an entrance to the South Park. To the east of the Kanosha pass a few miles, the Tarryall range separates into two ridges, which run nearly in an eastern direction. The northern ridge borders the south side of the North Platte river and is called the Kanosha or Platte River range. In this ridge volcanic peaks are found in great numbers. The mountain ranges in this portion of Colorado continually throw off spurs which are remarkable for the deep gorges which have been worn down their sides.

After completing the survey of Platte river, Tarryall, and the South Park districts, Mr. Bechler ascended the Arkansas valley, crossed the Tennessee Pass and examined the country that lies between the Eagle and Blue rivers, of which very little was known. This territory is bounded on the south, by the imposing mountain masses of the Mt. Lincoln group, and on the east by the cliff-walls of the Blue River range, and on the northeast by Gore's range, with its needle shaped peaks extending for twenty miles like sharp pinnacles.

In completing the survey of this district, Mr. Bechler joined, by his topographical work and triangulation, three separate surveys of previous years.

Crossing Gore's range and the Blue river, Mr. Bechler passed through the Middle Park and over the Boulder Pass to the sources of the

Big Thompson creek, an important stream, rising on the east side of the Long's Peak group. Much excellent work was done in the ridges of hogbacks at the east base of the mountains, thus bringing the season's labors to a most successful termination. One hundred and six stations were made, barometrical elevations were 450, and the number of elevations taken with the gradiometer were about 6,000.

The party under Mr. Gardner had made but four stations when it was prevented from further prosecution of that duty by Indians. One of the stations occupied, was very important, viz., the Sierra la Sal mountain, which enabled Mr. Gardner to secure an excellent set of observations, thus extending the triangulation far into Utah, and connecting our eastern work with the great Colorado river of the west.

During the latter part of the season of 1874, Mr. W. H. Jackson, the photographer of Prof. Hayden's U. S. Geological Survey, in connection with Mr. Ernest Ingersoll, visited the southwestern portion of Colorado for the purpose of photographing the ruins, which rumor had placed in the canons of the Mesa Verde, and about El Late. The season was far advanced, and there was but little time for investigation, yet the eight days that were actually devoted to the subject brought to light a group of ancient habitations so novel in their construction and position that they have excited a very general interest. The results of the trip, as published in the correspondence of that time, and in Bulletin No. 1 of the survey, have already been widely distributed. The illustrations secured by photography, and then reproduced by photolithographic processes, have done much to popularize and render familiar the leading features of the subject, and showing, as they do, all the phases of the eccentric methods of these ancient builders, has made them an authority, and they have already been reproduced in a number of late publications.

The first trip proving so successful, Mr. Jackson was dispatched again this season to the same region with instructions to ascertain as far as possible the extent and distribution of these ruins, north of the present Moquis Pueblos. Associated with him in the enter-

prise was Mr. E. A. Barber, special correspondent of the New York *Herald*. A guide, two packers, and a cook constituted the whole party, and then, with six weeks' supplies laid in, the party started out from Parrott City, on the head of the Rio La Plata, August 27th, the general course being down the Rio San Juan to the DeChelly, up that to near Fort Defiance, and then over to the seven Moqui "Cities." Returning, they crossed the San Juan at the mouth of the DeChelly, and traveled northward to midway between the Sierra Abajo and La Sal, and then returned to starting point, across the heads of the canons which run southward to the San Juan.

The Upper San Juan, Mesa Verde, and El Late regions came within the area assigned Mr. W. H. Holmes, who, in addition to his geological investigations, made a special examination of the archæology of his region, bringing out with his ready and artistic pencil even more wonderful ruins (of the same general class however) than were found by Mr. Jackson the season previous.

Traveling westward to the head of the McElmo, a day was spent in the further investigation of that interesting locality. A number of new ruins were discovered, but in no way differing from those already figured. The extreme heat of the atmosphere and the aridity of the country prevented more than a superficial examination of the many side canons which debouch into the main one, only enough to determine satisfactorily that ruins were to be found only in those canons which had alluvial bottoms, or in the near vicinity of tillable land. This fact held good in the other regions, for in no case could a single vestige of any habitation be found in the sterile, rocky gorges anyways removed from cultivable ground. Their ideas of a good farming land would hardly come up to that of an eastern farmer, yet a strip of bottom-land only fifty yards in width at the bottom of their deep canons would yield maize enough to subsist quite a town. The supposition that they were an agricultural people is strengthened by the fact that in the vicinity of any group of ruins there are also a number of little "cubby-holes," too small for habitation, but very evidently intended for "caches" or granaries, and the large towns

contain small apartments that must have been for the same use.

The only known water in the country, short of the San Juan, over forty miles distant, was on the Hovenweep, near the town which was discovered last year, thus necessitating the retraversing of so much of the country. A day spent in some of the tributary canons developed no remains of any importance, although every little side canon contains traces of former occupation by the town-builders. To the west of the Hovenweep is a high, level plateau separating it from the canons of the Montezuma, and running north and south from the waters of the San Juan to those of the Dolores. Upon this were found the remains of many circular towers, all of about the same size, twelve to fifteen feet in diameter. They are generally almost entirely obliterated, but in two or three cases portions of the wall, twelve to fifteen feet high, of well-built masonry, were found. This and sandstone mesa, a thousand feet above the surrounding valleys, does not contain a spring or any water whatever, except such as collects in the water pockets after a shower. The soil upon its surface is thin, and in places blown off clean to the bed rock. Grass, cedar, and artemisia flourish; in fact it is most excellent grazing land, and as cultivation was out of the question, these people must have had herds of sheep or goats which they brought up here to graze during the winter, mostly, just as the Ute and Navajo do at the present time, and these towers were built as places of refuge, or residence for their herders.

Eight and ten miles below the Hovenweep town are two groups of ruins worthy of note. The first is built upon an almost perfectly rectangular block of sandstone, which occupies a prominent position on a spur of the mesa. It is thirty-eight by thirty-two feet square, and twenty feet in height, as true and as level as though set by masons. The summit is entirely covered with the work that was built upon it, very evidently for merely defensive purposes, for directly at the foot of the rock, at its south side, was the habitation of the family. A line of wall forty feet square incloses a space, within which was another building resting against

the rock itself, the roof of which served as a means of access to the rock above. Two miles below, where the McElmo comes in, and upon the point of the mesa, are other similar ruins, but built much less regularly. Upon one of the faces of the rock is an inscription chipped in with some sharp pointed instrument, and covering some sixty square feet of surface. Figures of goats, lizards, and human figures abound with many hieroglyphical signs. The top of the mesa afforded much food for speculation in the interesting remains there discovered. The extreme point was a perfectly flat, level table, fifty by one hundred yards in diameter, with perpendicular walls of from fifty to one hundred feet on all sides, excepting the narrow neck which connected it with the main plateau. Across this neck a wall had been built to keep off either human or beast, and rendered the place perfectly isolated. Inside, nearly the entire space was subdivided into small squares and double-walled circles formed by slabs of stone set on edge, each square about three by five feet. The supposition has always been that these were burial places. They were dug down upon to a considerable depth without discovering anything. Here the soil was thin and light, so that the labor of excavating was easy. A number of the squares were cleaned out to the bed rock beneath, which in some cases was not more than a foot in depth, but without discovering anything more than that in every case the earth had been burnt, and a thin layer of charcoal remained. The question arises as to whether these people might not have been cremationists?

The Rio San Juan, at the mouth of the McElmo, is a stream averaging one hundred feet in width, and three to five in depth, flowing in great curves that almost touch upon themselves again, and bordered with dense groves of cottonwood. The bottoms are from one to three miles in width, and run back over sage-covered benches to the sandstone bluffs, picturesque in outline and color, which rise from five hundred to one thousand feet above the river. They gradually close in upon the stream until it is finally lost in the great canon below the mouth of the DeChelly.

Twelve or fifteen miles down the river brought the party to the first important ruins, although the older, almost unrecognized "indications" were abundant everywhere. At that point the bench land juts up over the river, and almost upon the brink is a quadrangular structure one hundred and sixty by one hundred and twenty feet square, with a small open court facing the river. A singular feature in its construction was a semicircular apartment in the center of the building and the rear of the court, about the outer circle of which was ranged a series of seven other apartments averaging thirty-five by fifty feet. Under the bluffs, and almost overhanging the stream, were a row of little cave houses. Other cave houses were niched in the cave like recesses of the bluffs for some distance above and below.

Some ten miles further, and the bordering bluffs came down quite near the stream, in some places overhanging it. Cave and cliff ruins occurred frequently in them. Upon the south side of the river an important cave ruin was discovered, which was quite remarkable in its way. Imagine a perpendicular bluff nearly three hundred feet in height, the upper half of which is a firm white sandstone, and the lower half a dull red, soft, and friable variety. Time has excavated an almost perfectly hemispherical cave from this bluff, equally divided between the two kinds of rock. It is two hundred and fifty feet wide, two hundred feet deep, and the same from top to bottom at its outer face. Midway from top to bottom, and running completely around the half circle which formed the back of the cave, are two benches, upon the upper of which is built the town or series of rooms two hundred feet in length in the aggregate, the lower serving as a walk or promenade, from which access could only be had by ladders. A little to the left of the center is the principal building, consisting of three rooms, each two stories in height, and now standing twelve feet high. Adjoining it on the right is a long row of twelve apartments built as a solid block, and on the left an open space of sixteen feet, and then another small building. In the open space were four holes, four

inches in diameter and twelve deep, drilled into the rock, serving evidently as post-holes for a loom.

All the rooms have been burnt out clean so that not a vestige of wood work remains. The walls are remarkably well preserved, the adobe mortar on the inside still retaining the impression of the delicate lines on the thumbs and fingers of the hands of the builders. Impressions of the whole of the hand were frequent, showing them to be small and finely formed. Corn cobs and pieces of pottery were found imbedded in the mortar. In the center of the larger rooms, beneath the debris, were found the fire places, circular excavations, which still retained the charred wood and ashes of aboriginal fires. Perched up in one of the houses, under a great dome of overhanging rock, that distinctly echoed every word uttered, with a steep descent of over 100 feet to the broad, fertile bottoms, handsome groves, and meandering course of the river, these old, old people, whom even the imagination can hardly clothe with reality, must have felt a sense of security that even the inroads of the barbarian northmen could hardly have ruffled.

Omitting mention of large numbers of ruins which are clustered along the San Juan, the next important group discovered, for this is the first time any of these have been brought before the world, were those of the Rio DeChelly. The party reached this point August 7th, the very hottest portion of the year, in a region noted for the intensity of the scorching rays which radiate from its bare plateau of white sandstone. The average temperature throughout the day, in the sun, was 140°. The temperature of the water in the river, in the midst of the rapid current, was 88°, and that was the coldest water to be had.

The Rio DeChelly, for a distance of about thirty-five miles above its mouth, is so canoned, and the wash, for the bed of the stream is perfectly dry the greater portion of the year, cuts from wall rock to wall rock so frequently that it is impossible to travel up it, except in the bed, and that is so tortuous and rocky in places that it would be difficult, if not impossible. Making a detour to the right, the first opening into the canon was reached ten miles above. In here an interesting and extensive ruin was found, which was so well

preserved that it seemed to have been vacated less than a score of years, and so near like the workmanship and manner of building of the present Moquis that it would not be difficult to imagine them lurking among the deserted rooms. This ruin was situated in a long cave-like bench or mesa, running along the face of a perpendicular bluff some fifty feet above its base, and a total length of nearly 300 yards. The town was irregularly, but compactly built, conforming to the rock upon which it was placed, the rooms arranged in a single row most of the way, but at either end bunching up to two and three deep. A ground plan shows seventy-five rooms, with many little irregular "cubby holes," with a total length of 548 feet. A few yards further to the right a half dozen detached buildings, cisterns, and reservoirs yet remain perfect enough to show their purpose. In the center of the mass was a well preserved circular apartment, a little below the general level of the others, that was probably an *estufa*. The goat corrals were inside between the houses and the bluff. Digging beneath the debris several pieces of finely preserved pottery were found, the same finely ornamented and glazed ware of which the fragments are so universally scattered over the whole country. Beneath the center of the town there was found in one group some whole jars of about two gallons capacity each, of the grey indented ware, but they were too fragile to transport upon pack mules. Besides the pottery, many stone implements and arrow points were unearthed. Another detour to the right, this time over an elevated plateau of white sandstone, across which were drifted great dunes of white sand, brought the party to the famous, so called, diamond fields of Arizona, about which there was such an excitement in 1872. Lingered on its bare red plain, upon which the sun beat with redoubled intensity, only long enough to gather about a pint of garnets, which were of excellent quality, and very abundant, camp was made at the foot of a side canon which came in from the west, and was known as the Canon Bonito Chiquito. Another group of ruins occurred here, not in a large town, but in scattered houses, both up and down the DeChelly and the Bonito. A marked feature was great reservoirs, in which there was, even now, abundant and excellent water. Two or three miles below, in the canon of the main stream, was a well preserved two-story house

standing upon a bench elevated fifty feet above the valley, and overhung by a great roof of rock that effectually shielded it from the storms. Near by was a great natural reservoir filled with good water. Another five or six miles and the canon of the DeChelly opened out into a great valley, from one to three miles in width, and extending up to the foot of the great canon near Fort Defiance. Twenty-five to thirty-five miles above the Bonito are some peculiar table rocks and monuments that form notable landmarks. The ruins are now scarce, only a few being met with in the caves at the side of the valley. The bottom lands bear the impress of very numerous ruins, adobe, very likely, that are now almost entirely obliterated, and would hardly be noticed were it not for the broken pottery.

At the head of the valley of the DeChelly the trail turned off to the southwest, just above the upper edge of the great white mesa. Taking only two others, Mr. Barber and Lee, the guide, and sending the remainder of the train back some fifty miles where there was suitable grazing, Mr. Jackson continued over to the Moquis Pueblo, seventy-five miles distant, with only the photographic apparatus and supplies for five days. Tequa was reached by noon of the following day. As these pueblos have been so frequently described and illustrated, the party spent only two days and a half among the six most easterly towns, viz: Tequa, Se-chum-e-way, Moqui, Moo-she-neh, Shong-a-pah-wee, and She-paul-a-wee. Photographs of each of these were made, and numerous sketches illustrating their habits, dress, and occupations, collections of recent and ancient pottery and tools, and other objects of interest were made. The comparison between the workmanship of the northern town builders and these Moquis was very much in favor of the former. The highest perfection was reached in the cliff houses of the Rio Mancos, where some of the houses were marvels of finish and durability, and then traveling toward the Moquis, there is a gradual merging of one style into the other, from the neatly cut rock and correct angles to the comparatively crude buildings now inhabited.

Retracing their steps to the San Juan, at the mouth of the DeChelly, the party now traveled northward toward the Sierra Abajo, up a stream known as Epsom creek, from the water which is found near its head tasting and operating like that salt. The usual indefinite ruins which occur on the low lands continued up this valley over thirty miles. To the west was a great labyrinth of canons running off into those of the Great Colorado, an examination of some of which discovered many cave and cliff houses and towns, all of

the same general type as the others. The ruins gradually diminished as they approached the Sierra Abajo, and several days spent in the examination of the canons and plateaus about it and the Sierra La Sal failed to bring to light any more evidences of their occupation.

Nearly opposite the Sierra Abajo or Blue Mountains, as they are locally known, heads the great canons and valley of the Montezuma which empties into the San Juan. Here the bottoms of the canons have once supported a very thickly settled community. There is almost a continuous series of ruins for a distance of twenty-five miles. This in one canon only, and all the others contain numerous remains, chiefly in cliff houses and towns. In the main canon first spoken of are two ruins notable for the size of the stones employed in their construction. In one built upon a small isolated table land in the middle of the valley are stones set upon end, six feet in length by eighteen inches square, and ranged along the walls a distance of twenty-five or thirty yards. Another case is where stones seven feet in height (above ground) and twenty inches square are standing perpendicularly about five feet apart, and form one side of a wall inclosing the ruins of a large important building. Throughout the canons every available defensive point has been utilized and is now covered with the remains of heavy walls and large blocks of houses. Another singular feature was the number of holes cut into the perpendicular lower wall of the canon for the purpose of ascending the rocks, holes just large enough to give hand and foot hold, and leading either to some walled-up cave or to a building erected above. Some of these steps ascend the nearly perpendicular face of the rock for 150 or 200 feet. On exposed surfaces, disintegrations has almost entirely weathered away the holes, while on more protected surfaces they are deep enough to still answer their original purpose. The main western branch of the Montezuma contains the greater number and more important ruins of all northern tributaries of the San Juan west of the Rio Macos. Water was found in a few pools near its head, and lower down running along in a small stream a distance of two or three miles, when it sank again. The bottoms are rich, and the present Indians, Utes, who occupy the country, raise good crops of corn without irrigation.

The results of this trip was the collection of a large number of utensils, both modern and ancient, stone arrow and spear points, knives, and axes, photographs, especially illustrative of the most important ruins, and numerous sketches of everything of note, which will be brought out in detail in the regular publications of the survey.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

The annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the year ending June 30, 1875, contains a large amount of useful and interesting information even for the general reader, including a statement of the surveys of the public lands during the last year; the comparative progress of surveys and disposals of public lands during the last ten years; the surveys of Indian lands and of abandoned military reservations; astronomical surveys of boundaries between States and Territories; a description of the principal surveying bases and meridians governing the surveys of the public lands; operations under the laws relating to private land claims, donation claims, mission claims, Indian cases, and certain cases of scrip in Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico; reports in relation to pre-emption and homesteads and operations under the town site laws; reports on timber culture and the rights of Indians on the public lands, also in regard to lands granted for educational purposes; useless military reservations and what to do with them; operations under the mining laws in Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Oregon; report of the location of lands with military bounty-land warrants, including Revolutionary bounty land scrip, also with agricultural college scrip, and showing the number of acres located in the several States and Territories with bounty land warrants during the last fiscal year; a statement of the progress made in the adjustment of land grants for railroad purposes, and of the disposal of swamp lands; a report of the decisions rendered affecting private land claims, concerning lands chiefly in California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington Territory; decisions of the Department during the last fiscal year under the pre-emption and homestead laws, and those affecting mining rights; decisions affecting lands lying within railroad grants, also those affecting the holders of military bounty land warrants; a complete list of the circulars issued by the General Land Office during the past year; a list of the United

States surveyors general, with their respective places of residence, also of the district land offices, with the changes made during the last year, and the annual reports of the surveyors general for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.

The report also contains a large number of valuable tabular statements showing the extent of the surveys of the public lands, not only during the past year, but all lands surveyed since the beginning of the surveying system in this country, with the amount still remaining unsurveyed in each of the States and Territories; a statement of lands sold, and of those entered under the homestead law of 1862, and the land located with agricultural college scrip under the act of July 2, 1862, and supplemental acts, also the selections of swamp lands that have been approved and patented for the several States; statements of lands granted for the construction of canals, railroads, and military wagon roads, also estimates of the various appropriations needed for the next fiscal year for the use of General Land Office and its dependencies.

The report shows a falling off in the disposals of public lands under various heads during the last year, as compared with the preceding year, of 2,460,601 acres, and that the decrease in entries made for actual settlement is found to be 1,500.880 acres. This is attributable, in part, to the devastation of grasshoppers, to severe droughts in some localities, and to a decrease in emigration. It is thought that this decrease will be likely to continue, not only for the reasons assigned, but because the area of public lands desirable for homestead settlement is becoming very small, and the construction of railroads in the sparsely inhabited portions of the country has almost entirely ceased.

The Commissioner earnestly urges the necessity of future legislation to protect the interests of the Government in relation to the survey and sale of pine, fir, and other valuable timber lands. Experience shows that through the facilities furnished by that provision of the pre-emption laws which, for

unoffered lands, extends to applicants a credit of thirty-three months, opportunity is found, under cover of the "declaratory statement" which gives to the pre-emptor protection in his possession of the tract, to strip the lands of their timber, and thereupon to abandon them without even the payment of the minimum price.

Another class of timbered lands not heretofore referred to in the reports from that office are the wooded portions of the mountain ranges of the West, including the Pacific slope. Only a small portion of these lands has been surveyed, and they are not in the market, and yet, in the vicinity of mining localities, large sections of country are stripped of timber by depredators, who take what they want, and the loss falls on the Government. The Commissioner recommends that this class of lands be surveyed and sold, wherever practicable, and says that the homestead and pre-emption laws have no proper application to such lands, and this fact should be declared by statute. In making sale of these timbered lands, he thinks the United States should reserve the unqualified right to all valuable deposits of minerals that may be found in them, with full power, except as to any trees remaining thereon, to sell the same, upon application, under the mining laws.

Referring to the lands west of the one hundredth meridian, the Commissioner says that—

The early practice of the Government indicates that the public lands were at first regarded and administered solely with a view to the revenue to be derived from their sale. Gradually, however, the view was asserted that the real profit to the Treasury and to the people at large was not to be found in largest measure in the consideration paid, but rather in the productive forces which settlement and cultivation would necessarily bring into play. This idea has been formulated into a policy, and since the act of May 20, 1862, commonly known as the homestead law, has been the leading purpose in all legislative and executive action.

Thus far in the administration of the laws the general wisdom of the existing policy is amply shown. A period has, however, now been reached when exception ought to be made.

Legislation and executive practice have

heretofore been suggested and controlled by the physical and climatic conditions prevailing between the eastern boundary of the State of Ohio and the central portions of the States of Kansas and Nebraska, covering the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri rivers, and extending from the eighty-first degree to the ninety-fifth degree of west longitude. This is well classified as the "fertile belt" of the continent. To this region, agricultural in its every feature, both the exactions of the homestead and pre-emption laws in the matter of residence and cultivation upon the tract entered, and the limitation of quantity allowed to be taken by any one person, are of undoubted applicability. Beyond and westward of this belt, or in all that section lying between the one hundredth meridian on the east, and the Cascade Range and Sierra Nevada Mountains on the west, and, within these limits, from the Mexican line on the south to the international boundary on the north, a totally different set of conditions, geographical, physical, and climatic, are found to exist. Within this vast area agriculture, as understood and pursued in the valley of the Mississippi and to the eastward, has no existence. Irrigation is indispensable to production. That there are limited areas within which by its aid crops are and may be secured is true, but the proportion of land within the area now treated of, which, under the present system of disposals, can by this means be made productive, is insignificant. Under a system which would justify large expenditures and insure the utilization for purposes of irrigation of the whole volume of water reaching the valleys from the mountain streams, but a mere fraction of the whole great area could be made fit for tillage.

Leaving out of view the great mineral wealth of the region under discussion, and treating only of that portion of it supposed to fall within the purview of the laws for the disposal of the public lands not mineral, it may be safely affirmed that, except in the immediate valleys of the mountain streams, where by dint of individual effort water may be diverted for irrigating purposes, title to the public lands cannot be honestly acquired under the homestead laws. That cultivation and improvement which are required, and which are made to stand in the place of price, are impossible; and, if attempted, are without result. But the vast areas here referred to are not without value, and for a large acreage purchasers would be found if a system of sale should be authorized in accordance with the necessities of the situation.

I have adverted to the fact that the immediate valleys of the streams may be made productive by resort to irrigation, and this, too, without a larger outlay than could be

provided for by the occupants of tracts limited as to extent by the provisions of the homestead and pre-emption laws. But there is a still larger area, possessing in equal measure the natural elements of fertility, which, under a liberal system of purchase, would also be utilized for farming purposes. I refer to lands lying along the general course of such streams as bear a volume of water larger than is required for irrigating the narrow margins of "first bottom" along their courses, to the mesa, or table lands of the central plateau. For their reclamation a system necessarily expensive, because involving canals or main ditches of great length and size, is required; and, hence, associated capital must be called upon to furnish the means of success. But the security for its repayment, even the inducement to furnish it, must be found in the lands to be benefited. It is only necessary to make this suggestion for it to become manifest that so long as disposals are hampered by the requirements, and restricted to the quantities prescribed by the homestead and pre-emption laws, this class of lands must remain undisposed of, and their present waste condition be perpetuated.

Thus far I have treated of the limited portions of the central plateau, which, under favorable conditions can be made to contribute in some measure to the volume of the cereal and vegetable products of the country. A still larger proportion of the belt now under consideration finds profitable use in the pasturage of large herds of domestic animals, sheep, cattle, and horses. The pasturage of the plains and mountain valleys is of great excellence. But here, again, the conditions under which that industry is prosecuted bear no similitude to those under which the same business is conducted within the "fertile belt," and the same incongruity is found in the application of existing public land laws, when tried by the reasonable wants of those in the stock business, as has been seen to exist in the case of the only lands fit for general farming uses. The quantity of land necessary to the support of a given number of domestic animals on the table lands is very largely in excess of that required for the profitable pasturage of a like number in the fertile belt. The excellence of the pasturage of the plains and valleys consists in the fact that the grasses, though thin and of slow growth, retain their nutritious qualities throughout the entire year, and in the further fact that, for the present, the range is only limited by the possibility of reaching suitable watering places.

For grazing purposes the limitation of the right of purchase to one quarter-section, and that under the impossible condition of cultivation, is to forbid the acquisition of

title to pasture lands by citizens "careful of their proofs," and is, in effect, to withhold absolutely from sale that which, in fact, is now the largest remaining class of the public lands.

From the foregoing recitations it will be perceived that I have reached the conclusion that both public and private interests demand that that body of surveyed land within the "central plateau," so called, not embraced in the first bottom of the streams, and commonly known in the region where situated, as the mesa lands, ought to be offered at the earliest possible day for cash purchase, and thereafter that portion remaining unsold be subject to private entry at \$1.25 per acre. To the extent to which sales could be made the Treasury ought to be replenished from this source. Persons desiring to acquire title ought to be relieved from the necessity of making questionable affidavits requisite under the homestead and pre-emption laws. Every hinderance to the fullest possible production in this region ought to be removed. The mining industry of the mountains, though in its infancy, demands of food products a large share of all that are raised within the contiguous country. Referring again to the particular matter of the pasture lands, the policy of such sale may be urged as necessary to the good order of the communities where the business is generally prosecuted, as well as on the ground of justice to the class engaged in the pasturage calling. The present policy compels them to use the public lands as their feeding ground, having no better right to their selected range as against another whose purposes or seeming convenience may lead to an attempted occupation of the same ground than they may be able to assert by forcible means. Conflicts and uncertainties necessary follow upon this state of things, to the detriment alike of order and development. This result must be intensified as the herds increase and desirable localities become monopolized.

Seeing no remedy for these threatening evils so long as the exclusive policy of withholding the public lands from sale is continued, interested parties have suggested a system of leasing by which, for a reasonable rental, designated tracts might be held in individual control for pasturage purposes only; subject, however, to be defeated as to any part of the tract so held by a sale thereof under existing laws. I find, on examination of the "Crown lands occupation acts" of New South Wales of 1861, and of the "Crown lands alienation act" of 1868 of the Colony of Queensland, that a system of leasing having the features above indicated is applied to the pasturage districts of these colonies. That such a system might be advantageously adopted within our own grazing

districts west of the one hundredth meridian is possible. It is not, however, in consonance with the established methods of our land system, and would require legislation to authorize it. I am of the opinion that the immediate necessities of the situation can be better met by an offering of this class of lands at public sale. This can be done to the extent that surveys have progressed, under the provisions of existing law.

I have endeavored generally to indicate that offerings of the public lands west of the one hundredth meridian would not be inimical to the objects of the prevailing policy, which has tended to restrict disposals to the homestead and pre-emption laws. The facts will justify the declaration that the policy of restriction has retarded actual settlement in this region. While the record shows that in many localities it has been the fruitful source of fraud—fraud so glaring as to call into exercise the powers of grand juries—not, however, into successful or preventive exercise. Prosecutions for irregularities in obtaining title to the public lands find little sympathy among communities hindered in general and individual progress by being made subject to conditions inappropriate to their surroundings.

I recommend, therefore, without hesitation, as a matter of justice, both to the individual settler and the communities interested, as well as in view of the amount to be secured to the Treasury in reimbursement of the large sums expended for surveys and the general administration of the land system, that the policy of public offerings authorized by law be resumed at an early day as to lands west of the one hundredth meridian embraced in the description of mesa or table lands.

The report contains valuable statistics relating to the mines of Nevada, Utah, and Montana.

The product of the mines of the State of Nevada for the year commencing July 1, 1874, and ending June 30, 1875, was as follows :

Name of county.	No. of tons extracted.	Gross yield, or value.
Elko.....	8,001	\$242,264 09
Esmeralda.....	6,659	489,643 39
Eureka.....	66,479	3,180,644 40
Humboldt.....	7,801	288,592 60
Lander.....	7,367	891,607 97
Lincoln.....	23,411	656,773 22
Lyon.....	1,600	25,940 83
Nye.....	13,263	619,861 12
Storey.....	562,239	23,785,151 03
White Pine.....	15,902	806,582 78
Totals.....	712,731	30,987,061 43
Ores.....	712,731	30,987,061 43
Tailings.....	126,997	791,874 87
Borax.....	465	55,500 00

In Utah Territory there are eighty-six mining districts, the most important of which are Little Cottonwood, Big Cottonwood, Parley Park or Uintah, West Mountain or Bingham Canyon, Ophir, American Fork, Lake Side, Rush Valley, Camp Floyd, East and West Tintic and Beaver, in all of which silver, lead, and copper exist in inexhaustible quantities.

Large deposits of gold ore are found in American Fork, Bingham Canyon, and Uintah districts.

There are fifty-three reduction-works, viz :

Smelting-works.....	31
Arrastras.....	4
Separating and refining.....	1
Concentrating.....	4
Stamp-mills.....	13
Total.....	53

Ore, bullion, &c., produced from June 30, 1874, to June 30, 1875 :

Silver-lead-ore, 6,978 tons, at \$100.....	\$697,800
Copper-ore, 380 tons, at \$51.50.....	19,570
Base bullion, 15,744 tons, at \$250.....	3,936,000
Copper bullion, 65 tons, at \$250..	16,250
Pure lead, 2,500 tons, at \$100.....	250,000
Gold-dust, 2,450 ozs., at \$18.....	43,700
Silver bars, 705,000 ozs., at \$1.25.....	881,250
Total.....	5,844,570

In Montana Territory the yield of the placer claims during the last year is estimated at \$2,500,000. Rich placers are being worked in the vicinity of Jefferson City that yielded \$350 per week to the man.

The yield of the gold quartz lodes in Montana during the last year is estimated at \$1,500,000. There is great interest manifested in its silver lodes. Many new and rich districts have been brought into favorable notice, and large returns and good profits have been realized. The lack of railroad transportation is, however, a great drawback to the mining operations in this Territory, and more good smelting works are much needed. Rich deposits of copper have been discovered, chiefly in the vicinity of Helena and Copperopolis. Extensive beds of bituminous and semi-bituminous coal have been found. Wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and vegetables generally, are cultivated successfully, and yield handsome returns. Considerable attention is also given to stock-raising, with favorable results.

The report of the Surveyor General of

Arizona shows an increasing interest and development of the mining operations in that Territory. Within forty miles of Tucson gold placers of an unexpectedly rich character have been discovered recently. In the Pinal mountains, north of the Gila valley, remarkably large deposits of silver have been discovered. Nuggets of native silver weighing from one ounce to thirty-four pounds have been taken from these mines.

In Mohave and Yuma counties rich discoveries of gold and silver have been made, and every steamer via the Colorado river and Gulf of California carries tons of ore and bullion to San Francisco. In the vicinity of Prescott a section containing gold placers and gold and silver lodes in great numbers, new and much richer in developments than heretofore discovered, have recently been found, and the facilities for the reduction of ore are being increased. It is expected that during the present year the Southern Pacific Railroad of California will reach the Colorado river on the western border of the Territory, which will afford quicker and cheaper transportation, and inevitably give renewed impetus to all branches of industry within its borders.

One of the singular climatic features of Arizona is the fact that there are copious rains there in the months of July and August, which revive vegetation at a time when other sections of the country are liable to drought. Copper is being profitably mined in eastern Arizona. It is one of the most favorable Territories for stock growing. Those who have introduced flocks and herds are increasing them rapidly. Stock of all kinds is kept fat the year round by grazing alone, without shelter at any time. Grain, vegetables, and fruits are successfully cultivated. Peace prevails in every part of the Territory, and people go when and where they please without molestation by the Indians.

United States land officers are located at the following named points in the different States and Territories :

Ohio, Chillicothe; Indiana, Indianapolis; Illinois, Springfield; Missouri, Boonville, Iron-ton, Springfield; Alabama, Mobile, Hunts-

ville, Montgomery; Mississippi, Jackson; Louisiana, New Orleans, Monroe, Natchitoches; Michigan, Detroit, East Saginaw, Ionia, Marquette, Traverse City; Arkansas, Little Rock, Camden, Harrison, Dardanelle; Florida, Gainesville; Iowa, Fort Des Moines, Sioux City; Wisconsin, Menasha, Falls of St. Croix, Wausau, La Crosse, Bayfield, Eau Claire; California, San Francisco, Marysville, Humboldt, Stockton, Visalia, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Shasta, Susanville, Independence; Nevada, Carson City, Eureka, Pioche, Elko; Washington Territory, Olympia, Vancouver, Walla-Walla; Minnesota, Taylor's Falls, Saint Cloud, Du Luth, Alexandria, Worthington, New Ulm, Litchfield, Detroit, Redwood Falls; Oregon, Oregon City, Roseburg, Le Grand, Linkville, Dalles; Dakota Territory, Sioux Falls, Springfield, Fargo, Yankton, Bismarck; Nebraska, Norfolk, Beatrice, Lincoln, Niobrara, Grand Island, North Platte, Bloomington; New Mexico Territory, Santa Fe, La Mesilla; Kansas, Topeka, Salina, Independence, Wichita, Kirwin, Concordia, Larned, Hays City; Colorado Territory, Denver City, Fair Play, Central City, Pueblo, Del Norte; Idaho Territory, Boise City, Lewiston; Montana Territory, Helena, Bozeman; Arizona Territory, Prescott, Florence; Utah Territory, Salt Lake City; Wyoming Territory, Cheyenne.

The United States surveyors general and their offices are given as follows :

C. W. Babcock, Lawrence, Kansas; J. H. Baker, St. Paul, Minnesota; Wm. P. Dewey, Yankton, Dakota Territory; T. B. Searight, Denver City, Colorado Territory; L. F. Car-tee, Boise City, Idaho Territory; James T. Stratton, San Francisco, California; E. S. Davis, Virginia City, Nevada; James K. Proudft, Santa Fe, New Mexico Territory; Benjamin Simpson, Eugene City, Oregon; William McMicken, Olympia, Washington Territory; J. R. Clark, Plattsmouth, Nebraska; A. J. Smith, Helena, Montana Territory; Nathan Kimball, Salt Lake City, Utah Territory; John Wasson, Tucson, Arizona Territory; Leroy DeBall, Tallahassee, Florida; O. H. Brewster, New Orleans, Louisiana; E. C. David, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory.

Tabular statement showing the number of acres of public lands surveyed in the following land States and Territories up to June 30, 1874, during the fiscal year, and the total of the public land surveyed up to June 30, 1875; also the total area of the public domain remaining unsurveyed within the same.

Land States and Territories.	Areas of public land in States and Territories.		Number of acres of public lands surveyed—				Total remaining, course, of, in- clusive of the area of private land claims surveyed up to June 30, 1875.
	In acres.	In square miles.	Up to June 30, 1874.	Prior to June 30, 1874, not heretofore reported.	Within the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.	Total up to June 30, 1875.	
Wisconsin..	30	53,924	34	60	.....	60	.....
Iowa.....	30	55,045	35	00	.....	00	.....
Minnesota..	40	83,531	35	12	10,749.74	67	16,831,273
Kansas.....	76	80,891	45	85	2,622,257.74	76	.....
Nebraska...	00	75,995	32	10	.....	62	14,078,138
California..	40	81	38	78	1,001,118.55	72	79,931,868
Nevada.....	41	90	5	94	.....	10	61,698,531
Oregon.....	80	74	15	17	178,134.81	35	44,155,625
Wash'gt'n..	60	94	14	46	177,118.80	15	33,506,045
Colorado...	00	00	15	66	.....	42	49,087,558
Utah.....	75	78	5	92	662,113.51	05	47,418,170
Arizona.....	04	16	3	53	23,009.00	10	69,399,494
N. Mexico..	40	01	5	85	.....	92	71,359,548
Dakota.....	40	32	13	43	62,874,937.67	51	79,856,989
Idaho.....	60	84	4	53	905,221.28	74	50,307,986
Montana...	40	78	6	81	1,208,683.81	65	84,023,475
Wyoming...	20	63	4	41	194,908.23	23	58,173,997
Missouri...	00	■	41	00	.....	00	.....
Alabama...	80	22	35	60	.....	80	.....
Mississippi.	40	56	34	40	.....	40	.....
Louisiana..	40	46	25	53	113,269.19	31	2,321,509
Arkansas...	20	98	35	20	.....	20	.....
Florida.....	20	88	25	70	461,944.29	14	8,123,706
Ohio.....	60	64	25	60	.....	60	.....
Indiana.....	60	69	21	80	.....	60	.....
Michigan...	40	51	34	40	.....	40	.....
Illinois.....	00	10	31	00	.....	00	.....
Indian.....	40	91	25	25	44,171,264.81	80	17,150,250
Alaska.....	00	190	.....	.....	.....	.....	309,529,600
Total	1,834,724,856	2,886,758	649,393,052	4,782,510.35	23,077,531.86	690,258,094	1,154,471,762

(a) Of the surveys in Minnesota, 43,972 acres of the reservation for the Chippewas of the Mississippi, per treaty of March 19, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 16, page 712,) were subdivided into sections; also 240,485 acres of the White Earth Indian reservation, per same treaty.

(b) Of the surveys in Washington Territory, 178,861 acres are of the Yakama Indian reservation, under treaty of June 9, 1855, (Statutes, vol. 12, page 961,) and 7,169 acres of the Swinomish Indian reservation, under treaty of January 22, 1855, (Statutes, vol. 12, page 937,) both subdivided into 40-acre tracts.

(c) Of the surveys in Dakota Territory, 187,359 acres are of the Yankton Sioux reservation, under treaty of April 19, 1859, (Statutes, vol. 11, page 743,) subdivided into 40-acre tracts, and 587,840 acres of the Old Winnebago and Sioux Indian reservation, subdivided partly into 40-acre tracts, and the remainder into sections. Treaty of April 29, 1868, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 635.)

(d) Of the surveys in Indian Territory, 479,667 acres are of the reservation for the Sac and Fox Indians of Mississippi, under treaty of February 18, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 495.) This is a subdivision into 40-acre tracts of a former survey of Creek ceded lands. 58,685 acres of the Quapaw, 50,301 acres of the Peoria, 17,088 acres of the Shawnee, 21,406 acres of the Wyandotte, and 51,958 acres of the Seneca Indian lands in Indian Territory were subdivided into 40-acre tracts. Treaty of February 23, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, page 513.) The surveys in Indian Territory also include 3,494,240 acres of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indian reservation and Choctaw and Chickasaw ceded lands, surveyed into sections. Treaty of October 21, 1867, (Statutes, vol. 15, pages 581 and 582.)

Historical and statistical table of the United States and Territories, showing the area of each in square miles and in acres; the date of organization of Territories; date of admission of new States into the Union; and the population of each State and Territory at the taking of the last census in 1870.*

The thirteen original States.	Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
	Sq. ms.	Acres.	
New Hampshire.....	9,280	5,939,200	318,300
Massachusetts.....	7,800	4,992,000	1,457,351
Rhode Island.....	1,306	835,840	217,353
Connecticut.....	4,750	3,040,000	537,454
New York.....	47,000	30,080,000	4,382,759
New Jersey.....	8,320	5,324,800	906,096
Pennsylvania.....	46,000	29, 40,000	3,521,951
Delaware.....	2,120	1,356,800	125,015
Maryland.....	11,124	7,119,360	780,894
Virginia—East and West.....	61,352	39,265,280	1,667,177
North Carolina.....	50,704	32,450,560	1,071,361
South Carolina.....	34,000	21,760,000	705,606
Georgia.....	58,000	37,120,000	1,184,109

States admitted.	Act organizing Territory.	U. S. Stat's.		Act admitting State.	U. S. Stat's.		Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
		Vol	Page		Vol	Page	Sq. ms.	Acres.	
Kentucky.....				Fb. 4, 1791	1	189	37,680	24,115,200	1,321,011
Vermont.....				Fb. 18, 1791	1	191	10,212	6,535,680	330,551
Tennessee.....				Ju. 1, 1796	1	491	45,600	29,184,000	1,258,520
Ohio.....	O'd'nc 1787			Ap. 30, 1802	2	173	39,964	25,576,960	2,665,260
Louisiana.....	M'h 3, 1805	2	331	Ap. 8, 1812	2	701	41,346	26,461,440	726,915
Indiana.....	M'y 7, 1800	2	58	De. 11, 1816	3	399	33,809	21,637,760	1,680,637
Mississippi.....	Apr. 7, 1798	1	549	De. 10, 1817	3	472	47,156	30,179,840	827,922
Illinois.....	Fb. 3, 1809	2	514	De. 3, 1818	3	536	55,410	35,462,400	2,539,891
Alabama.....	M'h 3, 1817	3	371	De. 14, 1819	3	608	50,722	32,462,080	996,992
Maine.....				M'h 3, 1820	3	544	35,000	22,400,000	626,915
Missouri.....	Ju. 4, 1812	2	743	M'h 2, 1821	3	645	65,350	41,824,000	1,721,295
Arkansas.....	M'h 2, 1819	3	493	Ju. 15, 1836	5	50	52,198	33,406,720	484,471
Michigan.....	Ja. 11, 1805	2	309	Ja. 26, 1837	5	144	56,451	36,128,640	1,184,059
Florida.....	M'h 30, 1822	3	654	M'h 3, 1845	5	742	59,268	37,931,520	187,748
Iowa.....	Ju. 12, 1838	5	235	M'h 3, 1845	5	742	55,045	35,228,800	1,194,020
Texas.....				De. 29, 1845	9	108	274,356	175,587,840	818,579
Wisconsin.....	Ap. 20, 1836	5	10	M'h 3, 1847	9	178	53,924	34,511,360	1,054,670
California.....				Se. 9, 1850	9	452	188,981	120,947,840	560,247
Minnesota.....	M'h 3, 1849	9	403	Fb. 26, 1857	11	166	83,531	53,459,840	439,706
Oregon.....	Au. 14, 1848	9	323	Fb. 14, 1859	11	383	95,274	60,975,360	90,923
Kansas.....	M'y 30, 1854	10	277	Ja. 29, 1861	12	126	80,891	51,769,976	364,399
West Virginia.....				De. 31, 1862	12	633	23,000	14,720,000	442,014
Nevada.....	M'h 2, 1861	12	209	M'h 21, 1864	13	30	112,090	71,737,741	42,491
Colorado.....	Fb. 28, 1861	12	172				104,500	66,880,000	39,864
Nebraska.....	M'y 30, 1854	10	277	Fb. 9, 1867	14	391	75,995	48,636,800	122,993

Territories.	Act organizing Territory.	U. S. Stat's.		Area of the United States and Territories.		Population in 1870.
		Vol	Page	Sq. miles.	Acres.	
Wyoming.....	Jy. 25, 1868	15	178	97,833	62,645,120	9,111
New Mexico.....	Se. 9, 1850	9	446	121,201	77,568,640	91,874
Utah.....	Se. 9, 1850	9	453	84,476	54,065,075	86,786
Washington.....	M'h 2, 1853	10	172	69,994	44,796,160	23,955
Dakota.....	M'h 2, 1861	12	239	150,932	96,595,840	14,181
Arizona.....	Fb. 24, 1863	12	664	113,916	72,906,304	9,658
Idaho.....	M'h 3, 1863	12	808	86,294	55,228,160	14,199
Montana.....	M'y 26, 1864	13	85	143,776	92,016,640	20,595
Indian.....				68,991	44,154,240	.....
District of Columbia.....	Jy. 16, 1790	1	130	10 m'l's sq.	.....	131,700
	M'h 3, 1791	1	214			
Alaska†.....	Jy. 27, 1868	15	240	577,390	365,529,600	.....

* The whole area of the States and Territories, including water surface of lakes and rivers, is nearly equal to four million square miles.

† Boundaries.—Commencing at 54 degrees 40 seconds north latitude, ascending Portland Channel to the mountains, following their summits to 141 degrees west longitude; thence north on this line to the Arctic Ocean, forming the eastern boundary. Starting from the Arctic Ocean west, the line descends Behring Strait, between the two islands of Krusenstern and Rotmanoff, to the parallel of 65 degrees 30 seconds, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same Arctic Ocean. Beginning again at the same initial point, on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 seconds, thence in a course southwest, through Behring Strait, between the island of St. Lawrence and Cape Choukotaki, to the 172d degree west longitude, and thence southwestly through Behring Sea, between the islands of Alton and Copper, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, leaving the prolonged group of the Aleutian Islands in the possessions now transferred to the United States, and making the western boundary of our country the dividing line between Asia and America.

Synopsis of the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875.

	Acres.
Disposals of public lands by ordinary cash sales.....	745,061.30
Military bounty land warrant locations, under acts of 1847, 1850, 1852, and 1855.....	137,000.00
Homestead entries	2,356,057.69
Timber-culture entries.....	464,870.16
Agricultural college scrip locations.....	9,432.02
Certified to railroads.....	3,107,643.14
Land approved to States as swamp.....	47,721.25
Certified for agricultural colleges.....	22,321.24
Certified for common schools	142,388.11
Certified for universities.....	16,454.04
Internal-improvement selections approved to States.....	8,614.25
Sioux half-breed scrip locations.....	1,526.45
Chippewa half-breed scrip locations.	11,181.64
Total	7,070,271.29
Disposals of previous year	9,530,872.93
Decrease in disposals.....	2,460,601.64

CASH RECEIPTS UNDER VARIOUS HEADS.

Purchase money of land sold.....	\$1,382,281 52
Homestead fees.....	185,970 00
Commissions.....	159,125 80
Timber-culture fees.....	36,430 00
Commissions	14,572 00
Agricultural college scrip fees	236 00
Fees for exemplifications furnished by General Land Office	5,385 95
Total.....	1,784,001 27

	Acres.
Total area of the land States and Territories	1,834,724,856.00
Surveys during past fiscal year.....	26,077,531.86
Previously surveyed.....	654,175,562.35
Total surveyed to June 30, 1875.....	680,253,094.21
Leaving yet to be surveyed.....	1,154,471,762.79

THE RESULT OF FALSE IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT.

It has been said that words are things, and if so, ideas are greater things. To all moderately educated minds this is a truism, old and stale, but to the mass of ignorant and unreflecting people there is no meaning in it whatever. The masses do not look much at thoughts, tendencies, and principles, but to taxation, and the passing of acts which shall secure next summer and next winter "two dollars a day and roast beef." They can comprehend certain individual measures as affecting present prosperity, but have only a faint conception of the ideas which lie back of such measures. They comprehended the war, but until it actually came they did not see that certain dogmas held by one of the great parties in the country were making war inevitable. They realized the fact that rebel guns were demolishing Fort Sumter, but not that those guns were charged with the speeches of John C. Calhoun. They went to Bull Run and died by rebel bullets,

but never thought that the ammunition which projected each bullet was a Virginia resolution of '98.

The great conflict which resulted in the tread of mighty armies, and the pouring out like water the blood of our best and noblest sons, taking from mothers and wives what they most loved and most needed, and making orphans of millions of children, grew out of certain ideas that were false, ideas that are fatal to Republican government, and ideas which, persisted in, will bring another conflict of the same terrible nature, whenever the circumstances shall favor. The belief that the United States were not a nation but simply a corporation, and the Constitution was simply a compact between sovereign States, of course made the States higher than the nation, and rendered the Constitution a document of secondary importance. The people of one State came to regard the people of the other States as foreign-

ers, as alien in interest and affection, and it became the study of the leading statesmen of one section how to get the control of the National Government and use it to check the growth and advancement of the other section, instead of securing the prosperity of the whole. The slavery question, by raising an industrial interest opposed to free labor, and by creating a consolidated capital of property in slaves amounting to thousands of millions in value, greatly aggravated the situation, and so formidable and influential was this question on the politics of the country that many, yes, nearly all the great anti-slavery leaders were brought to believe that slavery alone was responsible for our troubles, which would mainly pass away with the downfall of that institution. This was the idea of Mr. Lincoln in the celebrated remark at the opening of the debate with Douglas: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. This country must either become all free or all slave." There was pretty general assent to this view of the case, and so enormous and overshadowing was slavery that the men who were confronting it naturally believed that it was the sole cause of the difficulty, when historically the fact is that the sentiments which caused the rebellion existed at the time the country was all slave; and they had an existence independent of slavery all the time. The ideas were in the Virginia resolutions of '98, they were in the great Pennsylvania whisky rebellion, which was in reality a conspiracy having for its ultimate object a Southern Confederacy, and they were at the bottom of the laws of the State of New York which granted to Fulton and Livingston the right to the exclusive use of the waters of the State for steamboat navigation, and other similar laws passed by other States: laws which were exploded, it is true, by the Supreme Court in the case of *Gibbon vs. Ogden*; but the ideas which made such laws possible have never been abandoned. These were ideas known as States' rights; but allied to them, and belonging to the same family, were prejudices against the commerce of New England that had much to do with the embargo of 1812, and other measures tending to destroy their trade and check their growth, opposition to internal

improvement, education, and generally all measures of national importance except such as were necessary for our protection against the aggressions of other nations.

Mr. Webster, in his great reply to Hayne, brought out the view we are endeavoring to present. He said: "What interest, asks he, (Mr. Hayne) has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio? Sir, this very question is full of significance. It develops the gentleman's whole political system; and its answer expounds mine. * * * He may well ask, upon his system, what interest has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio! On that system, it is true, she has no interest. On that system Ohio and Carolina are two governments, and different countries, connected here, it is true, by some slight and ill-defined bond of union, but in all main respects separate and diverse. On that system Carolina has no more interest in a canal in Ohio than she has in a canal in Mexico. The gentleman, therefore, only follows out his own principles; he does no more than arrive at the natural conclusion of his own doctrines. * * * Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. We look upon the States, not as separated, but united. We love to dwell on that union, and on the mutual happiness which it has so much promoted, and the common renown which it has so greatly contributed to acquire. * * * We do not impose geographical limits to our patriotic feeling or regard; we do not follow rivers and mountains and lines of latitude to find boundaries beyond which public improvements do not benefit us. * * * It was the very object of the Cōnstitution to create unity of interests." And so on.

It will be seen from these remarks of Mr. Webster that in 1830 there existed the pernicious doctrines which led to the rebellion; and that they existed, not as the offspring of slavery merely, but as dangerous heresies at the foundation of the Virginia school of political science. They were heresies which led Calhoun, Hayne, McDuffie, and South Carolina to oppose improvements, education, and freedom, and which later led James Buchanan to deny the right of the general Government to coerce a State, and induced Jeff Davis, and Wigfall, and Stephens, and

Breckinridge to take up arms for the avowed purpose of destroying the Union and the nation. Real patriotism is impossible with men who hold to the ideas which we have been describing. A man cannot love a country whose existence he denies. This is a contradiction in terms. If the Constitution is only a compact, as has always been affirmed by the rebel Democratic school of politicians, we have no country; we are in truth "men without a country;" there is nothing national to love, and patriotism necessarily confines itself to State limits, and to be logical, to county limits, and for aught we can see, it may as well shrivel itself into town limits or ward limits, after repudiating the claims of nationality. The terrible fact of the rebellion will not be denied, and no thoughtful man will presume to deny that it was the logical consequence of the prevalence of the ideas which Hayne advanced and Webster combatted in 1830. The question which comes next is: Has that school of thinking been abolished? and then, has love of country taken the place of State pride, State affection, and the determination to maintain local interests as paramount to interests of a general, common, and national character? As these questions are candidly and fairly and truthfully answered shall we be able as reasonable men to decide our political duty in the next Presidential election; for it will not be pretended in any loyal quarter that it is the proper way to save the country, or advance the highest interests of the country to put the government thereof in the hands of men who fail in their allegiance to it, or fail in their belief in its supreme character and grand ultimate unity and perpetuity. A mistake on the tariff, a false step as to currency, or a false estimate as to the proper sum to be paid for public buildings or public works, may be rectified by future legislation, and no great harm will ensue, but an administration without the sentiment of nationality must be fatal should the enemies of the nation choose to improve their opportunity to destroy it.

To arrive at an intelligent and safe conclusion as to the dangers of the situation we should consider what was the teaching of philosophy concerning the case of the nation,

while the war was pending, in connection with the events that have actually transpired. Mr. Carl Schurz, the eminent German orator, made a speech in Cooper Institute, New York, October 6, 1862, in which he undertook to forecast coming events in case the Union arms should prove victorious. Mr. Schurz was the right man to discuss a matter of this nature, for, added to learning, great powers of mind, and a speculative disposition, he was an experimental revolutionist, having been an actor in scenes which must have forced upon him the study of consequences with singular impressiveness. Having given the subject due thought, he worked out the problem in his own mind, and in this speech gave the country the benefit of it by an illustration. He said: "Take the State of South Carolina; you beat the rebels defending its soil, and occupy the whole State with your troops. Armed resistance to the authority of the United States becomes impossible, but you want to restore the active co-operation of the people of South Carolina in the government of the United States, without which the old order of things is impossible. Now, you call upon the people of South Carolina to elect new State authorities of their own, or you impose upon them a provisional government, appointed by the President at Washington. In the first case, the people of South Carolina—a large majority of whom are disloyal, and those who are not disloyal are not loyal either, (applause,) and to a certain extent seem to be incorrigible—are most likely to elect a new set of secessionists to office. It will be a reorganization of TREASON and CONSPIRACY; *for you must know that conspiracies do not only precede rebellions, but also follow unsuccessful ones.*" Evidently the orator knows what he is talking about. "The new State government is at once in conflict with the Federal authorities. The latter find themselves counteracted and clogged in every imaginable way." Is not this man a prophet? He made a mistake in selecting South Carolina as an illustration, but substitute for South Carolina the State of Louisiana, and he appears to be talking veritable history. After asserting that this state of things must cause sterner measures on the part of the Government of the United

States to compel order, and admitting that force as a permanent means of restoration must prove a failure, he goes on to point out the remedy in these words: "In order to restore these principles to life, the Government is obliged to trust its authority to the loyal action of the people."

This is a correct statement of what is necessary, and an accurate description of what has transpired and is transpiring in the late Confederate States. The Government did the very things Mr. Schurz predicted. It appointed the Provisional Governors, and after a brief period trusted to the loyalty of the people of the States to maintain order and build up the places made desolate by the war of the rebellion. And the Government was met precisely as was predicted by Mr. Schurz, just as soon as the rebel elements could fully organize and get their forces in hand. They did even worse than the prophet had foreseen, for he had only anticipated that a "new set of secessionists" would be elected to office, not dreaming that audacity ever was born so brazen as to put the old set back into power, as was speedily done, with the officers of the Confederate army conspicuously to the front. Mr. Schurz declared this would be a reorganization of treason and conspiracy, and that such is the result is capable of the clearest demonstration. The purpose of the General Government has been clogged and thwarted at every step. The effort to maintain order has been met by armed mobs, the citizens of the States have been dragged from their beds at midnight, and shot, hung, and tortured, to the number of many thousands, and not a court in the whole South has yet been able to punish the offenders; indeed, has not cared to do so. The negroes have been driven from their homes and murdered in cold blood simply for voting, their school-houses have been burned, and their teachers tarred and feathered for no crime but a desire to give and get an education to qualify themselves and their children for the duties of the free citizen. These men have corrupted such of the blacks as they could not intimidate, have bought Legislatures and offices, carried through bills by shameless bribes, have robbed right and left, have polluted the fountains of

justice, debauched the public sentiment, established a reign of terror in some places and a reign of rottenness in others, and wherever the Government has discountenanced it or any part of it they have scoffed, and when it has interfered to put a stop to the iniquities they have denounced and derided. That the crimes of corruption and bribery have been charged exclusively upon the carpet-baggers we well know, and that they have been guilty in many cases we are not permitted to deny, but it is not alone or chiefly the carpet-baggers who are in these things. In his public address to the citizens of New Orleans on the 28th January, 1870, Gov. Warmoth, of Louisiana, the great Conservative leader, said: "You charge the Legislature with passing corruptly many bills looking to the personal aggrandizement of individuals and corporations. Let me suggest to you that those individuals and corporations are your very best people. For instance, this bank bill that is being lobbied through the Legislature now. By the hardest kind of work we have been able to defeat that bill twice in the House, and now it is up again to be passed. Who are doing it? Your bank presidents. The best people of the city of New Orleans are crowding the lobbies of the Legislature, continually whispering into these men's ears bribes to pass this measure. Now are we to defend the State against the interposition of these people, who are potent in their influence in this community?" Mr. Warmoth is not our witness, and perhaps he lies; but if there was bribery of the negro members of the Legislature the bribes came from a source where there was money, and neither carpet-baggers nor negroes have been found guilty of riches whatever other sins may have been laid to their charge. If there was the bribery, as doubtless there was, the money was furnished by those having it, and they were the bank presidents and first citizens of cities like New Orleans.

When bribery is committed there are two parties to the crime, and the wealthy bankers of Louisiana, who all belong to the white man's party, are not in a condition to throw stones at the negro members of the Legislature whose votes they bought.

That the negroes sold their votes is an argument against electing such men to the Legislature, but it is no argument against electing a Republican Legislature. Having debauched the poor and ignorant negroes, these men must not be permitted to come in and allege that the negro is most to blame.

Of course it is a bad state of things, and we are not defending the negroes or carpet-baggers for their share in the business; but we do claim that the remedy is not to be found in putting the control into the hands of the debauchers. Returning now from the temporary digression in our main line of argument, we reassert that the prophecies of Mr. Schurz have been fulfilled; the course pointed out was taken by the Government; the rebels resumed their old power in the Confederate States, and used it against the ideas and measures of the National Union party, and in favor of the principles of the resolutions of '98, which gave birth to the rebellion. The condition of things in much of the territory of the South was well described by the late General George H. Thomas, whose testimony is unimpeachable. He said in an official report that "crime is committed because public opinion favors it or acquiesces in it. The local laws are enforced or not, according to the controlling opinion of the community. A criminal who is popular with the mob can set law at defiance; but if a man is only charged with a crime, if he is inimical to the community, he is likely to be hung to the nearest tree or shot at his own door." Thomas had a remarkably clear head and was cool in judgment. He speaks as the commander of the Department of the South, and describes the facts as he witnessed them. The facts reveal the tone and temper of society at the South. It is a temper which is a natural fruit of the rebellion. As Schurz said, "conspiracies follow as well as precede rebellions." The defeated sulk, are immeasurably chagrined at their overthrow, and hate their conquerors. Messrs. Lamar and Gordon claim otherwise and talk of the "era of good feeling," and all that, but it is contrary to history and to human nature. All the acts of the body of the late conspirators belie the assertion that they are at heart reconciled and reconstructed. Even Lamar

himself, with all his pretended acceptance of the situation, when he gave a true heart utterance, admitted that he failed to love the chosen Government of the Union. Then he spoke truthfully. Then he revealed the condition of the Southern mind, which is chronic opposition and hatred of the principles which we of the North fought for in the late war, which we gained on the battle-field, but which we are to be cheated out of by the alliance of the forces of ignorance, rebellion, and Democracy, if the alliance succeeds.

It is plain enough now that the old anti-slavery men and Mr. Schurz in 1862 were entirely mistaken in their theory of the effect of emancipation upon public opinion at the South. Slavery and freedom were hostile forces, which made a "house divided against itself" that could not stand. Free labor and slave labor were vitally opposing interests, which were the basis of permanent and bitter conflict, and it was argued that the abolition of slavery would at once harmonize these interests, and compose the elements of strife. This has not happened, and it is plain why it has not. The old slave-holding element, the dominant white race, has not accepted the situation, but only pretends to have done so. The old slave-holding class has lost two thousand millions of property in slaves, in addition to what it wasted in four years of expensive war, which amounted to two thousand millions more. This property was their capital, and the income of it furnished their means of support. Their slave labor was opposed to free labor, because the latter put the power perpetually in jeopardy. Emancipation has ended this by the total destruction of the property, but it has introduced a new conflict. The old masters cannot recognize the equality of their late slaves. They still feel themselves to be the dominating class, and so assume the prerogatives of the dominating class. They scout the idea of negro equality, and deny *in toto* his fitness to share in the Government. The instinct to keep him under remains powerful, and is strengthened by the necessity of their still living on the proceeds of his labor. There are no more offices, corporate and State, than are needed by the dominant class. This they believe, and on it they practice. To main-

tain the superiority which they assume to have by nature, they must shut the negro out of the offices, and debar him from entering the lists as a competitor for office, for business, or social position. Hence they are in deadly hostility to suffrage now, and to education which will lead to suffrage hereafter. Whatever a few cunning men like Lamar and Gordon may say, the whole spirit of Southern first-class white society has this character. It is seen in the Ku-Klux movements. It speaks in the Congressional orations of Northern Democrats, which invariably taunt the Republicans with inaugurating negro rule and negro equality at the South. It is the standing accusation against the Republican party that it favors negro equality. It is the real cause of the difference between parties to-day. It is the cement which keeps Democracy together. The Democratic party is divided on the great financial and industrial questions, the currency, tariff, internal improvements, &c., but on education and negro equality it is one, and were these two questions put to rest, as a party it would be in the throes of dissolution within twenty-four hours. Whatever collateral, or tempo-

rary, or incidental issues, like currency, extravagant expenditures, and reform, may be in the next presidential canvass, the great overshadowing and transcendantly important one of nationality, of our right to be a nation, the possibility of our continuing the experiment of self government, will be the question which we are to meet, and in its solution all other questions will be involved. This one grand issue is not made for us by party conventions or ranting demagogues; it is inherent in the condition of things. It comes of itself, from the ideas which have been engendered in the Southern mind by education and circumstances. It is the last legacy of slavery, bequeathed, not by will and testament, but by the natural order of things. It must be met—we cannot avoid meeting it if we would. All that we fought for in the war is involved in it, and will be lost if the secessionists shall beat us—schools, education, free suffrage, the prosperity and progress of the South, nationality—all are involved, and with them the character of the American people; for what must be said of a people who would fight and win what they had not the wit to maintain?

TREASURY BOOK-KEEPING.

The debate in the Senate opened by Senator Davis, of West Virginia, on discrepancies in the reports of the Treasury Department has attracted wide attention, and most of the wise men who edit Democratic newspapers, and their allies of the independent press, are quite satisfied that there is an alarming amount of rascality or incompetency in that department.

Their opinions are based, not on what they know individually on the subject, but on what is said by Senators, who know nothing whatever, if we take their own admissions, or consider the facts developed in their speeches. Mr. Davis wanted a committee of investigation. Why? Simply to find out whether anything was wrong or not. If he *knew*, of course there was no need of a committee to find out. Mr. Eaton, of Connecticut, confessed that he knew nothing, and further, owned up that he, aided by the most expert book-keeper in the Nutmeg State, des-

paired of ever being able to tell within \$50,000,000 of the amount of the public debt. Few sadder sights than this venerable Senator making such a confession have been witnessed since the war. He knows nothing, and can never know by the best light of an enlightened State within fifty millions of dollars. This is very poor buncombe. If nothing is known, and Connecticut accountants cannot find out anything, it was very unwise in him to put the figures so low, because he might with the same accuracy and safety have put them at \$200,000,000.

The statement shows on its face that the Senator is ignorant of the whole matter, as from the nature of the case he must be. He could guess with the same degree of confidence that no State in the Union knows the amount of its debt, or he might give it as his opinion that A. T. Stewart is bankrupt. What of it?

The discrepancies alluded to by Mr. Davis

were not very important in amount, but very important as mistakes, if they were undiscovered by the officers of the department, except the thirty-seven million item. The debt in one year was reported that much more than it actually was, but it hurt nobody, and the debt was not increased thereby, and no one was able to get money out of the Treasury unlawfully in consequence. It was such a mistake as insured its own detection. It could not possibly remain undiscovered, and is not and never was of the slightest consequence, only as giving occasion for a charge of carelessness.

The charges made are rather aimed at the system of book-keeping in the department, and the administration is held responsible for a very bad system according to Davis and Eaton. Let us see how this is. The system is the same which was inaugurated by Alexander Hamilton, and approved by such eminent Democrats and financiers as Albert Gallatin, Samuel Dexter, A. J. Dallas, Richard Rush, Louis McLane, Roger B. Taney, Levi Woodbury, Robert J. Walker, and Jas. Guthrie, the latter of whom pronounced it perfect. It is a little rough in Mr. Eaton to abuse the financial reputation of such eminent Democrats who in their day were thought to know a thing or two about their business, and whose administrations were supposed to reflect considerable credit upon the Democratic party. A few old fashioned persons have sometimes advanced the idea that a return of some of these perfect gentlemen would be the best thing to pray for; but that is a mistake, if the system they approved is so uncertain and defective.

As Mr. Boutwell explained the items named by Mr. Davis, there is no need to go over the same ground, and the idea can be illustrated by another example. In 1870 the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his report gave the receipts of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending 30th of June, 1870, at \$185,235,867.97; the Register for same year, \$184,899,756.49; the Fifth Auditor for same year, \$168,476,458.59.

These figures are taken from the books. The books remain unchanged, and the discrepancies at once attract attention. People who jump at conclusions immediately decry

the result as nonsense, and say that if either is right the other two must be wrong. Now it will be seen at once that there was no forcing of books to come to an agreement. Each office put forth its own figures fearlessly, and braved the consequences. Let them have credit for that. And well they might, for the explanation is very simple.

The money which gets into the United States Treasury, or out of it, does so by a warrant signed by the Secretary and other specified officers, which paper sets forth, from or to whom, and for what the money is received or paid. These particulars are entered on the books of the Comptroller, Register, and Treasurer, and in all stated accounts of the Auditor, and each warrant is compared with the several books as a check against any possible mistake or collusion; and this, so far as safety is concerned, is far superior to mercantile double entry, as collusion is rendered all but impossible. When a collector remits money, instead of sending to the Treasury actual cash, he deposits the cash in a Government depository, takes triplicate certificates, and sends one to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, one to the Secretary of the Treasury, and keeps one as a voucher to protect himself, and show that he has paid over the amount. When the Commissioner receives his certificate he enters the amount at once upon his books, and from the books he can tell the amount actually deposited by the collectors. But when the Secretary receives the duplicate certificate, to get the money into the Treasury the warrant has to be drawn and signed by the proper officers, and the comparisons must be made, which in the case of a million in small sums of \$10,000 or less is a work of days; so that at the close of the fiscal year the certificates of the last few days will be entered on the books of the Commissioner, while the warrants will not get to the Register's books in time, and they necessarily go upon the books of the succeeding year. Hence the difference between Commissioner and Register. After all this the Auditor adjusts the accounts of the several collectors, when they reach him and are in condition for settlement, which more or less of them never are in time for making up the

annual report, and as he only reports from his adjustments, all the deposits in the unadjusted accounts fail to be included, and his statement of collections is less than the Register's. All these officers are right, so far as they each go, and neither may be actually right, because some collector may have failed to send his certificates, or they may have been lost in the mail, so that the actual collections may exceed the amounts in the reports.

The question then arises: Why publish the reports if they do not convey true information? We answer, that the law requires the several officers to report to the Secretary, and the reports are valuable for use and information. Each member of Congress can see by the Fifth Auditor's table how much money was collected in his district, how much salary was paid, what contingent expenses were allowed, &c., unless the collector has been delinquent in forwarding his accounts, and then that fact will appear. The Secretary can see the same things, and any other officer the same. As to the general public, it is not of the least consequence whether the amount reported is two or five millions less than the receipts: the fact that the money collected has got into the Treasury and is safe is alone of consequence to them, with the assurance that all that is possible has been done to guard the treasure when there.

It is admitted that one cannot understand the reports unless he understands Treasury business, and it is no discredit to Davis, Eaton, and Thurman that they do not understand that business, because they have not been in it. What is to their discredit is that, not knowing what they are talking about they get up in the Senate and undertake to enlighten the people. It is a necessity of the position that the clerks in the department, those who do the business, should understand it. The checks on incompetency are as ample as they are on fraud. A fraudulent claim may get through by false swearing in sufficient amount, same as a guilty man may escape in a court of justice by bringing false witnesses to an *alibi*, but the fault is not in the system—it is a failing in any system. Nothing has been invented which is a com-

plete bar to forgery and false swearing. The Treasury system is the best thing yet discovered, and in proportion to the amount of business the losses are far less than in the banking and business corporations of the country. The system is decried as complicated and mysterious, while in fact it is simple and devoid of mystery. The Democratic members from the rural districts who are giving out word that they are about to simplify and amend the masterpiece of Alexander Hamilton, and improve upon Robert J. Walker, James Guthrie, and Salmon P. Chase, will go into the Treasury, pull off their coats, take a survey of the million tons of vouchers—and retire, as the Irishman did, after surveying the majestic proportions of Mr. William Patterson, whose acquaintance he was so anxious to make till he saw him—and that will be the end of it.

INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS.—On the intelligent and loyal press of the country the hopes of the nation depend. The people look to the press for correct information, and on this they base their judgment of governmental affairs. A bad paper conveys a moral poison wherever it circulates. If it is edited with commanding ability, its power for evil is greatly increased, and this is still further enlarged in proportion to its circulation. How vital, then, in view of this, becomes the necessity of supporting good papers. Every citizen who believes in public and private morality should extend liberal support to his home paper. His first duty should be to strengthen that. If he has patronage, it should go to the local organ before a dollar is sent to a paper at a distance. The principle of home protection should be applied to the local papers of the country.

THE three political virtues taught in the school of Democracy are forgiveness, forgetfulness, and justification. In 1865 our lesson was the duty of forgiveness, in 1868 and 1872 it was forgetfulness, and now we are asked to follow the leader of the Confederate choir in the centennial song of justification. Loyal people generally decline to join in the chorus, or to throw up their hats over any agreement that compromises the results of the war.

A STARTLING QUESTION :—IS THE SOUTH STILL FOR WAR?

Mr. B. H. Hill, a member of Congress from Georgia, delivered a speech, said to have been "the grandest" the gentleman ever uttered, and which was reported in the *Atlanta Constitution* of January 24, 1875. Mr. Hill said :

"Fellow citizens, I look to the contest of 1876 not only as the most important that ever occurred in American history, but as the most important in the history of the world ; for if the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against this Republican party it will perpetuate itself in power in the United States by precisely the same means that the President has taken in Louisiana, and the people will be powerless to prevent it *except they go to war*. [Applause.] If we fail with the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. I trust we will not fail. I hope the Northern people have had a sufficient subsidence of passion to see this question fairly. If we must have war ; if we cannot preserve this Constitution and constitutional government by the ballot ; if force is to defeat the ballot ; if the war must come—God forbid that it should come—but if it must come ; if folly, if wickedness, if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come ; I am ready."

It is useless to endeavor to conceal the fact that the delivery of such a speech must have been prompted by motives commensurate with the language employed and the influence of the speaker. It is useless to try to explain away the import of the words. The speech was delivered by Mr. Hill, who had been a Senator in the Confederate Congress and the mouthpiece of Jefferson Davis, whose infamous orders entailing suffering and death on Union soldiers he either justifies or makes light of. Mr. Hill spoke in a State which had joined in the rebellion in the hope of destroying the Union ; a State which had annihilated as far as it could the colored vote and the vote of white Republicans ; a State that had failed in its duty to provide fully for the education of its colored citizens and their children, and to afford them the protection of the law ; and that had been violently wrenched from Republican

control by Democrats who had obtained their present status through the leniency of amnesty laws passed by a Republican Congress. To such Democrats Mr. Hill made his address. They were men opposed to the reconstruction of the South as provided for in the reconstruction measures. They had no sympathy with the cause that triumphed in the war ; no sense of the obligations that rested upon them to accept the situation in good faith ; and no intention of obeying those Federal laws which made no discrimination in citizenship between whites and blacks.

The immediate audience surrounding Mr. Hill when speaking were spell-bound by the manner in which he dealt with the subject. But he knew, and they knew, that he addressed through them the whole South ; that his words were recorded with the intention of being circulated among the leading White Liners, that pestiferous class of fire-eaters, most of whom have received amnesty, but who keep the South in perpetual agitation by maintaining the old claims of the late slave States to subordinate the Federal Government and practically disfranchise the blacks. The whole speech is pervaded by a spirit of truculent disloyalty. Mr. Hill stands upon a very fierce platform—the blood and thunder platform so grateful to rebel ears—which calls upon the people to prepare for war if the Republican party is successful in 1876. Such an appeal was expected to meet with a ready response ; and it did so. Mississippi responded in its late election, where the platform was War, and where treason was rampant and the murders of colored men followed as a natural consequence.

The loyal people of the Union have now an opportunity of knowing who and what it is that causes disquiet in the South. It is not Mr. Hill alone, though he is largely responsible ; but it is the kind of speech which he and other speakers go about delivering that stirs up the worst passions of the people and leads to murder. This is no "bloody

shirt" fiction; no recommendation to shoot down the six blood-thirsty negroes that had armed themselves to overpower and exterminate the six hundred White Liners who were fleeing before them; no suggestion to keep the peace in localities where were negro majorities, by calling upon white men in the surrounding counties to assemble together and do indiscriminate slaughter. This is insignificance itself compared with what Mr. Hill had in view. He says:

"If the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against the Republican party it will perpetuate itself...and the people will be powerless to prevent it EXCEPT THEY GO TO WAR. IF WE FAIL WITH THE BALLOT BOX IN 1876...IF WE MUST HAVE WAR...IF THE WAR MUST COME...LET IT COME; I AM READY."

- Let the people look at it. Divested of all extraneous matter, you have there the current sentiments of the Southern leaders. Soldiers! you who fought in the field to preserve the Union and its cause—is this what you expected as the result of all your sufferings and exposure when you faced death on

the battle-field and put down the rebellion? The contest at the ballot box in 1876 will undoubtedly be the most important that ever occurred in American history or the world. With the Confederate armies amnestied and breathing vengeance against the Republican party, what security is there, if disloyalty shall triumph, for the integrity of the Union; for the fulfillment of the pledges given by the nation: for the preservation of the national credit? The spirit of the Southern leaders to-day is a menace to liberty; a national danger; and can be met only by that spirit of patriotic resistance which will call every man to the polls to do his duty as a citizen, and cast a vote for the Republican party so overwhelming in its magnitude as will render the disloyal Democratic element in the country, North and South, utterly hopeless, and turn its insolent vauntings for blood against itself. The Republican party is national. It is the party out of which the Nation sprung. It is the party whose preservation has become a necessity for the preservation of the integrity of the Union.

THOSE ENORMOUS EXPENSES.

Notwithstanding all the howling about the corruption of the Republican party, it is a demonstrable fact that the expenses, deducting those which appertain exclusively to the war, are less per head than they were under the Democratic administration of James Buchanan.

The following figures, in round numbers, for the year ended June 30, 1875, tell their own story:

Annual expenses for 1853.....	\$82,000,000
Annual expenses for 1859.....	84,000,000
Annual expenses for 1860.....	77,000,000
	<u>\$243,000,000</u>

Per year 81,000,000

Expenses for 1875	\$274,000,000
From which deduct interest on debt of Democratic war.....	\$103,000,000
Sinking fund appropriation.....	25,000,000
Pensions on account of war.....	29,000,000
Internal revenue expenses on account of war...	7,000,000
Refunding war taxes.....	1,500,000
War damages paid.....	4,000,000

12R

Printing bonds and notes and negotiating.....	\$2,000,000
Extra clerk hire caused by war	500,000
Interest on Pacific Railway bonds.....	4,000,000
	<u>176,000,000</u>
Currency.....	\$98,000,000
Difference between currency and gold on \$98,000,000, average.....	12,000,000
	<u>\$86,000,000</u>
Per year	<u>\$86,000,000</u>

Democratic Expenses.—Population in 1860, 31,000,000; expenses, \$81,000,000; equal to \$2.61 per head.

Republican Expenses.—Population in 1875, 42,000,000; expenses, \$86,000,000; equal to \$2.05 per head.

This is allowing nothing on account of army expenses caused by mobs in the South, which grew out of the Democratic rebellion, nor anything for increase of army, caused solely by the rebellion, which amount to \$15,000,000. Let every Republican newspaper publish this exhibit, and keep it standing until the next election.

"ONE man in the right is a majority."

WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

In this centennial year of our national existence the extraordinary spectacle is presented to the American people, in the Senate of the United States, by the submission to that august body of the following resolutions declaratory of the character of the Government under which they live. The views entertained and the positions taken by the distinguished Senators submitting these resolutions will, at a glance, be seen to be in extreme antagonism, calculated to astonish the enlightened world in this advanced period of our national history, as to the apparent uncertainty that seems to exist as to the character of our Government. In the Senate of the United States, December 15, 1875, Mr. Morton, of Indiana, submitted the following resolutions:

"Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That the people of the United States constitute a nation, and are one people in the sense of national unity.

"Resolved, That the Government of the United States is not a compact between the States, in their municipal and corporate character, but was formed by the people of the United States in their primary capacity; that the rights of the States are defined and guaranteed by the Constitution, and not by outside theory of State sovereignty; and that the rights of the States cannot be enlarged or diminished except by an amendment to the Constitution.

"Resolved, That the rights of the States have the same sanction and security in the Constitution as the rights and powers of the National Government, and that local domestic government by the States, within the limits of the Constitution, is an essential part of our free republican system.

"Resolved, That the doctrine that a State has the right to secede from the Union is inconsistent with the idea of nationality, is in conflict with the spirit and structure of the Constitution, and should be regarded as having been forever extinguished by the suppression of the rebellion."

In the Senate of the United States, January 8, 1876, Mr. Whyte, of Maryland, submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House concurring,) That the people of the several States acting in their highest sovereign capacity as free and independent States, adopted the Federal Constitution, and established a form of government in the nature of a confederated republic; and for the purpose of car-

rying into effect the object for which it was formed, delegated to that government certain rights, enumerated in said Constitution, but reserved to the States respectively, or to the people thereof, all the residuary powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States."

It is proposed now to review at some length the proceedings in the convention at Philadelphia, in 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States, the proceedings in the State conventions, especially of Virginia and South Carolina, previous to its adoption, and of the speeches made and views entertained by the patriot fathers in those famous conventions; in order to see what light can be thrown over the very opposite positions taken in the above-cited resolutions, and to ascertain which doctrine is the true one according to the record made by the framers and adopters of the Constitution as it now stands—the organic law of the land.

Were it not that the resolutions of the prominent statesmen quoted above justify fully the attempt to make such a review for the purpose indicated, or in any way to moot the question of the character of the Government, the reviewer would scarcely have ventured on such ground without some apology for such temerity. Such an apology is however now unnecessary. But in 1872, and during the pendency of the political campaign in which the Republican and Democratic parties were contending for ascendancy, the writer of the present review wrote an address to the people of the South, advocating the re-election of General Grant, in which a brief essay on the character of the Government was published, and then the following apologetic remarks were made by way of preface for what he deemed at that time so bold a venture:

"In consideration of the fact that nearly a hundred years have elapsed since the establishment of our present General Government the above interrogatory (the same as at the head of this review) may seem to be, at first thought, a tacit confession of ignorance, and an inquiry of meaningless import. The character of this Government, it is true, should have been long since as familiar to every American citizen as the particular vocation with which he has wedded his exis-

tence. It has received interpretation and exposition from the most thorough scholars of governmental science, and delineation from statesmen and jurists more profound than those which have graced the annals of any other country or people. And yet in the midst of this refulgent light, lamentable as the fact may seem, ignorance of, or an unwillingness to abide by the form of government of the United States has cost the country, North and South, within the last eleven years, more than a half million of lives, and at a moderate estimate nearly ten thousand millions of property and treasure."

The following passages in that essay it is thought proper to quote in order to show the positions then taken upon the character of the Government under which we live, and also to show how fully those positions are in accord with the doctrine that will be advocated by the Senator from Indiana, and with the positions now taken in this review:

"The majority of the men who composed that convention (at Philadelphia) were fully alive to the importance of the occasion—had a full appreciation of the evils of the existing Government, and the necessary elements of one which ought to supplant it. We will not trace the action of the convention, space forbids, and its result stands to-day an exponent of the grandest organism of constitutional government that ever emanated from the mind of man. The prime evil of the Confederation, as will be remembered, was found in the fact that it dealt with the States and not with individuals; that it could recommend, but not enforce obedience from the people in their individual capacities, unless the States first assented. Seemingly to give a death-blow to this delusion in the outset the framers of the Constitution commenced it with the memorable words, "*We, the people,*" in order to form a more perfect union, &c., not we, the States. The same idea pervades the entire instrument, namely, that our present Federal charter is not a compact of the States, but a creation absolute, distinct, separate, and unqualified *ab initio* of the people. It lives independent of all other authority, an absolute, indissoluble entity in itself, and not a compact of corporations, whereby, by the withdrawal of any one or more of them the edifice may be either demolished in proportion, or entirely dissolved.

"These mighty advocates of liberty and supporters of constitutional law from which we have drawn so freely to support this discussion walked in no uncertain path. They affirmed that the General Government was meant to be, and was to all intents and purposes an entity of itself, dependent upon no

power save the will of the people, and not to State corporations, for its acts, clothed with authority to enact and power to enforce law, which authority, moreover, could neither be abridged nor withdrawn. In assuming this position they merely followed the plainest, simplest, most fundamental rule of legal interpretation and construction. They sought the *intent* of the framers of this instrument, the causes which led to the formation of the convention for its production, and on the result of this research they took their position. The *intent* of the framers was found in the words, "*We, the people.*" The causes which led to the formation of the convention were seen in the evils of the confederation hereinbefore explained, evils which sprung from a scheme of government entirely the opposite of our present Constitution, and which the National Convention at Philadelphia was called to dispel and destroy."

Throughout that essay upon Government the positions taken were in full accordance with those now taken by the honorable Senator from Indiana, and to support them reference was mainly had to great Southern authorities, avoiding Northern authorities nearly altogether, in view of the fact that the writer was addressing only the people of the South, and he deemed it proper to limit reference to that direction; because to their minds such reference to their direct patriotic fathers would have the most weight, and be the most conclusive upon the questions at issue.

In this review of the proceedings and acts of the Philadelphia convention, and of the State conventions during the time of framing and adopting the present Constitution of the United States, special attention will be given to the views and sentiments entertained by the great Southern statesmen on this momentous question—What is the Government of the United States?—in order to present in the most forcible manner for the serious consideration of the political leaders in the South who still advocate and strangely embrace "the political heresy" set forth in the resolution of the Senator from Maryland. Surely the views and opinions of these great patriots and statesmen, who rescued the people of this country from the feeble and inefficient government of the old Confederation, and who in their name, and acting as their delegates, framed

and adopted a constitution in the full capacity and power to protect their interests and welfare at home and abroad, should command and receive their full assent, and entire obedience to the Constitution as it was framed and designed by its great authors.

The convention at Philadelphia in 1787 adopted as a basis for, and preliminary to all after action the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the articles of confederation ought to be so corrected and enlarged as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution, namely, common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare."

All assented to the plain and self-evident proposition that the old Confederation was an utter failure for all purposes of good and stable government, and the work begun for the formation of a government of greater strength and stability under which the people might live in assured condition of peace, happiness, and prosperity.

Three prominent plans were brought forward, but of these but two were mainly taken into lengthened consideration and discussion, that of Mr. Hamilton, which provided for a Presidency during good behavior, being viewed as equivalent to a life tenure, was considered too extreme, and was soon laid aside. The two other plans, known as the Virginia and New Jersey plans, upon which it was proposed to frame a Constitution in the place of the old confederate league of States, which was sadly crumbling to pieces, were, after Mr. Hamilton's plan was thrown aside, alone under consideration and discussion.

The Virginia plan as brought forward by Mr. Edmund Randolph, one of the most distinguished and able of Southern statesmen, was, after long continued discussion by the very eminent statesmen then assembled in convention, adopted, and upon it was framed the present Constitution of the United States. That plan, showing its authors to have been profoundly impressed in the sad lesson of the past, and the necessity of securing to the people a government strong and stable enough to guarantee their happiness and welfare, is as follows, as contained in three propositions:

1. "That a Union of the States merely Fed-

eral will not accomplish the objects proposed by the articles of confederation, namely, common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare.

2. "That no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the States, as individual sovereignties, would be sufficient.

3. "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a *supreme* legislative, executive, and judiciary." (See Madison Papers, Vol. 5, of Elliott's Debates.)

It is not deemed necessary to cite at length the New Jersey plan submitted to the convention by Mr. Patterson, as it will suffice to note the difference between it and the Virginia plan as described by Mr. Wilson in convention, June 16, 1787, on the points suggestive by the subject-matter of this review, which are as follows:

"Virginia plan proposes two branches of the legislative body.

"New Jersey plan proposes a single legislative body.

"Virginia plan—the legislative powers *to be derived from the people*.

"New Jersey plan—the same powers *to be derived from the States*.

"Virginia plan—the legislature can legislate on all national concerns.

"New Jersey plan—can only legislate on limited objects.

"Virginia plan—the national legislature to remove the executive by impeachment.

"New Jersey plan—removal of executive on application of a majority of the States." (See Yates' Minutes of Secret Debates and Proceedings.)

Hence it will be seen that the Virginia plan was decidedly national, and for a strong, energetic government, and that the New Jersey plan was based on the State rights theory of government.

In convention, 29th of June, 1787, Mr. Madison remarked as follows:

"Some gentlemen are afraid that the plan (Virginia plan) is not sufficiently national; while others that it is too much so. If this point of representation was once well fixed we would come nearer to one another in sentiment. The necessity would then be discovered of circumscribing more effectually the State governments, and enlarging the bounds of the general government. Some contend that States are sovereign, *when in fact they are only political societies*. There is a gradation of power in all societies, from the lowest corporations to the highest sovereign. *The States never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty*. These were always vested in Congress. *Their voting as States in Congress*

is *no evidence of sovereignty*. The State of Maryland voted by counties; did this make the counties sovereign? The States at present are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. *The States ought to be placed under the control of the general government—at least as much so as they were formerly under the King and British Parliament.*" (See Madison Papers.)

Among others of those great men in the convention at Philadelphia who participated in the discussion upon the merits of the Virginia and New Jersey plans for a constitution was Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the peer of any or all of the eminent personages who sat there, who explained the distinction between a *federal* and a *national supreme government*, the former being, as he said, a mere compact resting on the good faith of the parties, the latter having a *compulsive operation*. He contended that in all communities there must be one supreme power, and one only.

Mr. Mason, (of Virginia,) observed, not only that the present confederation was deficient in *not providing for coercion and punishment* against delinquent States, but argued very cogently that punishment could not, in the nature of things, be executed on the States collectively, and, therefore, that such a government was necessary as *could directly operate on individuals*, and would punish those only whose guilt required it. (See Madison Papers.)

It was moved in committee of the whole by Mr. Read, and seconded by Mr. Pinckney, to postpone the third resolution (in Virginia plan) as offered by Mr. Randolph, viz: "That a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary, in order to take up the following, viz: *Resolved*, That in order to carry into execution the *design of the States* in forming this convention, and to accomplish the objects proposed by the Confederation, a more effectual government, consisting of a legislative, executive, and judiciary, ought to be established."

The motion to postpone Mr. Randolph's third resolution for this purpose was lost.

On the question then as moved by Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, on said third res-

olution it was resolved in committee of the whole, "that a *national government* ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary," the vote being as follows:

Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina—ayes 6. Connecticut—no 1. (New York divided, Colonel Hamilton voting aye, and Mr. Yates no)

(See Madison Papers.)

Mr. Dickerson, in convention, happily compared the proposed national system to the great planetary system, in which the States were the planets, and the general government the sun around which they revolved in the spheres, and in the manner presented by the great Creator—their creator being the sovereign people of the United States.

Mr. Madison said: "In a word, to recur to the illustrations borrowed from the planetary system, the prerogative of the general government (its control over the States) is the great pervading principle that must control the centrifugal tendency of the States, which without it will continually fly out of their proper orbits, and destroy the order and harmony of the political system."

How fearfully this apprehension or prophecy has been realized and fulfilled, it will be but necessary to refer to the mad action of the Southern States in 1861 in flying out of their proper orbits, and seceding from the common Union.

Mr. Madison (at page 264 Madison Papers) said: "Whenever there is danger of attack there ought to be given a constitutional power of defense. But he contended that the States were divided into different interests, not by the difference in size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves. It lay between the Northern and Southern, and if any defensive powers were necessary, it ought to be given to these two interests."

Mr. Madison, in reply to certain State rights members remarked: "That he was of opinion, in the first place, that there was less danger of encroachment from the General Government than from the State govern-

ments; and in the second place, that the mischief from encroachments would be less fatal if made by the former than if made by the latter." "All the examples, (he continued) of other confederacies prove the greater tendency, in such systems, to anarchy than to tyranny; to a disobedience of the members, than usurpations of the federal head. Our own experience had fully illustrated this tendency." Alas! if Mr. Madison had lived to witness the suicidal acts of the Southern States in their late rebellion he would have dwelt with far greater force on what our experience had illustrated as to the tendency of the members to disobedience, ending with the inauguration of a long and bloody war upon the federal head.

The constitution for the United States of America having been framed on the plan submitted by Mr. Edmund Randolph, or, as it was more commonly called and known, the Virginia plan, in which it will be borne in mind that the third resolution thereof declared "that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary," it was referred, in due and solemn form, to the conventions of the several States for ratification by the people, through their delegates chosen to represent them in convention.

Its character was well and fully understood by every State convention, as the subsequent discussion in every convention fully shows. There was no mistake whatever upon this head. It was as fully and openly demonstrated to their view as the sun at noonday that the government to be established under the Constitution was to be a national government, consisting of "a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

Upon the subject of ratification of the Constitution by the Legislatures of the States or by conventions of the people Mr. Madison remarked:

"He considered it best to require conventions; among other reasons for this, that the powers given to the General Government, being taken from the State governments, the legislatures would be more disinclined than conventions composed, in part at least, of other men; and if disinclined they could devise modes apparently promoting, but really thwarting the ratification. The difficulty in Maryland was no greater than in other States

where no mode of change was pointed out, and all officers were under oath to support it. *The people were, in fact, the fountain of all power*, and by resorting to them all difficulties were got over. They could alter constitutions as they pleased."

It is a matter of curious interest at this day to look back to the proceedings in the great Philadelphia convention, and observe the extraordinary fact (among other remarkable incidents showing sectional views) that the objections and opposition to a national government, such as was proposed to be formed on the Virginia plan, arose, mainly, from the delegates to the convention representing Northern and Eastern States; and that Southern members, particularly from Virginia and South Carolina, warmly and steadfastly espoused and advocated the national feature, and were thorough for a national government. In the South Carolina convention General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, than whom there was not a statesman in all the South, even among the greatest of those eminently distinguished characters, who figured in the exciting movements of that day, a superior, and who was a delegate from that State, in the Philadelphia convention made, on the 18th day of January, 1788, the following remarkable speech:

"This admirable manifesto, (referring to the Declaration of Independence,) which for importance of matter and elegance of composition stands unrivaled, sufficiently confutes the honorable gentleman's (Pierce Butler) doctrine of the individual sovereignty and independence of the several States."

"In that Declaration (he further remarked) the several States are not even enumerated, but after reciting in nervous language, and with convincing arguments, our right to independence, and the tyranny which compelled us to assert it, the declaration is made in the following words: 'We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.' " And further he says: "The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed the Declaration; the several States are not even mentioned by name

in any part of it, as if it was intended to impress the maxim on America that our freedom and independence arose from our union, and that without it we could neither be free nor independent. Let us, then, consider all attempts to weaken this union by maintaining that each State is separately and individually independent, as a *species of political heresy which may bring on us the most serious distresses.*"

Had General Pinckney lived to the day of secession of the Southern States he would have had his worst fears and apprehensions more than realized.

In close and immediate accord with the views entertained by the patriotic Pinckney upon the subject of State sovereignty, it will be interesting to read the following passage, quoted from that eminently learned jurist, Judge Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution. Commenting on the authority by which the Constitution was made, he states:

"It was not an act done by the State governments then organized, nor by persons chosen by them. It was emphatically the act of the *whole people* of the United Colonies, by the instrumentality of their representatives, chosen for that, among other purposes. It was not an act competent to the State governments, or any of them as organized under their charter, to adopt. Those charters neither contemplated the case, nor provided for it. It was an act of original inherent sovereignty by the people themselves, resulting from their right to change the form of government, and to institute a new government whenever necessary for their safety and happiness. So the Declaration of Independence treats it. No State had presumed of itself, to form a new government, or to provide for the exigencies of the times, without consulting Congress on the subject; and when they acted it was in pursuance of the recommendation of Congress. It was, therefore, the achievement of the whole for the benefit of the whole. *The people of the United Colonies made the United Colonies free and independent States*, and absolved them from the allegiance to the British Crown. The Declaration of Independence has accordingly always been treated as an act of paramount and sovereign authority, complete and perfect *per se*, and *ipso facto* working an entire dissolution of all political connection with, and allegiance to Great Britain; and this not merely as a practical fact, but in a legal and

constitutional view of the matter by courts of justice."

Thus looking back upon the evidence and authorities of the highest and most undoubted character, piled up so extensively in the foregoing review of the past political history of our country from the very foundation of governmental institutions, the writer may without the least apprehension of reasonable objection, or refutation of arguments and testimonies brought forward in support of the positions taken therein, conclude that the resolutions submitted in the Senate by the able and distinguished Senator from Indiana, the Honorable O. P. Morton, are based on, and are fully supported by the political and historical record of this country; and that we live under a stable, energetic National Government, as contra-distinguished from a loose structure of confederated States, built on "the political heresy" of State rights, and that if the latter system should unfortunately ever be carried into practical operation in the future it will surely bring on us, to use the prophetic language of General Pinckney, "the most serious distresses," and greater even than those the country has but lately suffered from the madness of the rebellious States of the South.

Upon these remarkable resolutions, as submitted to the Senate by the Senator from Indiana and the Senator from Maryland, so entirely opposite as they are in the views presented therein with regard to the character of our Government, doubtless extensive discussions will arise in both houses of Congress; and these discussions will be of the greatest interest and consequence to the people of the United States, as they will necessarily present for their consideration and decision the views and opinions of the two great parties, the National Republican party and the States' Rights Democratic party, soon to be engaged in the great contest for the control of public affairs for the ensuing four years, and which will offer to the sovereign people of this country the grand opportunity of making known unmistakably their views and determinations as to the character of the Government under which they desire to live, and to hand down to their posterity.

NOTES ON EUROPEAN TRAVEL.

[One of our contributors who has recently visited some portions of the Old World made brief notes of his observations, which he has written out for THE REPUBLIC.]

Crossing the Atlantic with the safety and comfort now afforded by several lines of steamships may well be regarded as among the greatest achievements of human skill and enterprise. Among the reflections that come first to an American traveller is the humiliating fact that the flag of the United States is scarcely seen on the ocean. It is under a foreign flag that he embarks, and risks the hazards of the voyage. It is no relief to remember, or to be told, that twenty-five years ago the finest steamers that crossed the Atlantic were American, and that the parsimony or lack of statesmanship in our Congress caused their withdrawal from that service. Liverpool is the port that greets the weary passenger after some ten days of ship life. This grand city has expended in improvements £300,000,000, or a sum which reduced (or rather inflated) to United States currency, nearly equals our national debt.

London, the capital city of Great Britain, can boast of even greater expenditures, not from its own coffers, but, by the British Parliament, from the revenues of the Kingdom. Quite recently in this way a splendid embankment to the Thames has been built at a cost of thirty millions of dollars. Will not Congress build the much needed embankment to the Potomac, which may be done at an expense of less than six millions of dollars? Parliament appropriates annually some \$300,000 for the care of the parks of London. No nation can afford to neglect its capital. The glory of London is in its parks and gardens. The latter are cultivated to the highest degree of art. Something is due to the climate of England, but in America we seem to make no approach to the magnificent and exquisite display of flowers to be seen in London. The parks, on the other hand, are left more in their natural state than the great parks of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago are. The question suggests itself whether too much present expense is not incurred in the *embellishment* of

our parks—whether more of it might not be left to posterity, and whether the money expended for ornamentation now might not be used for enlargement or additional parks. Let the present generation secure the amplest grounds in all our cities for parks, and dedicate them to the free use of the people. This seems to have been the policy in European cities.

The Houses of Parliament in London scarcely equal the Capitol in Washington, either in grandeur and beauty or in adaptation to the uses of legislative bodies. Visiting the Queen's stables (or *Mews*, as stables are called in London,) one is surprised at the great number of fine horses of every variety of use. Inquiring if the horses of the Prince of Wales are included in the number, we are answered in the negative, and told that the Queen's horses alone count two hundred and thirty, while the Prince has only ninety. Carriages in proportion are shown—some of marvelous cost and glitter. The Queen has declined to use the most gorgeous ones since the death of her husband, and rides in those of more modest pretensions—remarkable, however, for their plain solid expensive qualities.

The London post office is known everywhere for its illimitable capacity and for its exactitude of details, as well. The post office in Great Britain combines the telegraph service with its ordinary mail business. In England, and in Europe generally, you send your *telegrams* with a feeling of security and at half the cost charged by the great monopoly in the United States. Post offices in Great Britain are also savings banks, where the humble depositor can leave his money sure of its safety, and receive a moderate rate of interest. The people seem to second all the efforts of the Government to make the post office the greatest of public blessings. For instance, a door to a house, store, or office would as soon be found without a knob or a lock as without an aperture into which the almost hourly postman may drop a letter.

The Bank of England, or "The Bank," as it is called by London people, is an immense institution, interesting and familiar to the

civilized world. In going through it you are reminded more of the United States Treasury than of a large New York bank. The bills of the Bank are printed, numbered, and trimmed in the building, but the machinery for doing all this work seems quite inferior to that used in Washington. The Bank is not a Government institution, but a private corporation. It does the financial business of the Government, however, and thus has a quasi Government character. It originated in the necessities of the Government, and was first opened for business on New Year's day in 1695. In its vicinity are many other banks of great variety and of immense capital.

The policemen of London seem to be omnipresent, active, and vigilant. A stranger in the city has occasion to ask of them innumerable questions, some no doubt apparently quite silly, but he will uniformly get a polite and intelligent answer.

Newgate prison was shown to us, throughout, on a permit from the Lord Mayor. This prison is probably as well known as any feature of London. Newgate and Old Bailey are familiar to all story readers. When seen they present a very quiet appearance as if they were never known in history and drama. The prison is a model of order and cleanliness. It was the remark of American visitors that they had never been in a prison before in which not the slightest taint or smell in the air could be discovered.

"Bunhill fields" is the name of an old burying ground in London, which is interesting as containing the graves of John Bunyan, Isaac Watts, and Daniel Defoe. Appropriate monuments mark their resting places. Opposite to this grave-yard stands the church in which John Wesley preached, and in its yard lie buried John Wesley and Adam Clarke, the founders of Methodism. Marble monuments perpetuate their memories, and the old church bears the name of Wesley. Some distance from the graves of Wesley and Bunyan, in another inclosure, is a simple headstone, scarce two feet high, almost overgrown with grass, on which you may decipher the name of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism. It is not in accordance with the Quaker faith to erect memorials of the dead.

Nevertheless we could wish that one whose influence on the world was only second to Wesley's might have an equally honored grave.

There are three, at least, notable clergymen in London—Dean Stanley, James Martineau, and Spurgeon. The first we heard in Westminster Abbey, of which he is in charge. Receiving his appointment directly from the Queen he is independent of the Bishop or Archbishop. His well known liberality of sentiment does not, it seems, detract from the high esteem, or separate him from the intimate society, of her Majesty. James Martineau is remarkable alike for his piety and learning. In personal appearance and as an eloquent speaker he is the superior of Dean Stanley. In theology they do not greatly differ. Both are eminent pillars of the "Broad Church." Spurgeon, except for his notoriety and for the immense audience he attracts, does not deserve to be associated with Dean Stanley and Doctor Martineau. But he is one of the objects of interest to travelers, as Beecher is in this country. Intellectually Spurgeon is greatly the inferior of Beecher, and by no means his equal as an orator.

The Zoological Garden in London is not more attractive in its rare and large collection of animals than by its extent and beauty as a garden of plants and flowers. Hours may be spent here in pleasant recreation without looking at the animals. Long walks amid groves of trees, or by the side of small lakes, with the choicest refreshments at hand, accompanied often by excellent music, make the place delightful, aside from the enjoyment and instruction afforded by the great variety and wonderful specimens of zoology. In one of the lakes mentioned we saw two monster elephants bathing playfully like two Newfoundland dogs, often hid from sight under water, excepting perhaps their mysterious projecting trunks. Many of the animals on exhibition were derived from America by purchase, gift, or exchange.

A great many jokes are perpetrated at the expense of London weather. During our stay there the atmosphere was as clear and bright as it is usually in America. But most the year the sun, it is alleged, is hid by

clouds and fog. When Horace Greeley first visited London he wrote home to his friends who might purpose following him: "Take a good long look at the sun before you leave home." The Shah of Persia probably had a similar experience when he was in London. An Englishman said to him at dinner, "I am told some of your people in Persia worship the sun; is it true?" "Yes," he replied, "and you would too, in England, if you could see it."

Paris is a show city, and as such, it makes it pay. Millions of dollars are every year left in that beautiful city only because it is "a show city." Our own Washington has the possibilities of becoming such a city. But we must enlarge our conceptions of our destiny as a nation before we shall have a capital worthy of it. The tomb of Napoleon, in Paris, cost more than all the monuments and statues America has raised to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Hamilton during the last century. Are Republics ungrateful?

The streets of Paris, so wide, so well graded and paved, (largely with asphalt,) and so clean, are monuments to the great engineer, Haussman, who under Louis Napoleon was the original "Boss Shepherd." Paris and Washington are renovated cities, examples of good taste and fearless enterprise.

A review by President McMahon of 30,000 French troops on Sunday in the *Bois de Boulogne* seemed a painful exhibition of their inferiority to either the British, German, or Italian soldiers. The diminutive size of the French is at once apparent, whether seen on parade or off duty in the street. Yet the chief glory of France has been military. Will not the brilliant intellects of the great empire hereafter be more devoted to science, literature, and art than to war, and its muscle find employment in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce rather than in human butchery?

Traveling by private carriage or by diligence in other parts of France, away from its large towns and cities, the perfection of the common roads and the splendid bridges across the most ordinary streams will arrest the attention of every American observer.

Neither American art or American litera-

ture has yet found much favor in Europe. In one of the galleries of modern works of art in Paris, with over 6,000 pieces on the catalogue, there were but two American pictures, one "The Surrender of Cornwallis," in which La Fayette is a prominent figure, the other a portrait of Caleb Cushing! In Kensington Museum, London, there are quite a number of Benjamin West's works, including his own portrait.

But, as a rule, among the myriads of pictures seen all over Europe, there are none by American artists, and but few of American subjects. The latter are generally landscapes—no battle pieces or portraits. On the bookshelves of Great Britain almost the only American author who finds a place is Longfellow. Mark Twain's humorous works have some circulation; but in the best English book stores only "Longfellow's Poems" represent the United States.

You enter Italy by the Mont Cenis tunnel, a work that proves the Italians first among civilized nations in works of internal improvement. When the tunnel was proposed the French government was invited to participate in its cost as it would in its benefits when completed. The imperial power hesitated, and betrayed a lack of faith in the feasibility of the project, venturing only to offer a contribution of 30 millions of francs to be paid on the completion of the work. It is needless to say that France had to pay the money. But the credit of the enterprise belongs to Italy. Now another and greater tunnel is being built at the St. Gothard Pass. This will bring to Italy the travel and trade of Germany, &c., as Mont Cenis does France, &c. The latter is nearly 8 miles long; the St. Gothard will be three miles longer.*

The Italian army appears to be not inferior to any in Europe. The officers are gentlemen—men of education, and from the best families in Italy. The rank and file are well formed, taller than the French, but not so large as the English. The Italian soldier is remarkable for his alertness—he generally marches on the "double quick." The officers and men are well uniformed, their clothes are of good quality, and well fitting;

* The Hoosac tunnel is $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles long.

another contrast to the French. It is also noticeable that the officers and employees of the railroads in Italy are a fine class of men, polite and intelligent. Of course the railroads are well conducted, regard being had to safety, comfort, and speed. Americans look with envy upon the spacious and well provided stations (or depots) on the roads, especially upon the excellent restaurants found in all the stations.

The railroad from Bologna to Florence is something marvelous in the way of engineering—18 tunnels occur in twice as many miles. In other places the steepest grades are surmounted by powerful locomotives. The character of the road requires a large number of employees of more than ordinary skill and prudence. Italy believes in the railroad as an educator. Superstition withers before it. We met here an agent of Pullman's palace and sleeping cars, who had just concluded a contract with the authorities to place on the roads those famous American cars. We may expect soon to see them all over Italy. We predict that the first ones will be named Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, &c. The "first class" cars now in use in Italy are quite splendid and comfortable. The Pullman, however, are expected to eclipse them.

Free schools abound in Italy, while monasteries are being suppressed. It is a notable fact that the Church of Rome has fewer privileges under the law in Italy than in the United States!

The interesting city of Florence is becoming a modern town under the rule of a progressive and enterprising Mayor. The new and magnificent boulevards, avenues, and streets springing into existence in various portions of the city, we are told, are his offspring. He seems to be of himself a "Board of Public Works." You cannot help feeling that it was a mistake to remove the seat of government from Florence to Rome. It is pleasant to find the United States well represented in this important city by a consul so well fitted to his office as Mr. J. Lorimer Graham.

Venice, the city of the sea, next to Rome, is the most remarkable of all the cities of Italy. But we are not writing a "guide

book," and so will not dwell on descriptions. During our brief stay in Venice we witnessed a grand ovation and serenade to the officers of the British fleet then in the port. It was indeed magnificent. The evidence it presented of a friendly feeling existing between the two diverse peoples, and the not less evident desire to cultivate pleasant relations in the future on both sides, are hopeful signs of a cordial union between two progressive free nations. The day when such union may be important is perhaps not distant. The secondary political position now occupied by the Pope must be as irksome to him as it is humiliating. Those nations which still maintain allegiance to the Pope are no less uneasy and dissatisfied than the Pope himself.

Milan, so widely celebrated for its grand Cathedral, is a lively city, wearing somewhat of an American aspect. Improvement was everywhere going forward in the town and a more business air pervaded its numerous stores than we had seen in Italy. Monks and priests seemed out of place here. Coming from Venice to Milan we passed through Verona, stopping there a few hours. The balcony from which Juliet saluted Romeo, and also her tomb, are pointed out to visitors. Ruins of the early centuries are to be seen in Verona, and its whole appearance is ancient. Milan seemed quite modern in contrast.

Lakes Como and Maggiore, too beautiful for description, are about thirty miles from Milan. The traveler who misses them is to be pitied. The lovely aristocratic villas dotting the shores of the lakes greatly enhance their natural charms.

Embarking at midnight in a *diligence* from Biasca, we proceed to cross the Alps by what is called "St. Gothard Pass." This is an adventure second only to crossing the Atlantic ocean. By terraces built at immense cost you rise up the mountain, nearly perpendicular, to a giddy height of 5,000 feet, descending, on the Swiss side a much more gradual declivity. The road on both sides of the mountain is all the way macadamized and in perfect order. The embankments and the coping on the borders of the road are of solid mason work and granite, not without architectural grace and style. The *diligences*

are the most substantial of vehicles, drawn up the steepest ascents by seven horses, whose intelligence and sagacity are the traveler's surest hopes of safety. The drivers are Jehus.

Entering Switzerland by Lake Lucerne, passing on the way through the scenes of William Tell's exploits, the American for the first time since he left home finds himself in a republic. He is unfavorably impressed, politically, by the number of soldiers he everywhere meets—a number quite disproportionate to the size of the country. The large hotels in Switzerland are kept by Germans. To what extent other kinds of business are absorbed by Germans we cannot say. The scenery of Switzerland, its lakes and mountains, can only fitly be described in poetry.* In our own country we have all the glorious scenery, perhaps, of Switzerland, but it is separated by vast distances—from the White Mountains to the Yosemite Valley, from Niagara Falls and Lake George to the Mammoth Cave, while in Switzerland it is all in small compass. The myriads of people who resort here every year have given it the name of the "Play-ground of Christendom." Berne, its capital, is a quaint old city, but not devoid of beauty. Its public buildings are scarcely noticeable. To illustrate its name (Berne) it gives great attention to bears. A den of these animals has been for many years supported by the city as one of its institutions, and when the town clock strikes a procession of automaton bears passes out of the church tower. These exhibitions amuse the young people and even "children of a larger growth." Among the novel habits of the people of Switzerland we observed that their bank hours were 8 to 12 A. M. and 2 to 5 P. M. Similar hours are fixed for all government offices. Sand is universally used in writing instead of blotting paper. The railway cars of Switzerland resemble ours in that the entrance and exit are at the end and not at the side, as elsewhere in Europe. Only in the Swiss cars can the European railway conductor pass through his train inside the cars.

Geneva is the most important as it is the

handsomest town in Switzerland. It boasts of few "sights," but its natural beauties are scarcely equaled the world over.

Here Pere Hyacinthe attempted to raise a church, but it is equally impossible to sustain a "third party" in religion as it is in politics. Bonaparte said government must be Cossack or Republican—so in religion as the good Pere has found. Here Calvin three hundred years ago burnt Servetus because he was a Unitarian. The English mobbed Dr. Priestley two hundred years later, and he fled to America, on account of his religious sentiments, similar to those taught by Servetus. Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and others became disciples of like faith. If General Washington had been a John Calvin he would have hanged Dr. Priestley before he disseminated his heresy.

The trade of Geneva, as all know, is chiefly in watches and jewelry. The American traveler salutes his country's flag flying above one of the largest buildings in Geneva. He learns that this immense building is the watch factory of Tiffany & Co., of New York. This firm is not only patriotic and enterprising, but humane and kind. The failure of Duncan, Sherman & Co. threw many tourists into financial distress. Their supply of money for daily expenses was suddenly shut off. In their dilemma they found in Tiffany & Co. friends indeed. Fortunately, a resumption took place in a few days on the part of Duncan, Sherman & Co., so far as "letters of credit" were concerned, relieving many an anxious traveler. Our consul at Geneva is Mr. C. H. Upton, formerly of Upton's Hill, Virginia. Being a loyal citizen, President Lincoln gave him the consulate at Geneva in 1863. Although an old man, he still fills the post as creditably as the meager salary will allow.

Geneva from being the fountain of Calvinism seems now to be the most *irreligious* city in Europe—we do not mean immoral—but a general neglect of the Sabbath and the forms of religion is noticeable, illustrating the swinging of the pendulum from one extreme to the other. The clergy in Geneva of the present day are largely Rationalistic, we were told by a Calvinist. The influence of Calvin on Geneva is more apparent in the city's

*See Byron's *Childe Harold*, etc.

lack of ornament. His stern teachings discouraged art, so we find in Geneva no monuments or displays of architecture, no picture galleries, and but few statues.

Mont Blanc, although fifty miles distant, belongs to the scenery of Geneva. A day's ride by *diligence* takes you to the foot of the King of Mountains, whose wondrous beauty and sublimity baffle all attempts at description. No European traveler can afford to miss Mont Blanc.

Basle is one of the most important towns in Switzerland. Its business is extensive. Its churches form a part of the history of the Reformation. Nevertheless it is a place of few attractions. Its "Munster" repays the traveler's attention, and the *Hotel Trois Roi* is a good resting place.

The falls of the Rhine, near by, seem tame to those who have seen Niagara or Trenton. From Basle, Basel, or Bale, to Baden-Baden, takes you into Germany. Baden-Baden is the Saratoga of Europe. The gambling which once made this delightful place so notorious has been wholly suppressed, and now it is simply a "watering place." As a summer resort it seems unrivaled. The hotels are solid structures of brick and stone, and are not expected to burn down every five years like our Saratoga hotels.

Probably a conflagration never occurred in Baden-Baden such as are so common at all American watering places. There are two interesting castles here, the "old" and the "new;" the latter was built in the fifteenth century, and is occupied at present by one of the royal family. Already you have seen enough German soldiers to be impressed by their manifest superiority to all other soldiers. This impression, it is true, is produced mainly by the officers whom you meet on the cars and at the hotels. Their athletic forms and gallant bearing are enhanced in appearance by the fine clothes with which they are uniformed.

Gambling having been abolished at Baden-Baden, music has become the predominant element in the life of the place. Out-door concerts of the highest order supplement the pleasant walks and drives which this charming place so abundantly affords.

Frankfort is the first city in Germany on

the way from Switzerland to the Rhine. This ancient and wealthy town is the birthplace of the Rothschilds, and the old house in which they first lived, and where they laid the foundations of their colossal wealth, still stands in the Hebrew part of the city.

Modern Frankfort has two delightful resorts for recreation and amusement—the Palm Garden and the Zoological Garden. Both places are enlivened by fine music, such as only Germans can produce. Here people of all ages and condition gather every evening or afternoon to listen to the exquisite music while partaking of refreshments.

Frankfort furnished the money to pay for the recent improvements of Washington. Some of her wealthiest bankers are Americans.

The Rhine, like the Alps, belongs to the realm of poetry. In its description both the poet and the artist have illustrated their genius. A pleasant steamboat (European steamboats are not always pleasant) at Biebrich takes the passengers who come from Frankfort at nine o'clock in the morning, arriving at Cologne before sunset. A day's acquaintance with this river of marvelous beauty and interest is all too brief. In America we have the Hudson and the northern Mississippi, scarcely less beautiful in their natural scenery, but they lack the ruins of ancient castles which attract the eye at every point on the Rhine—interesting of themselves and, still more, in their history. Legends and fairy tales, delightful to young and old, attach to almost every mile of this famous river. Nevertheless, we should be slow to admit that the Hudson is inferior to the Rhine.

Some hours of daylight remain after our arrival in Cologne. Its churches claim the earliest attention. The Cathedral, in size, ranks next to St. Peter's. It is somewhat larger than the Milan, being 511 feet long, 231 feet wide, and will be 520 feet high when the towers are completed. "The Church of Ursula" has a marvelous interest—here are exposed to the visitor the bones of the 11,000 virgins slain on the spot now occupied by the church, in the ninth century. These relics have been religiously preserved, and form a part of the decorations of the church—many of the

skulls have been embroidered with needle work by nuns. We not only saw these bones but handled them. The church also contains an immense and well executed picture of the massacre of the virgins. Rubens once lived in Cologne, and another church has one of his paintings on its walls. His house is still standing; in it died Maria de Medicis, whose heart is preserved in the Cathedral, which is remarkably rich in shrines and relics.

Cologne, the least interesting city we have seen, (aside of course from its grand Cathedral) has evidently no "Board of Public Works." Its streets and its sewers bear witness to this. The Cathedral, however, is sufficient to make the visitor forget the disagreeable features of the city.

Here is "a bridge of boats" across the Rhine nearly half a mile long. The boats are moored side by side, and a floor-way laid across them. Over this bridge there is an immense traffic both of carriages and pedestrians. It is also "a draw bridge," often called into play as such by the various craft plying the river. The "draw" is opened by five or six of the boats moving out of their places to the right and left, and closed as easily by the boats returning again to their moorings. From Cologne to Paris we pass through the thriving, busy little kingdom of Belgium. Immense chimneys pierce the sky all over its territory. Manufacturing of every species seems to be the occupation of the people.

Brussels, the capital of Belgium, is perhaps the *belle* city of the world. The residence of the Court, its buildings are all of an aristocratic order. Its streets are spacious and entirely clean, and its parks, beautiful and grand, challenge those of any other city. Indeed, among cities Brussels has no peer unless it be Paris, of which Brussels is sometimes said to be the *miniature*. Its beauty is not confined to the portions occupied by royalty and its court, but even in its suburbs it sustains all that has been claimed for it. The *Bois*, with its walks and drives of many miles, astonish and bewilder with their loveliness and extent. We were not surprised to find that our late Minister to Belgium, Mr. H. J. Sanford, still resides in Brussels a private citizen. Only a man of ample for-

tune, it is said, can afford to be Minister to Belgium. General Badeau, recently appointed to that position, has felt obliged to decline it.

Antwerp is remarkable for its fine churches, or rather for the rare pictures in the churches. Probably no other city, except Rome, contains such art treasures. Judging from the splendor of the churches—their bright, fresh appearance—we should say that Catholicism is flourishing in Antwerp, and not the decaying institution it seems in Italy and France. As a commercial city Antwerp is evidently prosperous and growing in importance. It was pleasant to see the American flag flying from so many masts in the harbor.

We entered Holland, or the Netherlands, at Rotterdam. Here quite a different order of civilization seems to prevail. The streets, the houses, the people all present a singular and unique appearance. But you soon come to like them all. Rotterdam, however, is much less interesting and agreeable than either The Hague or Amsterdam.

The Hague for quiet beauty rivals any city on the continent. Like Brussels it is a Court city still more exclusively. There are no manufactories, no trade and commerce to disturb the quiet of the place—its streets and squares are paragons of cleanliness—the dwellings out-do the rich quaker houses of Philadelphia, and the servants at the doors are pictures of neatness. Most of the small carts for distributing provisions of all kinds, at the houses, are drawn by dogs, women, or men, and partake of the same general character of neatness, order, and quiet that pervades the city. We wish we could speak with more emphasis of the magnificent park or *bois* which forms such a delightful part of The Hague. The music that is afforded almost every afternoon or evening in it is if possible more exquisite than that which makes the parks of Frankfort so famous.

An international Congress for the furtherance of the principle of arbitration in place of war was in session at The Hague during our visit, (August, 1875.) At a reception, given by the Queen in honor of the delegates, occasion was afforded to admire that accomplished and graceful sovereign. Able to speak nearly every language with entire

fancy she charmed her guests with her affability and grace. The first question she asked Judge Peabody, of the American delegation, was "Have they found Charley Ross?" The ancient buildings used by the two houses of Parliament are full of interesting associations, but architecturally do not add much to the beauty of the city. A museum of rare old paintings and a magnificent club house and some private galleries of art, easily accessible, are among the pleasant resorts of the traveler.

Amsterdam, the chief city of Holland, at once captivates the hearts of Americans especially. Its principal streets are two or three miles long and from two hundred to three hundred feet wide. In the center of the street generally runs a canal somewhat after the manner of Venice. This canal is not allowed to detract from the universal neatness and tidiness of the city. In Amsterdam, evidently, "cleanliness is next to godliness." The wealth, enterprise, and taste of its old merchants find a monument in the "town hall" built by them, in 1650. It cost what would now be equal to ten millions of dollars. Here again we find a large zoological garden, probably the finest in Europe. The beautiful park that adorns the city is private property. From Amsterdam we return to the less interesting city of Rotterdam, thence to Harwich by steamboat and to London by rail.

The people of Europe, men and women, old and young, we may here remark, drink wine or other stimulants habitually. An Englishman who lives one half the time in the United States told us that when he was in Boston or New York he had no relish for stimulants—rather repelled them. But when he was in Washington or Richmond his English appetite returned. So that "drinking" is in some degree a matter of climate. The people of Maine and Massachusetts may well be teetotalers and prohibitionists.

Tramways (as street railways are called) have been adopted in most of the cities of Europe to a moderate extent. London, at least, could lay down many more miles to great advantage, but there is yet some bigotry on the subject, or the omnibus

proprietors are more powerful than the public interest. This seems no less true in Paris. Generally tramways are used only in the suburbs of European cities. One in Geneva is peculiar in having three rails—the center to keep the car in place, the outside wheels having no flanges.

We left America on the 5th of May. It is now the middle of September and our passage home is engaged for the second of October. Scotland claims these few remaining days. Stopping a few hours only in the busy city of Manchester, a night at Carlisle, another at Melrose and its wonderful Abbey, we reached at mid-day the city of Edinburgh. As we become acquainted with its features it begins to assert itself as the handsomest city in Europe. We think of The Hague, of Brussels, and of Paris, and incline to dispute her claim. Before we leave we yield our partiality for two at least of Edinburgh's rivals and no longer marvel at the admiration travelers bestow on Scotland's truly beautiful city. The "old town" combined with the "new" heightens the interest of both—the one of the other.

The monument to Walter Scott in Edinburgh is not inferior to the more expensive "Albert Memorial" in London. It is a delight to the eye—so majestic and graceful. Another to Robert Burns, near Holyrood, is only less conspicuous and less costly. Monuments to Playfair and to Hume are noticeable. Much more interesting was one to the "Republican Martyrs of 1794" than the more pretentious column and statue erected in memory of a visit to the city by the King, which, with a statue of Pitt and another elegant fluted column surmounted by a statue of Lord Melville, grace the public squares.

The bank buildings in Edinburgh are magnificent edifices. Few public buildings in any city equal them. The same may be said of the banks in Glasgow. Good hotels, so necessary in every place, add to the pleasures of a stay in Edinburgh.

An unfinished monument to the soldiers of the Napoleonic wars on Calton hill* is

* Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the half built monument to Washington that offends the eye at the American capital.

really more beautiful *incomplete* than if the original design were fully carried out.

The Castle, Holyrood Palace, monuments to Scott, Burns, Nelson, Dugald Stewart, and others already named, John Knox's house, the Church of St. Giles, the art gallery and museum, and many other interesting objects, give a pleasing variety to the "sights" of this picturesque city. We think there is no city in Europe that has so fine a cemetery as that we visited in the suburbs of Edinburgh. More poverty and intemperance are apparent in the "old town" than is seen in the cities on the continent. While jewelry and fancy stores line the streets of Paris, in Edinburgh book stores prevail. The old names of "The Edinburgh Review" and "Blackwood's Magazine" arrest the attention as we pass the publishing offices.

From Edinburgh to Stirling we pass through a fertile and beautiful country, not unlike New England. Sheep and fine cattle abound. Stirling is a point of great interest. Its castle, alone, repays a long journey. From its walls you may see the finest landscape in the realm. Added to its natural beauties are its historical associations. Here Wallace and Bruce achieved victories and suffered defeats. Bannockburn is in sight, and the river Forth, with its ancient bridges, is at your feet, and a rude monument to Wallace stands on the brow of a hill. The guide at the castle will tell you wonderful tales of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

From Stirling our route lies through the famous *Trosachs*, Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond, to Glasgow. Few more delightful excursions can be found in the world. Walter Scott's pen has made all the scenery of mountain and lake enchanting—of itself more lovely than words can fully describe. Only a day is occupied in the journey—too brief a time to satisfy even an indifferent spectator—sufficiently long, however, to travel by several modes of conveyance. From Callender by stage to and through the *Trosachs*, thence by steamboat across Loch Katrine to Stronachlachar, again by stage to Inversnaid, and again by steamboat through Loch Lomond to Balloch, and thence by rail to Glasgow. The current of travel along this route is great during the proper season—

Americans as usual contributing largely to it. The little steamers are adapted to their use, and much neater than boats generally are in Europe. The stages are comfortable—the fares high.

Travelers are constantly being surprised by unexpected objects of interest and beauty, however faithfully they may read their guide books. Glasgow surprised us by its elegance. What can be finer than George's square with its numerous statues and fountains! The Cathedral here is one of the most remarkable in Great Britain, in its size and in its good preservation. Protestant cathedrals, however, are much less attractive than the Catholic. The iconoclastic Puritans in the heat of the reformation stripped them of all ornament if they did not nearly demolish their very walls. In Glasgow we noticed advertisements in the newspapers reading—"Real Estate to be sold or leased." "Furniture to be sold at public roup." The Scotch dialect, when used in conversation, is often quite unintelligible to the born Yankee. Travelers, Americans at least, will, in looking for a good hotel, be attracted by the name "The Washington House," and they will not be disappointed in a trial.

Like the Wandering Jew we are impelled by time to "move on." Ayr, the birthplace of Robert Burns, is about 40 miles from Glasgow. The house in which Burns was born, the graves of his father, mother, and favorite sister, the old haunted kirk of Alloway, and the "brig of Doon" were all visited. Other scenes of Burns' poems lie all around. Near the "haunted kirk" is a fine and costly monument to the great poet. In it are preserved several interesting relics of his life and writings—among others the Bible he gave to his Mary when they "pledged their troth." The monument stands in a lovely garden of flowers about four miles from the town. Ayr and Ayrshire are inhabited by a thrifty people. Ayrshire cattle have a world-wide fame. A sheep fair was held in town during our stay. The great number of fine sheep we saw were not more interesting than the many well trained Shepherd's dogs accompanying their masters, and making a part of the fair.

Dumfries is about fifty miles from Ayr.

Here Burns died and was buried. The monument over his grave, like those at Ayr and Edinburgh, is worthy of Burns' memory, and honorable to his friends and admirers who erected it. Its interior, like the others also, is adorned with sculpture, tablets, and mementoes. Beneath it lie his own remains, those of several of his children, and of his wife, who lived thirty years after her husband's early death. At her request a poor letter-carrier was buried with the family, whose only claim was in having been one of Burns' chief boon companions in the poet's hilarious days. In the town you may visit the old haunts of Burns, and listen to many a tradition of his jolly but improvident life. Nothing of an intellectual phase is noticeable in Ayr or Dumfries. His inspiration came from nature alone. His democratic and liberal sentiments must have separated him from the aristocracy, who, to this day, regard him somewhat coldly.

Our visit to Scotland was during the

"equinoctial storm;" nevertheless, it was one of great enjoyment. The storm, however, at its height, prevented our crossing the channel to Belfast to see the Giant's Causeway, and to Dublin as we had intended. Instead, we devoted more time to Ayr and Dumfries—the scenes of Robert Burns' life and death. Thence we hurried to Liverpool to be ready for the "Bothnia." With one day to spare, we visited the old town of Chester, so famous for its ancient Roman wall, rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and still in good preservation. Roman baths used in A. D. 90, a Cathedral of the eleventh century, and other remains of the early centuries excite the wonder of the traveler. Crossing the river Dee we were in Wales. On this side of the river, opposite Chester, is the magnificent estate of the Duke of Westminster. The whole country is charming. Chester is 17 miles from Liverpool, connected by two railways, a part of which belongs to the first railroad built in England.

SALARIES AND DEMAGOGISM.

It is of no use for public men to attempt to be other than they really are. Demagogism is a quality that will expose itself, and the tricks of the demagogue can be seen with half an eye in spite of the performer's attempt to pass them off as true statesmanship. At the Capitol, in this year of 1876, the most arrant set of tricksters that ever called themselves men are at work tinkering and bidding for votes. They imagine that they have discovered the high road to popularity. It is to cut down salaries. They are not going to look into the matter at all, and will ask no questions as to the effect it may have on the service, the right or the wrong in any given case, or whether they will allow fair pay for fair work, according to the times. The great Democratic party is to prove itself economical, and scorns to consider what is just, or what is best for the public service. The members think they can buy votes in this cheap way, as though the people had lost their senses, and become unable to distinguish between true statesmanship and shams.

The present rate of the salaries of the several classes of clerks was fixed by the Dem-

ocratic party in 1854. There was a Democratic Senate, House, and President, and a Democratic standing committee on "Retrenchment and Reform," and Mr. Adams, of Mississippi, a pronounced Democrat, was chairman. On the 16th of January, 1854, by direction of his committee, Mr. Adams introduced a bill to fix salaries of clerks at \$1,200 first-class, \$1,400 second-class, \$1,600 third-class, \$1,800 fourth-class. This Democratic bill for retrenchment and reform was read, and no Democrat objecting, it was ordered to a second reading.

On the 31st of January the bill came up again, and Mr. Adams for his Democratic committee made some interesting remarks, and asserted that clerks of a lower grade, if married, and having but a single child, could not, should the child die, pay the ordinary funeral expenses, but were dependent on the charity of their fellow-clerks for the means to give the dead a decent burial; and this was true.

The bill was passed in the Senate without any opposition, save a few remarks by John M. Clayton and John Bell, who contended that there should be some provision to pre-

vent the injustice of demanding the same amount and kind of service of a clerk of low salary that is required of one having a higher salary. Think of it! statesmen proposing to prevent injustice! The bill was approved by a Democratic President by the name of Frank Pierce, whose party fealty has never been called in question, and on the 22d of April it became a law to take effect on the first day of the previous July. Now, on this 22d day of April how did prices compare with to-day? Let us look at a few leading items retail:

	1854.	1876.
Beef, best cuts, per lb....	\$ 14	\$ 25
Flour, best family, bbl..	8.00	10.40
Coal, best, per ton.....	5.00	9.00
Pork, per lb.....	7½	15
Sugar, per lb.....	8	12
Milk, per qt.....	5	10
Coffee, per lb.....	19	45
Chickens, per pair.....	25 to 50c.	75c. to \$1.25
Rent, per month.....	\$20.00	
Same houses.....		45.00

It will be perceived that in the item of rent alone, which is nearly one-half the cost of living, there is an advance of more than 100 per cent., making a difference of just \$300 per annum, so that in point of fact a clerk of class one, salary \$1,200, only gets \$900, as compared with 1854, if we consider the advance in rent alone.

But let us compare the cost of living by items between the two periods. A man with a wife and two children, with economical habits and good health, can get on as follows, taking a moderate average, viz :

Rent per month, if lucky	\$45 00
General groceries.....	20 00
Meats at 92 lbs per month.....	23 00
Flour	3 00
Coal, and wood for kindling	10 00
Gas	3 00
Fruits and vegetables.....	4 00
Milk.....	4 00
	<hr/> 112 00

Per annum.....\$1,344 00

Now add other necessary expenses :

Clothing for 4 persons \$100 each.....	\$400 00
Servant	120 00
Newspapers, magazines, and books..	20 00
Pew rent	30 00
Contributions, political and charitable	25 00
Repairs and depreciation of furniture	20 00
Doctors bills and medicine.....	20 00

Total annual.....1,979 00

In 1854 the figures were :

Rent per month, easy.....	\$20 00
Groceries	15 00
Meats	13 00
Flour	2 00
Coal	6 50
Gas	1 50
Fruits, and vegetables.....	2 00
Milk	2 00
	<hr/> 62 00

Per annum.....\$744 00

Then add :

Servant.....	\$60 00
Clothing	300 00
Newspapers and books.....	20 00
Pew rent.....	20 00
Contributions	15 00
Repairs and depreciation furniture	20 00
Doctors bills and medicine	20 00
	<hr/> \$1,199 00

It will appear from these figures that in 1854 a clerk of class one, with a small family, could just make both ends meet, allowing nothing for amusements, or travel, or carriage hire, and other contingencies, and he could save nothing. It was this state of facts which led Mr. Adams to bring in his bill for an increase of salaries, and there was not demagogism enough in the whole of that Congress to oppose an objection to the measure, and it passed without opposition.

It will be perceived, also, that measured by what the pay will buy in necessary articles of living, the salary of \$2,000 in 1876 is only \$2 per annum more than the salary of a first-class clerk in 1854. Twelve hundred dollars in 1854 would purchase in necessary articles the same amount as \$1,979 will now.

It is a plain matter of arithmetic, and the conclusion is reached without allowing a penny for increased cost on account of a change in style of living. We take the identical quality of beef, pork, flour, &c., and the identical houses that were lived in then. The house which the writer hired for \$20 per month prior to the war is rented now at \$45, and called cheap at that, in spite of its increased years, and no improvements have been made on it either.

The members of Congress have discovered the changed figures as regards their own expenses, and raised their pay from \$3,000 to

\$5,000. This is right. The difference in the purchasing power of a dollar according to the prices given above is within a trifling fraction as three to five. The pay of the Democratic clerks of 1854 was equal, therefore, in the dollars now received by Republican clerks as follows:

1st class salary, 1854,	\$1,200;	in 1876 to	\$2,000
2nd " " "	1,400	" " "	2,332 23 1/2
3rd " " "	1,600	" " "	2,666 66 2/3
4th " " "	1,800	" " "	3,000

These latter are the salaries which clerks should receive now to make their pay what it was intended to be, and what in the judgment of the Democratic Congress of 1854 was right.

But instead of this the several classes of clerks actually receive but three-fifths the amount intended, and it is proposed to rob them still further to make capital for the Democratic party.

As compared with 1854, the salaries now are :

Chief clerk's,	\$2,000;	purchasing power only	\$1,200
4th class,	1,800	" "	1,080
3rd " "	1,600	" "	960
2nd " "	1,400	" "	840
1st " "	1,200	" "	720

From these it is now proposed to take 10 per cent., and they will range:

Chief Clerks and Heads of Divisions....	\$1,000
Clerks of class four.....	900
Clerks of class three.....	800
Clerks of class two.....	700

Being exactly one half the value of the salaries as fixed by the Democrats for their appointees in 1854, and which will be absolutely less than the salaries paid at the commencement of this century.

The salaries of members of Congress in 1854 were \$3,000 per annum, and by the new bill they will be \$4,500, which is an increase of just one-half. If they desire economy, and it is right to deduct one-half from the salaries of poor clerks, why should not the deduction be made on the salaries of members as well? Does not economy demand it? Ah! Democratic Congressional patriotism stops just short of the Capitol, and number one must be cared for if times are hard, and people do demand economy. But the proposition shows the measure of statesmanship of the House majority, and how broad are the views of those men who have taken command of affairs for the time being.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The essential business of Congress is at this date, (February 14th, 1876,) far behind. Since the close of the debate on amnesty the action in both houses has been desultory to a large degree. Proposals of all sorts are daily introduced, and either with or without discussion referred to the various standing committees. It is impracticable here to give more than a meager outline of the subjects which are brought to the attention of Congress—such as that of registered vessels; changes and corrections in the Revised Statutes; the disposition of public lands in the South and West; recovery of interest from the Pacific Railroad Company; the common unit of money with Great Britain; joint rules of the two Houses; the conduct of the Alaska Commercial Company; inquiry concerning officers of the army detailed for civil duty; concerning straw bids and the disposition of abandoned property; the purchase of silver coin; reform in the civil service; losses by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co.; Freedmen's

Saving and Trust Company; allegations in regard to the election of Senator George E. Spencer from the State of Alabama; proposal for improving the levees and the Mississippi basin; for agricultural schools; inquiry concerning the public printing for the War Department; concerning army officers employed in Washington, D. C.; concerning the appropriation for the Ute Indians, and their present hostile feeling; the memorial of women claiming the right of suffrage as citizens of the United States; a discussion on land entries, and the opportunities of fraud under the existing system; propositions and debates in regard to the finances; the currency and the banking system; proposed change of the law concerning third class mail matter; various memorials and propositions for internal improvements; a modification of the law prohibiting the sending of obscene matter through the mails; discussion on the decay of American commerce; a bill to prevent frauds in the prosecution of claims before the departments,

and to prohibit officers and employees of the Government acting as claim agents; memorial to regulate elections in Utah, and remedy their existing evils; proposition for the retirement of legal tenders; inquiry concerning the cash balances in the Treasury; concerning the award to the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos, and Colorado Railroad Company; proposal of more stringent legislation to suppress polygamy in Utah; protection to home industry; inquiry concerning the state of the Kansas Indian lands; proposed reorganization of the judiciary; removal of a Federal judge in Colorado; the payment of district judges for extra services; extension of time for the payment of Alabama claims; action of the Legislature of California proposing a change of our treaty with China so as to discourage the immigration of that people to our shores; inquiry concerning the management of the National Insane Asylum; concerning the work and disbursements of the New York post office building; proposal to prepare a form of government for the District of Columbia; proposed legislation for actions for damages to persons for injuries and death caused by the neglect or default of others; proposed repeal of the bankrupt law; proposed appropriation for the completion of the Washington monument; inquiry in regard to the affairs of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and many others of greater or less interest to the different sections of the country, to special classes, and to private individuals—when it is considered that each one, and all these subjects together, with many hundreds, and perhaps thousands more, consume the time of Congress, and then when the debates on topics of still wider national interest are added to the list some proximate conception may be formed of the labors imposed, and of the manner in which the two houses for the last month have been occupied.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT.

Mr. O'Brien, of the House, proposed the following amendment, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That the following be proposed to the several States as an amendment to the Constitution:

ARTICLE XVI.

SECTION 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no minister or preacher of the gospel or of any religious creed or denomination shall hold any office of trust or emolument under the United States or under any State; nor shall any religious test be required as a qualification for any office or public trust in any State, or under the United States.

SEC. 2. No money received by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised nor lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations; nor shall any minister or preacher of the gospel or of any religious creed or denomination hold any office in connection with the public schools in any State, nor be eligible to any position of trust or emolument in connection with any institution, public or private, in any State or under the United States which shall be supported in whole or in part from any public fund.

CHANGE OF A RULE.

Mr. Cox reported the following change of a rule, which was adopted:

"That Rule No. 120 be so amended that all after the word "progress" be stricken out and there be added the following:

"Nor shall any provision in any such bill or amendment thereto, changing existing law, be in order except such as, being germane to the subject-matter of the bill, shall retrench expenditures."

In the discussion on this amendment the Democrats stated it to be their object to gain the power of *decreasing* the salaries of Government officials and employees. This on Monday, June 17th.

FURTHER PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Springer of the House introduced the following, which was referred to the Judiciary Committee:

Resolved, &c., That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE —.

The Congress shall not pass any local or special laws in any of the following enumerated cases; that is to say, for—

Granting pensions, bounties, lands, or prize-money to any person or persons, or for correcting the records of any department of the Government in reference thereto;

Granting relief to any person or persons or authorizing the payment of any claim against the United States or any officer thereof, except appropriations in general laws to pay the judgments of courts or commissions authorized by law;

Remitting fines, penalties, or forfeitures, creating, increasing, or decreasing fees, percentage, or allowances of public officers during the term for which said officers are elected;

Granting to any corporation, association, or individual the right to lay down railroad tracks, or amending existing charters for such purpose by confirming any special or exclusive privilege upon such corporation or association which it does not already have;

Granting to any corporation, association, or individual any special or exclusive privilege, subsidy, immunity, or franchise whatever;

Regulating the practice of courts or conferring special jurisdiction in a particular case on any of the courts of the United States, or commissions for the auditing of claims against the same.

In all other cases where a general law can be made applicable no special law shall be enacted, and in all cases the courts may determine whether any special law could have been embraced in a general enactment.

Attempts were likewise made in the House to adopt some form of amendment to be proposed to the Legislatures of the States in regard to the term of the Presidential office, and the eligibility of ex-Presidents.

The Judiciary Committee reported Tuesday, February 1, 1876, a proposed article, making ex-Presidents ineligible. Mr. Frye of the minority of the Committee reported an amendment making the term six years, and any person who has held the office two years ineligible ever after. Mr. New called up his proposition on the same subject; after long debate, the whole subject was voted down. This on Wednesday, February 2, 1876.

EFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

Mr. Whitehouse moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service be, and is hereby, instructed to inquire into any abuses or frauds that may exist in the administration and execution of existing laws affecting any branches of the public service, with a view to ascertain what changes and reformation can be made so as to promote integrity, economy, and efficiency therein. And for the purpose of enabling said committee to fully comprehend the workings of said branches of the

public service the investigations of said committee may cover such period in the past as said committee may deem necessary for its own guidance or information, or for the protection of the public interest, in the exposing of frauds or abuses of any kind that may exist in any Department: and said committee are authorized to send for persons and papers, and report by bill or otherwise."

ARMY OFFICERS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Banning moved the following, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be directed to furnish this House a statement of all pay and allowances of every kind and nature whatever made to officers of the Army stationed or on duty in this city of Washington since the 4th of March, 1869, giving in detail the name and rank of such officers, the duties performed, the length of time each has been stationed or on duty in this city, the annual pay and allowances of rent, fuel, quarters, forage, in value received by each, and the authority of law under which such allowances and pay have been made."

TEXAS PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

Mr. Holman, by unanimous consent, then submitted the following preamble and resolution; which were read, considered, and agreed to:

"Whereas it is alleged that improper and fraudulent means were resorted to to influence legislation in the passage of the act of Congress entitled 'An act to incorporate the Texas Pacific Railroad Company, and to aid in the construction of its road, and for other purposes,' approved March 3, 1871, by persons interested in the passage of said act, and that contracts and combinations were subsequently entered into by said company, in violation of the terms of said act: Therefore

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire into said allegations and report to the House whether improper or fraudulent means were resorted to in securing the passage of said act, and whether the said company has by its contracts and combinations with other companies done any other act which would justify the forfeiture of the franchises granted by said act, and to this end said committee may send for persons and papers."

Indeed, the Democratic majority of the House exhibit the most untiring zeal in making inquiry and examination into all subjects, great and small, upon the slightest suggestion, and from any quarter. There has been no lack of attention to anything of this sort which any party, however irrespon-

sible, may suggest; and the amount of work which these resolutions heap up on all hands is simply incalculable; of the time and expense thus consumed there is at present no visible end. But the Republicans do not object.

PACIFIC MAIL SUBSIDY.

Mr. Morrison submitted the following, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the papers laid before this House by the Clerk thereof in relation to the testimony taken before the Committee of Ways and Means (of the Forty-third Congress) 'upon the question of the corrupt use of money to procure the passage of an act providing for an additional subsidy in the China mail service' be taken from the table and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to inquire what action should be taken by the House in reference to the persons now members of this House charged with complicity in the said alleged corrupt use of money for the purpose aforesaid, or with giving false testimony in relation thereto, and report to the House."

This is simply carrying out the intention of the Forty-third Congress, whose Committee of Ways and Means went thoroughly into the exposure of this shameful fraud.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Senator Sherman moved to proceed to the consideration of a bill from the Finance Committee with an amendment, which was agreed to. This provides for the appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of a commission of five persons, no one of whom shall hold other office under the General or any State Government, nor shall they be advocates of prohibitory legislation or total abstinence. The term of office shall not exceed one year. They shall investigate the liquor traffic and manufacture, having special reference to revenue and taxation, distinguishing as far as possible, in the conclusions they arrive at, between the effects produced by the use of distilled or spirituous liquors and the use of fermented or malt liquors, in their economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects, in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and general welfare of the people; and also as to the practical results of license and restrictive legislation, and the effect thereby produced upon the consumption of

such liquors; also to ascertain whether the evils of drunkenness have been increased or decreased, and whether public morals have been improved thereby. They shall also gather information and take testimony as to whether the evil of drunkenness exists to the same extent, or more so, in other civilized countries, and whether those foreign nations that are considered the most temperate in the use of stimulants are so through prohibitory laws; and also to what degree prohibitory legislation has affected the consumption and manufacture of malt and spirituous liquors in this country.

Section second provides for the employment of a secretary at a salary of \$2,500, while the entire expenses are not to exceed \$10,000. A report is to be made to Congress through the President.

Senator Bogy, of Missouri, opposed the passage of the bill. "Not," said he, "that I am an advocate of intemperance, for I am a temperance man myself to a certain extent." In this he spoke for the Democrats of the whole country. Let the hosts of temperance men take notice.

The next day (Tuesday, January 25, 1876,) the following action was had in the Senate:

Senator Christiancy offered the following amendment to the amendment:

"For the purpose of obtaining information which may serve as a guide to the system of legislation best fitted for the District of Columbia, the several Territories of the United States, and other places subject to the legislation of Congress in reference to the question of revenue from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and fermented liquors, and the effect of the use of such liquors upon the morals and welfare of the people of such District, Territories, and places."

Which, after some discussion, was adopted by a vote of 28 to 18. The question was then on the passage of the bill as amended, and the result was announced—yeas 37, nays 20; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Christiancy, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamilton, Hamlin, Harvey, Howe, Ingalls, Jones, of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, of Maine, Morrill, of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, Spencer, West, Windom, Withers, and Wright—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Bogy, Caperton, Cooper, Davis, Dennis, Eaton, English, Gold-

thwaite, Gordon, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Key, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Norwood, Ransom, Stevenson, and Wallace—20.

ABSENT—Messrs. Alcorn, Anthony, Burnside, Cockrell, Edmunds, Hitchcock, Kelly, Kernan, Merrimon, Randolph, Robertson, Saulsbury, Thurman, Wadleigh, and Whyte—15.

The friends of temperance throughout the country may as well know at this point who are their friends and who are their opponents in the Senate of the United States, and it would be well to keep an eye on the disposition of this bill in the House.*

PUBLIC LANDS IN SOUTHERN STATES.

Senator Clayton proposed a repeal of that section of the revised statutes which lays restrictions on the disposition of the public lands in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. It appears that by former legislation the citizens of these States, as well as others, are denied the provisions made in regard to the entry and purchase of other public lands, and the proposal now is to repeal these restrictions. It has occasioned considerable discussion in the Senate, which has brought out the fact that nine-tenths of these lands are unfit for agricultural purposes, but are chiefly valuable as timber lands; that they have been in the market for fifty years, and cannot find a purchaser at the low sum of 12½ cents per acre; that the repeal proposed would add wealth to the citizens of those States, furnish productive labor, increase immigration, and open up the means of supplying the vast prairie land to the west with lumber, while allowing those States the privilege of taxation on the lands which are now no benefit, but rather a hinderance to their development. It was objected, however, that this would suspend the benefits of the homestead law, and would rather increase than avoid the existing evils. Several amendments were proposed, and the question still remains undetermined in the Senate. This on Monday, February 14, 1876.

TREASURY ACCOUNTS.

On Wednesday, January 12, 1876, Senator

*In this connection it may be a matter of interest likewise to know that the Honorable Mr. Ferry, the presiding officer of the Senate, has recently been chosen to the Presidency of the Congressional Temperance Society, and while his duties in the Senate will not permit him to give much time to the actual work, he has, with the fidelity of a true man, lent his moral support to the great cause, as he has also in his personal life and example.

Davis, of West Virginia, introduced a preamble and resolution, which declares there are discrepancies in the "statement of accounts, and provides that a committee of five be appointed to investigate the books and accounts of the Treasury Department with reference to the alleged discrepancies and alterations, and if any such be found to exist, to report the same and the extent and nature thereof, the years wherein they occur, by what authority made if any, the reasons that induced them, and generally such other and further information bearing upon the subject as to them may seem best, the committee to have power to send for persons and papers."

He endeavored to support his motion by a formidable array of figures and statements, to which Senator Boutwell, of Massachusetts, formerly Secretary of the Treasury, replied by a general explanation of the principles on which the business of that department is conducted, and by showing how it is that the apparent discrepancies are made to disappear. The subject was resumed January 18th, and Senator Boutwell proceeded to take up in order the items of difference alleged by Senator Davis. The first item of difference is \$3,271,970.43, which results from a difference in the manner of preparing the statements, and is clearly shown by a comparison of the accounts. The second item of difference alleged is \$1,437,925.02, which is explained by the different data included under the head of "net ordinary expenditures." The next item relates to pension expenditures, several amounts of which are given as discrepancies, but which are all explained by a reference to the different heads under which they were arranged for different years. The next item relates to errors in the statements of revenue collected, which were gross errors made by one of the accounting clerks; and were corrected in a subsequent report. Senator Boutwell made similar explanations in regard to the statements of the public debt from time to time. This was followed by a long and desultory debate by several Senators on the manner of keeping the books of the Treasury Department, and of making reports from them year by year to Congress and the country. The ques-

tion was at length raised as to the proper committee to which the subject should be referred. It was sent to the Finance Committee, whose chairman, Senator Sherman, on Wednesday, February 9, 1876, reported back the resolution of Senator Davis with an amendment, which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the Senate, as soon as practicable, a statement of all balances due to the United States from public officers, and all such balances due from other parties no longer in the public service, distinguishing those whose accounts with the United States have been finally passed upon and adjudicated and those whose accounts are yet unsettled and subject to additional credits, stating the nature of such accounts and the credits in question; the statement to embrace the accounts of all such officers or parties in which such balances have respectively accrued since the 1st day of January, 1830, and to set forth respectively and as near as practicable the period over which the accounts extended and the amounts involved therein. Also to furnish a detailed statement of the stocks held by the United States in trust or to secure moneys paid, the character of such stocks, under what law or by what authority, and at what time the same were acquired, and on what amount thereof, if any, has there been a default in the payment of interest due thereon.

The matter is of no political significance whatever, and will prove one of the greatest labor and complication.

DISTRICT BONDS.

By former legislation it was provided that to meet the debts and liabilities of the District of Columbia 3.65 bonds should be issued. At the present time the bonds actually issued amount to between fourteen and fifteen millions of dollars. The interest was due on the bonds on the 1st of February, 1876. A joint resolution was introduced in the House upon this subject, and on Monday, January 24th, Mr. Buckner, from the District Committee, called up the question. The resolution directs the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to transfer to the

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under the provisions of the act of Congress, approved June 20, 1874, entitled "An act for the government of the District of Columbia and for other purposes," the sum of \$222,797.50 from any unexpended appropriations heretofore made by Congress, or from any revenues derived by taxation on the property of said District of Columbia subject to the requisition of said Commissioners; provided that all certificates heretofore issued by the board of audit, including those converted into 3.65 bonds and those which have not been so converted, and all certificates hereafter to be issued by the board of audit, or their successors in office, shall not exceed in the aggregate the sum of \$15,000,000.

The proposition has provoked a long and detailed discussion, protracted through many days, and embracing a great variety of subjects more or less complicated with this indebtedness. The occasion has been improved by many members of both Houses to rake out from the rubbish of the past few years all the complaints and allegations against the action of the late District government, and of various prominent officials thereof. But still the fact remains that the debt stands, and the interest should be paid. The situation of the question before Congress at this date, (February 14th,) is that the resolution having passed the House, and then the Senate with some amendment, is now in the hands of a special joint committee with a view of harmonizing the conflicting elements, and meeting with honor the obligations of the Government.

THE MILITARY ACADEMY APPROPRIATION.

This bill was taken up in the House for consideration, Wednesday, January 26, 1876. The bill proposes \$437,470; this being \$193,829 less than the estimates of the War Department. The debate upon this bill has called forth a large mass of figures and comparisons of accounts, and statements of expenditures for a series of years. The Democrats have lost no opportunity to slur the institution which before the rebellion was their own special pet, and from which so many rebel officers obtained the knowledge which they afterwards so shamefully misused. The Republicans, on the other hand,

have stood up manfully for the academy all through this running fire of debate. The bill with certain amendments passed the House January 31, 1876, being the first regular appropriation bill that has been sent to the Senate during the present session.

DIPLOMATIC APPROPRIATION BILL.

Tuesday, February 3, 1876, this bill was called up in the House. The innovations upon the past practice of the Government which the bill proposes may be summarized in two classes: first, a reduction in the number of diplomatic and consular representatives of our Government abroad; and second, a general reduction of salaries. It reduces the appropriation to \$922,847, being from that of last year a reduction of \$429,639. In the discussion which has followed some of the Democratic members (as Messrs. Springer and Cox) have taken occasion to be very witty at the expense of some of our foreign representatives; in fact, without apparently any regard to the time wasted and the delay of business, these gentlemen seem to imagine that a session of a Democratic House of Congress is mainly for the purpose of allowing them to prepare and deliver long fanfaronades and travesties of the Government and its officials for the amusement of their fellow members and the country. It is sometimes well to relax a little from the earnest work of life, and viewed in this light such buffoonery may be admissible. But it should not be vitiated by the bad taste of holding up to ridicule such a man as Minister Maynard as one who has been lifted up from "the material of effete Congressmen!" Mr. Cox should have remembered his own political history. The diplomatic bill is yet hanging in the House unfinished. This on February 14, 1876.

THE LOUISIANA SENATORS.

On Tuesday, January 18, 1876, Senator Thurman presented the credentials of Thomas B. Eustis, claiming to be Senator elect from the State of Louisiana, which was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and on Friday, January 28, Senator Morton from that Committee reported:

"That in their opinion there is no vacancy in the office of Senator from the State of Louisiana, P. B. S. Pinchback having been

elected in January, 1873, to the term beginning on the 4th of March, 1873. They therefore recommend that the papers belonging to Mr. Eustis be laid upon the table."

This was contested by Senator Saulsbury, a member of the same committee, who claimed there was a vacancy in the Senatorship of that State. Prior to this, on March 5, 1875, Senator Morton had submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That P. B. S. Pinchback be admitted as a Senator from the State of Louisiana for the term of six years, beginning the 4th day of March, 1873."

It was now taken up as unfinished business, and the pending motion was on the amendment of Senator Edmunds that the word "not" be inserted before the word "admitted." On this motion Senator Morton made a long argument, referring to the documents of the case, and contending that the question should have been decided long ago, and that the Senate should now admit Mr. Pinchback to his seat. He quoted from a recent speech of Mr. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, made before the members of the Legislature of that State and a large assembly of the people.

The question was again brought up Monday, February 7, 1876, when Senator Thurman made a strong opposition to the admission of the claimant.

He, too, went largely into the old history of the case, citing from documents and reports, and contending that the claimant had no title to a seat in the Senate. Senator Howe replied with great force and effectiveness to the main positions taken on the other side. Here the question rests in the Senate. It ought to be decided at once. The credit of the Senate as well as justice to the claimant and the State is deeply involved in this matter.

EULOGIES ON THE DEAD.

The death of Hon. Mr. Starkweather, a member of the House from Connecticut, which occurred during the last month and after an illness of but a few days, has only been announced. No time is yet fixed for the addresses usual in Congress on these occasions.

The eulogies upon Vice President Wilson, both in the Senate and the House, were pronounced on Friday, January 21, 1876; in the Senate by Messrs. Boutwell, Hamlin, Cragin, Cameron, Stevenson, Ingalls, Bogy, Anthony,

and Dawes; in the House by Messrs. Warren, Harris, Kelley, Knott, Clymer, Kasson, Banks, Lynch, Hurlbut, Reagan, Joyce, Lawrence, Lapham, and Blair.

The eulogies on Senator Ferry, of Connecticut, were pronounced on Tuesday, February 8th, 1876; in the Senate, by Messrs. Eaton, Sargent, Bayard, Howe, Frelinghuysen, Thurman, Wadleigh, and English; and in the House by Messrs. Phelps, Seelye, and Garfield, who read the address of the late Hon. Mr. Starkweather, prepared for the occasion just before his own brief sickness and sudden death, which occurred on Sunday, February 6th, at Willard's Hotel. The Christian sentiment breathing through these orations are a proof of a deep-seated faith in the hearts of many of our public men respecting the sublime doctrine of our religion. If no other flower grows upon the grave of the distinguished dead, this would be enough almost to reconcile us to the great mystery.

THE CENTENNIAL APPROPRIATION.

This subject has given rise to the most able, eloquent, and lengthened debate which has marked the course of affairs in Congress since that on amnesty was closed. On Monday, January 17th, 1876, Mr. Hopkins, of the House, from the Committee on Appropriations, called up the following bill, and gave way to Mr. Hardenbergh, of New Jersey, who supported it by a sensible, straightforward speech, giving an account of the inception of the idea of the celebration, of its progress to the present time, and of the part which the Federal Government should take in it.

The preamble sets forth the preceding acts of Congress and of the Executive in relation to the Centennial, and the bill reads as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of \$1,500,000, to complete the Centennial buildings and other preparations, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which shall be paid on the drafts of the president and treasurer of the Centennial board of finance, one-third immediately after the passage of this act, and the remainder in four equal monthly payments: Provided, That in the distribution of any

moneys that may remain in the treasury of the Centennial board of finance after the payment of its debts, as provided for by the tenth section of the act of Congress, approved June 1, 1872, incorporating said Centennial board of finance, the appropriation hereinbefore made shall share equally with the holders of the said Centennial stock, and a like percentage thereon be paid into the United States Treasury as may be paid to the holders of the said stock: *Provided also, That the Government of the United States shall not, under any circumstances, be liable for any debt or obligation of the United States Centennial commission or the Centennial board of finance, or any payment in addition to the foregoing sum."*

Upon this proposition very many of the leading speakers and orators in both Houses have delivered addresses more or less elaborate. The humorists and wits of Congress have illustrated their peculiar talents, and the stoics and cynics have not lost their opportunity. The constitutional constructionists had full swing. Two amendments were adopted. Fifty speeches were made, some of them very eloquent, for and against. But the patriotism of the House prevailed, and the bill as amended was then adopted by the following vote, Tuesday, January 25, 1876:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, George A. Bagley, William H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Banning, Barnum, Bass, Blaine, Blair, Bliss, Bradley, William R. Brown, Burleigh, Cason, Caswell, Chapin, Chittenden, Clymer, Crapo, Crounse, Cutler, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Egbert, Ellis, Farwell, Forney, Foster, Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, Gause, Gibson, Hale, Hancock, Haralson, Hardenbergh, Benjamin W. Harris, Harrison, Hathorn, Abram S. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hoge, Hopkins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlburt, Hyman, Jenks, Thomas L. Jones, Kasson, Kelley, Ketchum, King, Lamar, George M. Landers, Lane, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Levy, Luttrell, Edmund W. M. Mackey, Levi A. Mackey, Magoon, Maish, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Meade, Miller, Money, Monroe, Morey, Morgan, Mutchler, Nash, Norton, O'Brien, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, William A. Phillips, Pierce, Piper, Plaisted, Platt, Powell, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, Randall, Reagan, John Reilly, John Robbins, William M. Robbins, Roberts, Miles Ross, Sobieski Ross, Sampson, Schleicher, Schumaker, Seelye, Sinnickson, Slemons, Smalls, A. Herr Smith, Strait, Stowell, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Thompson, Throckmorton, Martin I. Townsend, Washington Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waddell, Alexander S. Wallace, John W. Wallace, Walls, Ward, Warren, Erastus Wells, G. Wiley Wells, Wheeler, Whitehouse, Whiting, Wigginton, Andrew Williams, Alpheus S. Williams, Charles G. Williams, Wilshire, Alan Wood, jr., Fernando Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth, and Young—146.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, John H. Bagley, jr., John H. Baker, Beebe, Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, John Young Brown, Buckner, Horatio C. Burchard, Samuel D.

Burchard, Cabell, John H. Caldwell, William P. Caldwell, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Cate, Caulfield, John B. Clark, of Kentucky, John B. Clark, Jr., of Missouri, Cochrane, Collins, Conger, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Culberson, Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Andrew H. Hamilton, Henry R. Harris, John T. Harris, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Henderson, Goldsmith, Hoskins, House, Joy, Joyce, Kehr, Landers, Lewis, Mahon, Metcalf, New, Phelps, Potter, Rea, Rice, Saylor, Seales, E. Smith, Southanger, Stevenson, Tuck, Walker, Walling, Willard, James A. William H. Wilson, James Wilson,

and, Ely, Robert, Packer, Parly, Starkweather, and Jeremiah N.

WILKINS—18.

The bill then went to the Senate, and was taken up Wednesday, February 9, 1876. Senator Morrill, of Maine, supported it by a strong speech. He showed a list of the nations that had been invited to the Exposition, numbering thirty-six—all having accepted the invitation, and had read the acceptance of Russia, Germany, and Turkey as specimens of the rest. A general debate then followed, during which Senator McCreery offered the following substitute:

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to assemble, on the 4th of July next, in such numbers and manner as may be convenient, in their respective cities, towns, villages, neighborhoods, or wherever they may be, publicly to testify their joy at the one hundredth return of that auspicious day, by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayer and such religious exercises and ceremonies as may be appropriate to the occasion and sanctioned by their own consciences."

He followed it with a speech, to which Senator Cameron replied in the following happy strain:

"Mr. President, I am inclined to think that the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky is a good one. I like very well the idea of the Senator from Kentucky, and I will join with him if he will make his proposition a separate bill. I shall be very sorry to see any amendment to this bill, but I like the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky and I will vote for it as a separate bill; for I cannot imagine anything better than to

have a jollification in every village and in every town and in every city in this broad country on the coming Fourth of July. I will go down to Owensborough and see my friend in the blue-grass country, because I know he will treat me kindly and with great hospitality; he will treat me and everybody else who comes there with the hospitality which I well know will be extended by Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to every one who goes there. The celebration at Philadelphia is to last for months; but why can we not have a village celebration everywhere, and have the fiddle and have the old contradance—none of your new-fashioned affairs, but the old dance which was danced in the time of the Revolution? I would have all that revived. I would during the coming year revive everything that was jolly; and I would make everybody happy that I could make happy; and I am sure that the Senator from Kentucky would be the most delighted of all delighted people to see everybody around him happy. He is not opposed to this exhibition, I am sure, but he believes that the people ought to have another opportunity—all the people. He says that will cost nothing. Does it not cost a day's work lost by everybody who goes to have a country frolic? Let him look at home; every laborer who quits his workshop, every mechanic who leaves his place of business, every merchant who leaves his store to go and have a jollification loses a day's work surely, and the money he spends besides. Why should they not have an opportunity to do so if they desire it? I am for giving everybody that opportunity. But that does not argue that we shall not have a great international exhibition where everybody is coming, and where it is our duty to treat everybody well when he does come. It is no longer a question whether people will come; the invitations have gone out, and the host must be prepared to receive his guests, and receive them in such a way as will not only be creditable to him, but to those he invites to come and see him.

"I will only repeat, that after this bill is passed, as I trust it will be, if the Senator from Kentucky will bring up his proposition as a separate bill I will vote for it, and I will contribute out of my own purse to pay for part of it."

The substitute was rejected by a vote of 45 to 12—15 not voting.

Senator Edmunds made an ineffectual attempt to strike out the preamble of the bill.

Senator Eaton was violent against the appropriation, and in the course of his remarks said the whole debt of the American people

was at this time \$8,000,000,000, on which they had to pay an annual tax of \$730,000,000 for interest and other expenses. He disclaimed the meanness and dishonor imputed to the opposers of the bill. He was for paying not one single dollar!

On Friday, February 11th, 1876, the subject was again called up, and the discussion proceeded. More than thirty Senators spoke upon the question—some of the speeches being very elaborate and eloquent. Senator Edmunds proposed a division, and that the vote be taken on the body of the bill. The yeas and nays were ordered, and the result stood 41 to 15, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Boutwell, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Caperton, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dennis, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamlin, Harvey, Hitchcock,

Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Kelly, Logan, McDonald, McMillan, Maxey, Mitchell, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Sargent, Spencer, Wallace, and Windom—41.

NAYS—Messrs. Alcorn, Cooper, Eaton, Goldthwaite, Hamilton, Howe, Kernan, Key, McCreery, Merrimon, Stevenson, Thurman, Wadleigh, Whyte, and Withers—15.

ABSENT—Messrs. Bogy, Booth, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Christiancy, Cockrell, Davis, English, Gordon, Johnston, Norwood, Saulsbury, Sherman, West, and Wright—16.

The preamble was then adopted by a vote of 37 to 16. So the bill was passed. This makes the contribution of the Government to the great celebration. The fine and glowing sentiments of the orators cannot be here reproduced. But the million and a half thus appropriated is after all the most eloquent speech of all. May the hopes of the nation not be disappointed!

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

...The situation remains unchanged, except in so far as the folly of the Confederate Democracy in and out of Congress continues to open the eyes of peaceful liberty-loving people. It is astonishing to observe how one crisis reproduces the features of another. In many respects the situation is the same as in 1856. Twenty years—1876—and we are again confronted by a pestilent political abstraction—State sovereignty, not State rights—being used as a potent instrumentality to mould and knit into re-cohering force a sectional South, led and directed by one party and one set of leaders. The real issue is still one of sovereignty; the real purpose is that of control. In some respects the present struggle for the success of the political abstraction which dominates the Democracy presents features more dangerous than did the contest of twenty years since and later. It is even more disintegrating in its essential characteristics. The doctrine of State sovereignty was then put forward as an excuse and argument for the defense of slavery, and as the ready cloak under which the subsequent slaveholders' rebellion was sustained and made respectable. The economic value as well as the political and administrative interests involved in the system of slavery were sufficient to lend great

coherence to politico-social theories which are essentially destructive and disintegrative in character. Slavery has passed away. It will never return—in the form of personal chattelism at least. But the doctrine of State sovereignty and primary State allegiance has been glorified by the civil war. It has become the symbol and shibboleth of a "Lost Cause," to be historically sustained by its renewal as a political agency, and to be vindicated only through its successful conquest of a controlling vantage ground *within* the Union. The civil war made the Union a visible national entity; the would-be rehabilitated sectional South seeks to return it to the position of a confederation; of a compact between "independent" States, having, according to the Lamar theory, sovereign power only in its relations to foreign nations, delegated and limited powers derived, not from the whole PEOPLE, but from the corporate polity or ideal body or bodies known as the STATE or States within the Federation. The Confederate Democracy have uncovered their hands too soon. They are caught in their own snare.

...The bold course pursued by the Republican minority in the House has compelled them to put their real purpose foremost, and to-day we see that the old tactics, the ancient purposes, are being pursued and intended.

Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, pronounces for Calhounism; Mr. Hill declares the South, as a section, is here and to stay; and that its staying means a defiant determination to rule on that basis of sectionalism; Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, and Mr. Cox, of New York, show how subservient the Northern Democracy can again be to the behests of a sectional Democratic South; while Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, and R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, frankly avow in and out of Congress their own and associates desire to obtain control of the national or "Federal" purse, (as they would prefer to call it,) to rebuild the fortunes of the South, by means of subsidized railroads, Mississippi levees, and the many thousand war claims whose payment would require hundreds and perhaps thousands of millions of dollars, in order that thereby the South may become again the dominating power in or out of the Union. This bold and daring policy has been pursued by successive steps up to the present standpoint, when its comprehensive character and defiant attitude can be seen very clearly by whose chooses to look through the mists of debate. There are several marked eras or steps in the progress of renewed Southern sectionalism. Foremost among these are the following:

The plans of murder, violence, and organized intimidation whereby the several Southern States have been dragged into a renewed alliance with the Democracy. This system was first successfully organized and carried out in the States wherein the whites were a majority; and wherein, if let alone, there was every probability of a considerable body making cause with the colored voters. These States are Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and, finally, Arkansas. The second step is seen in the outrages which were perpetrated in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi—Florida may be left out for the present. In Alabama ballot-box stuffing supplemented intimidation. The periods in which this course was most thoroughly pursued were from 1868 to 1871, and again from the fall of 1873 to the close of 1875. The first was that of the Ku-Klux conspiracy; the second is that of the White League movement. There is an essential

difference between the two—at least in the pretenses put forth for their existence. The first was an avowed terrorism designed to destroy the fruits of the war and put the South into the hands of its old leaders. The second is cloaked by pretenses of reform and good government. Essentially the spirit and purposes are identical. The difference in effect consists in the fact that there has been an intervening period of defamation and slander.

Public opinion sustained and demanded repressive legislation in 1871 against the Ku-Klux conspirators. The astute Confederate leaders saw that they could not achieve their purpose of making a sectional unit of the South unless they turned the tide of feeling on the Southern situation in their favor, instead of allowing it to continue against them. They succeeded in part in doing this: First, by the nomination of Horace Greeley in 1862, and a formal abandonment of civil inequality as based upon the existence of color, race, or former condition. This "tub to the whale" accomplished the second fact—which was the securing of Northern friends in the press and on the forum. A brevet Democracy was created. The so-called "Liberal" press worked up the crusade against Southern Republicans by wholesale defamation and the perversion of effect for cause, where the writers and defamers were in part honest. Under the reaction thus produced, which was powerfully aided (through the same unjudicial journalism) by the honest efforts of Republicans to get rid of and correct abuses which had grown up as a natural result of the war expansion and of the system of speculative operations that unsettles all values and removes from the minds of ambitious men the idea of productive toil and honest rendering of efforts before achieving substantial results.

...Under these two processes—organized intimidation and outrage at the South, combined with social ostracism—the Confederate Democracy have been enabled to break down Republicanism there, while the brevet Democracy of the North succeeded on their behalf in changing public opinion for a brief period; long enough, however, to enable the Democracy to carry several States, and

a majority of the House of Representatives. The same processes have enabled the White Leaguers to pretend to be the representatives of the tax-payers *vs.* the tax-eaters; of the plundered *vs.* the plunderers: of intelligence and public virtue *vs.* public vice and ignorance.

It is an impossibility, however, for such masquerading to be maintained, and intoxicated with what they really deem their approaching triumph, the Confederate Democracy have shown their plans too fully. The election of Mr. Kerr as speaker was the significant opening of the campaign. Mr. Randall had been a soldier early in the civil war on the Union side. He had voted for all war supplies. He represented as vigorously as is possible for a Democrat the idea of national unity. Mr. Kerr had been, on the other hand, an avowed sympathizer with the South. He was among the ablest and most untiring of the Bourbon leaders North while in Congress, from 1865-'6 to 1872-'3. He believes in and defends a sectional South, and as a corollary is in full sympathy with the policy by which two or three Northern States are to be carried, and control of the National Government thereby obtained at the coming Presidential election. Wisdom would have dictated an avoidance of the second step or steps in the movement. These were the attempt to reopen the Louisiana question; the debate on amnesty; and lastly, that revival of Calhounism which attended on the Centennial discussion. But it was not to be. The North has been or is being aroused to the trouble before it, and will, if it does not already, clearly see the danger of trusting the Union into the hands of those who have no faith in its vital characteristics, and no desire to see it live unless they can control its forces and policy.

...The situation resolves itself into an imposing struggle for control. There is no attempt made to conceal the Democratic belief that their party will carry every one of the former slave States, (including West Virginia,) except South Carolina. To do so is to organize violence sufficiently extensive and vigorous enough as to insure that the 20,000 Republican majority in Louisiana, the 35,000 in Mississippi, the 10,000 in Ala-

bama, the 9,000 in North Carolina, and the 3,000 or more in Florida shall be overcome. One method of doing this is to cripple the Administration in all the avenues looking to the enforcement of order, the working of the courts, and the execution of the laws—revenue, justice, or otherwise. Hence the cry for "reform and retrenchment." It can be readily seen that if the former slave States can be White Leagued into a united Democratic vote, that it will not take many Northern States to insure a Democratic and sectional triumph, and make the Confederate Democracy masters of the next Presidency, and the administration under it. The problem is a simple one. The sixteen States that were formerly slave territory give 138 votes in the electoral college. The twenty-two (including Colorado) which embrace the free Territory cast in all 231 electoral votes. Therefore, 185 votes are necessary for a choice. The Southern vote, if cast solid, would need 47 Northern votes to elect their Presidential ticket. These votes they expect to obtain from Indiana, (15,) New York, (35,) Connecticut, (6;) in all 56 votes. By leaving out South Carolina, (seven votes,) they would still have two majority. They also believe in their ability to lose Florida and Louisiana, (12 votes,) and to carry New Jersey and Oregon at least, in addition to those named. But the fact that needs remembrance is not only the possibility, but the probability, from this stand-point, of their ability to carry 131 electoral votes solid from the States formerly slave-holding and rebel, and in which the doctrines of sectionalism and State sovereignty have their chief abiding place. Should this be so, the campaign will turn on the three States of Indiana, New York, and Connecticut, whose fifty-six votes will decide whether or not there shall be a continuance of national progress and security, or a bitter and revolutionary reaction likely to end only in another outbreak. Perhaps this is the real design.

...The country, the intelligence of the masses, as well as the great interests that are to be affected by such a result are not likely to remain idle in the presence of an emergency which threatens to open such a

era box of evils as this. The way is to arouse a combative and public opinion. For the first time in the South is sensitive to this the good-will of the loyal people tively brought to bear upon those struggling to create and build up der which free labor and equity in ghts demand. The stern indig- has before been evoked must be to repress the disorder and vio- lence that has so long existed, and threatens to break out again with renewed power.

STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS.

...On the 22d of February State conven-

tions will be held at Indianapolis, (Ind.,) Chicago, (Ill.,) and Madison, (Wis.,) Delegates will be nominated for the National Convention, as well as declarations of principles, &c., made for party purpose. The probability now is that the Indiana delegation will be instructed to present Senator Morton's honored name as their choice for President. Illinois will offer the name of the gallant John A. Logan, while Wisconsin now seems likely to instruct for the Hon. James G. Blaine, the sagacious and able Republican leader in the House of Representatives. Indiana and Illinois Republicans are preparing for a very vigorous campaign.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

GENERAL GRANT'S RECEPTION.

The President's third evening reception will be held on Tuesday evening, February 22d, from 8 to 10 o'clock.

VICE CONSULS.

The President has recognized Augustus Norton as vice consul of Uruguay for New York, and William Lamb as vice consul of Sweden and Norway at Norfolk.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

STATEMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of January, 1876, is as follows:

Debt bearing interest in coin:	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$1,012,721,850 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	887,884,750 00
	<u>\$1,700,606,600 00</u>

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:	
Navy pension fund at 3 per cent,	\$14,000,000 00
Debt on which interest has	
ceased since maturity.....	2,269,760 26

Debt bearing no interest:	
Old demand and legal-tender	
notes.....	\$371,341,607 50
Certificates of deposit.....	40,600,000 00
Fractional currency.....	45,864,382 16
Coin certificates.....	34,601,400 00
	<u>\$492,410,389 66</u>

Total debt.....	\$2,216,266,749 92
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Interest.....	\$23,140,231 33
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Total debt, principal and in-	
terest.....	\$2,244,426,981 25

Cash in Treasury:	
Coin.....	\$73,601,361 41
Currency.....	11,992,580 04
Special deposit held for redemp-	
tion of certificates of deposit	
as provided by law.....	40,600,000 00
	<u>\$126,193,941 45</u>

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
February 1, 1876.....	\$2,118,233,039 80

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
January 1, 1876.....	2,119,832,195 27

Decrease of debt during the past	
month	\$1,509,165 47

Decrease of debt since June 30, '75,	\$10,455,686 59
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Bonds issued to the Pacific Railway Com- panies, interest payable in lawful money—Prin- cipal outstanding, \$64,023,512.00; interest ac- crued and not yet paid, \$323,117.36; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,513.06; in- terest repaid by transportation of mails, etc., \$3,000,033.76; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,472,479.30.

THE REDEMPTION AGENCY.

The average amount of national bank notes received for redemption and legal tenders returned is now about \$1,000,000 a day. The bulk of the receipts are of notes fit for circu- lation. These are sent back to the banks of issue as soon as assorted. The clerks in the redemption bureau are now quite expert. The banks in large cities find it inconve- nient to handle the large accumulations of bank notes, which do not count in the de- posit reserves, and they like to exchange them at every opportunity for legal tenders, which are more desirable.

TREASURY DECISIONS.

The Treasury Department has decided that sirup valued at from thirty-five to sixty cents per gallon and of a quality fit for table use, whether manufactured from sugar or molasses, is embraced in the codified tariff schedule "G" as assimilating in general ap- pearance, quality, value, and the uses to which it is put, to sirup of sugar cane. Sirup of a lower grade, made from a resi- dum known to refiners as sugar-house mo- lasses, should be classified as assimilating molasses.

RATE OF DUTY ON GOODS WITHDRAWN.

Hereafter duties on goods withdrawn from warehouse, or for consumption under the privilege of the penal bond, previous to the date of a decision of the Treasury Depart- ment raising the rate of duty on similar goods, will be liquidated at the rate prescrib- ed by the Department in any decision exist- ing at the time of such withdrawal.

TRANSPORTATION OF MERCHANDISE THROUGH CANADA.

Article 19 of the Regulations of March 30, 1875, Treasury Department, which requires that goods shipped from one point to another within the United States, partly by land and partly by water, shall be accompanied by a special manifest which shall be retained by the master of the vessel or conductor of the car, and shall accompany the merchandise throughout its entire trip until its return to the United States, is modified as follows, as regards shipments which may be divided during transit for convenience of transportation:

When merchandise transported by water is to be transferred to cars or other vehicles for transportation by land, if the transfer to the car or vehicle be not immediately made, the customs official supervising such transfer will retain the manifest accompanying the goods, and check the cargo into a storehouse, to be under customs lock or seal.

At the time of the loading of the merchandise on the cars or other vehicle a special manifest will be prepared for each car or vehicle, and certified, and forwarded therewith; and the quantity of goods loaded upon each car or vehicle will be indorsed on the original manifest arriving with the vessel, so that such manifest will show that the whole shipment has been forwarded. The original manifest will accompany the last shipment of the goods to their destination.

At the port of final destination in the United States, the inspecting officer will check off the portions of the invoice as they arrive upon the copy of the manifest forwarded by mail from the port of original departure, and, on arrival of the last portion, such copy will be compared with the original manifest arriving with the merchandise.

These regulations have been concurred in by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

ECONOMY IN TELEGRAM TOLLS.

Commissioner Pratt has issued a circular to collectors and other internal revenue officials prohibiting the use of the telegraph in communicating with the office when the mails will answer if letters are sent without any delay.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

CONFEDERATE WAR RECORDS.

The Secretary of War has written a letter to the Secretary of the Southern Historical Society at Richmond, regarding the existence of records of the late war, and to the incompleteness of the Confederate records in the War Department, as compared with those of the Federal Government, which is owing to the fact that the Department has only those of the former that were captured,

and the Secretary is gratified to learn of the disposition of certain parties holding Confederate records to place them at the disposal of the Department for use in a publication of the records of the war. The Department is anxious to receive every official report, letter, telegram, or order emanating from either side during the late war, and has no thought of discriminating in favor of one section or against another in their publication.

ARTILLERY MANUAL.

General Order No. 3 from the Adjutant General's Office directs that the manual for serving and working heavy artillery, published in appendix No. 2 of the tenth edition of Lieutenant Colonel Roberts' "Hand-book of Artillery," be adopted for the United States army until a regular and more comprehensive system of instruction for siege and the sea-coast artillery has been authorized.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

NAVAL NEWS.

The United States supply ship Supply is ordered from New York to proceed to Civita Vecchia, where she will receive on board the monument to be erected here to the memory of those in the naval service who fell in defense of the Union. Also such contributions as American artists wish to send to the Centennial exhibition. She will then proceed to Leghorn, to take on board contributions from artists in that section. On her way home she will touch at Tangier, in Morocco. No vessel will be sent to the north of Europe to receive articles for the exhibition. The Supply will probably reach Civita Vecchia in about thirty days, and will return to Philadelphia early in April.

COST OF STEAM WAR VESSELS.

In answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives of January 5, the Secretary of the Navy has sent in a report of the chief of the bureau of construction, giving information with regard to the cost of building eight steam vessels of war authorized by the act of February 10, 1873. The statement is as follows: The Adams, 615 tons, \$331,509.72; built by contract; nearly ready for sea. Enterprise, 615 tons, \$306,205.01; built by contract; requiring outfits to be ready. Essex, 615 tons, \$324,906.52; built by the Government; nearly completed. Alliance, 615 tons, \$389,687.94; built by the Government; ready for the officers. Ranger, 541 tons, \$294,126.69; built by contract; requiring outfits. Huron, 541 tons, \$307,024.54; same as Ranger; in commission. Alert, 541 tons, \$307,139.13; same as Ranger; in commission. Trenton, 2,343 tons, \$801,499.84; hull built by the Government; receiving machinery. Total tons, 6,426. Total cost, \$3,062,101.39.

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Vol. V.—No. 1.

JULY, 1875.

Whole No. 29.

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THE REPUBLIC.

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VOL. V.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY, 1875.

No. 1.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

The year 1775 was a thrilling period in America. The causes which had long been in operation were hastening the crisis of separation from the mother country. The cup of the colonies was a cup of bitterness, and was well nigh full. The air itself was becoming rife with the spirit of resistance, omens of the coming struggle were thick on every hand.

In January of that year the British Parliament proposed new measures of oppression. This was the eve of the first tumults of the Revolution, proclaiming it nigh even at the doors.

On April 19th, the first patriot blood was shed at Lexington and Concord. The war was opened, and then followed in rapid succession the events at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Whitehall, Philadelphia, Charlottetown, Boston and Quebec.

On May 10th Ethan Allen took the fort at Ticonderoga "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Seth Warner captured Crown Point, Arnold seized a sloop of war lying at St. Johns, and a body of Connecticut volunteers took possession of the pass at Whitehall. Thus the lakes were cleared and the first trophies of the conflict secured.

On the same day Congress met at Philadelphia, and soon after received the good tidings. Bills of credit to the amount of three millions of dollars were issued to defray the expenses of the war, and the faith of the united colonies was pledged for their redemption.

May 30th to 31st, the people of Mecklenburg met at Charlottetown and sent forth to Congress and the world their ever memorable and heroic resolutions.

June 15th, George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the colonial armies.

June 17th was fought the battle of Breed's Hill, when the Americans, for want of ammunition, were compelled to retire after having inflicted severe loss on some of the best troops of the British army. When Washington arrived to take command in person he found a state of confusion and want of discipline which it was his first labor to correct.

Congress now issued a solemn manifesto which was published from the pulpits and in orders to the colonial forces. "We are now reduced," they say, "to the choice of unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just, our union is perfect, our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we must, solemnly, before God and the world, declare that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent

Creator hath graciously bestowed on us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves."

The cry was now heard along the whole coast. Blood had flowed. No words can measure the feelings of the time. Messengers rode swiftly through the land proclaiming at every cross-road, in every church, in every hamlet and town,—“The war has begun!” and the universal answer was, “To arms—liberty or death!”

During this session of Congress, the first line of posts for the communication of intelligence throughout the country was established, and Benjamin Franklin was appointed Post Master General, with power to choose deputies for the conveyance of the mail from Falmouth, Maine, to Savannah, Georgia.

The remnant of the year was occupied with the movements of an expedition into Canada, which, unfortunately, resulted with disaster to the American arms.

The last hope of reconciliation rested in the “Olive Branch,” a petition of Congress to the King, transmitted by Governor Penn, a descendant of the great William. But his first dispatches home after the assembling of Parliament, extinguished every light. The King, in his opening speech, charged the Americans with hostility and rebellion, and the ambition of empire, and recommended the most vigorous measures to subdue them. The eloquence of the illustrious Burke could not stay the tide of madness, though a reluctant vote of the Peers to examine the American agent was obtained. He frankly told them that the colonies would submit to the royal authority of the realm, but not its right of taxation; that the prevailing wish in America still was restoration of friendship; but rejection of the present offer would be an insuperable bar to reconciliation. About the last of December, Parliament answered these representations by an act prohibiting all trade and commerce with the colonies, and authorizing the capture of all American vessels and their cargoes, the spoils thus

taken to be vested in the captors, and the crews to be treated, not as prisoners, but as slaves. They then formed treaties with German princes, hiring 17,000 men to be employed against the colonists, and in addition to these, sent 25,000 English troops. These operations filled up the measure of England's wrongs toward America, and sealed the final alienation of her colonies.

A hundred years have rolled away, and the great Republic has given to the world a century of unparalleled history. It would be long to trace the mighty story of the Nation's fortunes. Standing, as we do to-day, with a public domain washed by the great oceans and stretching from the polar regions downward to the southern gulfs, with more than forty millions of people, engaged in the marvellous industries and pursuits of a civilization the most unique, enlightened, and aggressive the world has ever seen—with monuments of magnificence covering the land—with a system of government, of education, and of institutions which transcends the wildest dreams of prophet or of sage, in the olden times—and with a heritage of wealth, of science, of art, and of invention, alike impossible to despotism or to superstition—the product only of intelligent and virtuous liberty regulated by law and guarded by the popular vigilance and honor—we may well look back over the work of our fathers and over the legitimate results that have followed from it, with a just pride and a devout gratitude to that Almighty providence which has preserved and guided the nation up to her present pre-eminence.

It is literally in this spirit that the Centennial Anniversary of the stirring events which ushered in the life of the Republic a hundred years ago, have been observed by the children of the men who then wrought out for us and for the world the noble fabric of a free constitutional representative polity—a government so grandly defined by the martyred President as “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

Said John Adams, in a letter to his wife, after the Declaration:

“I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great Anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemmo-

rated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of the Continent to the other, from this time forward forever. You will think me transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure it will cost us to maintain this Declaration and support and defend the States; yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means, and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue it!"

Glorious old man! Could he stand to-day on the battle-fields of the Republic—the hallowed spots of American valor and endurance—could he greet the glad throngs of that favored posterity in whose favor his prophetic eye saw through the dark night of the Revolution, such a morning dawn of prosperity, happiness and honor, he would behold in the spectacle around him all that his highest aspirations ever pictured and now already more than realized.

The celebrations at Lexington and Concord—Ticonderoga and Charlotte, have already passed. The next one—Bunker Hill, will be worthy of the place where Washington began his course of national glory, and where the eloquence of Webster inaugurated the monument which crowns the summit of Bunker Hill. The journals of the day have recited, in all their glowing details, the grateful ardor of the people, as gathering by the shrines of the fathers, and treading over the hallowed places made sacred by their deeds of daring; they have, with a sublime joy, recalled the matchless legends of the Past. With civic and martial pageantry, the ringing of bells and the booming of cannon; with music and song, and all manner of blazonry, and the eloquence of orators, heroes and statesmen; and in acts of devotion and of worship to the Almighty, they have striven to express their sense of those events which broke in the storm of the Revolution, and brought to the birth the greatest Republic in the annals of the world.

But in the celebration of Mecklenburg there was an allusion by the principal speaker, the Hon. John Kerr, of North Carolina, which falls like a dark shadow over this day of re-

joicing and of triumph. In the course of his address he was pleased to say as follows:

"Influences as we believe unpropitious to the prevalence of the political doctrines of our great fathers, have recently prevailed in our country. Malignant power has for a season been permitted to destroy our prosperity, mortify our pride, and deprive us of our heritage of civil liberty. Great efforts have been made to break and crush the spirit of our people because it would not with sufficient pliancy bend to the degrading behest of tyranny, and we are taunted as 'rebels' for our devotion to the holiest cause that

Tongue or sword of metal
Ever lost or gained.

* * "There are recollections connected with the evil fortunes of our glorious sunny South which assuredly in due time will illustrate the truth of what I now say. Defeated in our efforts to maintain inviolate the principles of government inherited from our fathers, these principles, precious in themselves, do now, and will forever hereafter, stand indissolubly associated in our hearts with the sacred memory of our sons who fought and bled and died in their defence. Though our armies were vastly outnumbered by those of our foe, and by this disparity we were finally forced to yield, our gallant soldiery won so many fields of glory as to give them a just claim to the honors of a triumph. And now, while they sleep in graves bedewed with the tears of their mothers, their wives, their sisters, and daughters, and which are annually re-visited and re-adorned by fresh tokens of unfailing love, they are exercising a constant ennobling influence on their surviving countrymen. The glory of our ancestors is thus combined with that of their sons, and the light they jointly give to guide us in the future is as animating in its effect as it is brilliant in its rays."

Language like this sounds to us like a strange and ominous discord in the national anthem which celebrates the Past; nor is it more consistent with the subsequent sentiments of mutual fraternity and good will which the oration breathes. Nor should we be disposed, at the present time, to refer to the recent war of the Rebellion, or to the great parties which took sides in our national struggle—the one to preserve Liberty and Union, the other to destroy both forever, on this Continent—were we not constrained to it, not only by the prevalence of opinions like those above expressed, but also now, more than ever, by the imperative demands of justice.

It can never be forgotten, even amid the general gladness and enthusiasm over a century of the national life, that without any just or adequate cause of provocation, a number of the States of this Union, after a fair and constitutional election, in which they took part, and solely to preserve the institution of human bondage, then peculiar to themselves, did, by proclamation and force of arms, attempt to destroy the government founded by our fathers, and to sweep away from the earth the Union of these States! It was a terrible mistake and a terrible crime! It brought upon its authors a fearful retribution, not in the form of merited penalties of violated law, but rather in those consequences established in the constitution of nature by a higher than human authority, and which has found expression in the words of one who declared, "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." That is the retribution which has fallen on the South, covering with confusion and shame the would-be murderers of the Nation, reducing their land to the lowest degree of impoverishment, and filling it with mourning and desolation.

To talk of such an enterprise as "the holiest cause" that was "ever lost or gained" evinces a moral obliquity which precludes the possibility of any just judgment upon the causes, events and results of our late civil war. To say that "malignant power" has for a season been permitted to astray their prosperity, mortify their pride and deprive them of their heritage of civil liberty," is not only a stupendous falsehood of history but an insane and violent mockery of the beneficence and magnanimity which has been extended towards them by the great political party which has ruled the fortunes of the republic for the last fifteen years, and which has preserved from utter destruction and annihilation all that is dear to the American citizen, in the memories, the institutions and the prospects of our common country. Had not the Republican party been organized and brought into its dominant position, just at the very juncture, when the cause of universal human liberty, was in the extremity of peril, had not this powerful organization then obtained control of the affairs

of the general government and stood like a mighty rock in the raging sea of secession and rebellion, had not its ramparts been thrown up solid and immovable as the granite of the everlasting hills, resisting at every point the floodtide of bitterness and violence that had broken out on every hand and rolling back the surges of discontent, of perfidy, of treason and bloody strife, who can predict the course of things that must have inevitably ensued?

Some things we do know. The Republican party saved the Union and the Government, founded by the fathers, and with them saved the cause of human freedom, and delivered out of the dreadful prison-house of bondage four millions of people who for two hundred and fifty years had been crying to the God of heaven for redemption! The Republican party carried the country safely through this terrific tempest of civil strife, which every day for long weary years threatened to engulf the nation in one general and overwhelming destruction. The Republican party acted upon convictions as eternal as the principles of truth, of humanity and of heaven, and with a sublime faith in the destiny of the Republic, and in the overruling Providence of God bent its whole energy to the working out of the difficult problem before it, amid the taunts of all the enemies of free government and the machinations of all those who looked for the downfall of free institutions among mankind. The sympathies of all the monarchists of the world were against them. The sordid passions of all those who sought their own fortunes on the ruin of the industries, the trade, the commerce, the life, the example and the very existence of the great American Republic were arrayed in the most formidable combinations for their overthrow. Yet knowing the right and desiring to maintain it they went forward, in the face of all opposition, calumny and misrepresentation, sparing no cost of effort, treasure or blood in the decisive encounter. Disaster could not dismay them, delay could not discourage them. But steady as the needle to the pole, and true to the cause of country and of mankind they fought the good fight. They furnished to

the world a roll of rulers, statesmen, soldiers and heroes, as illustrious as any in the records of the nations, and they produced the grandest chapter yet written in the history of the Republic. But there is something even more surprising and admirable than all this, something unexampled in the clemency with which they have treated their prostrate foe. While disorder and anarchy, bitterness, outrage, secret assassination and midnight murder, with all the appliances of obstruction to the laws and the forms and processes of civilized society have reigned throughout the South, inflaming the spirit of the bad, thwarting the purposes of the good, and covering with shame and reproach the very name of liberty, the Republican party has pursued its patient course and held up its lofty aim amid almost unsurmountable difficulties, and when abandoned and betrayed by men whom it had placed in power, and who used that power to baffle their most sacred and beneficent designs. Deprived of their chosen leader, the great and honest Lincoln, by the hand of a foul assassin, they had then for four years to endure the treacherous obstinacy and blindness of his successor, whom all true patriots came to distrust, to despise and loathe. Then at last, after the unspeakable mischief he had wrought, they replaced him with the great soldier, who had led the union armies to final victory, and who, in the hour of his magnificent triumph, was melted with thoughts only of love and fraternity and peace; and of the great statesman, who, proving himself equal to every emergency, in the cabinet as well as in the field, is still administering the affairs of the government with transcendent ability, firmness and moderation. Our President is no Cæsar, but he has proved himself worthy to be ranked, as he will be in all coming time, with Washington and Lincoln—a mighty trio—the father, the preserver, the custodian of the Republic.

Meantime the Republican party has been carrying forward all the vast interests of a people thus preserved and protected by its officers. It has been laboring in the reconstruction of the insurgent States, in developing an adequate system of internal improvement, fostering education and all

industrial pursuits, opening routes of travel, trade and commerce, establishing a more perfect system for the diffusion of intelligence, struggling with the enormous burden of debt thrown upon the country by the war of the rebellion, seeking wiser and safer methods for the great finances of the nation, studying to remove the incubus of taxation, hunting out and punishing the powerful perpetrators of fraud and corruption, holding out to the public gaze and the popular condemnation every ascertained violator of the common integrity and propriety of American citizenship, and endeavoring by all means to promote the honor, integrity, and welfare of all the people and of every section. No political party has been more profuse in generosity toward the great philanthropies and charities which have sought its aid or more, mindful of the sufferings of those communities that have been, during the last few years, so unusually overtaken by the calamities of fire and famine and flood. If mistakes have sometimes been made, as it is but fair to acknowledge, they have been, it has only needed the voice of popular warning to call back this party of moral ideas, principles and convictions to its true line and measure of duty, and to render it more careful of its high trust and solemn responsibility. It has had, of course, to encounter, as every such great and successful party must, the obliquity of an irresponsible, venal and unprincipled public press, and to face all those reverses, which in the mysteries of the unfolding of a nation's life, will sometimes strike at its benefactors and for a season, cover with clouds the very defenders of its existence.

Such a reverse as this, during the last autumn, overshadowed, temporarily, as we trust, the hopes and prospects of this great party of humanity and free government and civil rights. By a series of financial disasters the country had been thrown into one wide ferment of discontent. In a popular government like ours, a general want of public confidence, momentary obstruction and stagnation of business are sure to drive large portions of the people into a blind and foolish desire of change, with no due consideration of the consequences. It is perhaps well

for the country, and for the Republican party that if the change must come it should fall upon the nation precisely as it did. Before the time arrives when the voice of the people must decide upon the commission of the federal power to the next administration, there will be disclosed a state of facts that will surely bring back the estranged popular heart to the support of the only political organization capable of guiding and controlling the affairs of a nation of forty millions through the vicissitudes of the future as it has done through the troubled and giant history of the past.

There are at least two questions now before the nation which must determine this issue, that of civil rights and that of religious freedom. Before these questions, the financial problem and all other material interests will be forced to give way. These two questions lie at the foundation of our political existence and prosperity as a people and these are the two questions on which the conflict has even now begun. The Republican party is pledged to the doctrine of equal civil rights for all the people in all their relations to municipal, State, or general government. It is also pledged against any invasion from any quarter of the rights of conscience in the matter of religion, and more than all against the interference of any religious sect or denomination, with the glorious system of education handed down to us from the fathers. Whoever attempts to overthrow the public schools of America, where its youth are to be instructed, trained and fitted for the privileges, duties and responsibilities of citizenship, in after life will be met everywhere by the stern, uncompromizing resistance in solid phalanx of the Republican party. And on these points we are confident that the people will sustain them. They will once again rally around the old banners that led them through so many struggles, and preserved for the jubilation of our centennial anniversaries the whole undivided heritage of the American Republic, its territory, its government, its history, its people, its fame, its prowess and its honor among the nations of the earth!

Alas, how melancholy to-day would have been the spectacle, had secession and revolt been successful against the bulwarks and

defences of the great Republican party in the time of trial. All and more than all that was so powerfully described in the American Senate more than forty years ago by the great Expounder of the constitution would now be realized. The mighty heart could not bear the vision of a land torn and rent with dissention and civil strife, States broken, the organic charter rent in twain like the veil of the temple, the laws trampled under foot, discord, confusion and dishonor reigning through that political firmament where once this constellation of sister States shone with so fair a radiance, the cynosure of all eyes, and the brightest hope of the human race! Yet the hideous spectacle would have been at this very hour hanging before the sight of mankind, had not the Republican party, raised up in the mysteries of Providence, been present and active to defeat all this fearful and appalling consummation!

The people of America cannot and will not forget those services, sacrifices and labors, while the months are rolling forward through many stirring scenes of popular excitement and glad enthusiasm, and bringing us to the dawn of the anniversary of the nation's birth one hundred years ago. And while we contemplate with proud and patriotic hearts the magnificence of the commemoration, let the thoughtful, candid and intelligent citizen of the Republic weigh well the issues of the immediate future and reflect upon the means and agencies by which the public welfare is to be promoted. This country, great as it is, has yet scarcely set out upon its career. A hundred years in the life of a great people is only a period of childhood. Who then shall conserve after the days of festivity and congratulation are over the vast interests of our ever increasing millions, who shall transmit from generation to generation, unimpaired, the birthright we have received from our fathers? Who shall be entrusted with this vast commission, the men who, with bloody hands have just been clutching at the nation's throat, and the men who now sympathize with and applaud them, or those rather who stood in the councils of the country and under the deadly hail of battle, resolved to make good the declaration of their fathers

by all that is precious in life and fortune and sacred honor?

Looking beyond the joyful eminence on which we stand to-day, we may perceive the gathering signals of the coming storm. There is a political party in this land to-day, desperate in fortunes, damaged in reputation, swollen by recent partial success, without principle, without a policy even, and only reactionary and obstructive in all its instincts, tendencies and operations, which means, if possible, to seize upon the powers of the Government and turn the fruits of patriotic triumphs to ashes for its own emolument. There is an ecclesiastical organization in this land to-day, which designs to subjugate the people of this country to its yoke of superstition and is both secretly and openly preparing for the last great crisis of its long and baleful existence. And these two elements are already allied by affinities not to be mistaken. This is the adversary which the Republican party must prepare to meet. There is and can be no other organization able to cope with him. And when that contest comes, true to all traditions and all aspirations of freedom, the Republican party will rise up and stand firmly for the cause of God and human nature. Then prouder and grander than all the achievements of the past, will be the triumphs and the trophies of this great party.

“God send us one such sight as this,
And send me there to see—”

JANNEY'S EXPEDITION.—The following dispatch was received at the Indian Bureau, June 15. It is dated at a point about twenty miles from the place where gold was reported as being abundant. The dispatch indicates that no gold has been found thus far by the expedition. It is dated “Permanent Camp, June 9, 1875, on branch of Beaver creek, western base of Black Hills, latitude 43° 50', longitude 14° 10', via Fort Laramie, Washington Territory, June 9:

“The greater area of the Black Hills is in Dakota. The formations in the vicinity are of a recent geological age, and are not auriferous. Will cross through the Hills and examine the gold fields reported to exist near Harney's Peak.

“WALTER P. JANNEY,
Black Hills Geological Exploration.”

SECRETARY BRISTOW.—Some of the growlers, astounded at the activity of the Treasury Department, and chagrined at the success of the movements made against the internal revenue and customs frauds by Secretary Bristow, are now disposed to assert that law has been violated, or that the proceedings taken are so “high-handed” as to threaten greater evils than those they attempt to remedy. The wealth and influence of the whisky and smuggler rings, East and West, will reiterate this cry. It is a good one for their purposes. But it may be as well to consider some facts personal to Secretary Bristow himself, before thoughtlessly running to a conclusion that he may have done evil that good might come.

No lawyer in the United States has probably a more extended and thorough knowledge of our revenue system, internal and external, than Mr. Bristow. We refer distinctly to its working legal aspects, and as to the extent, &c., of the powers of the Government under the Constitution and laws. The reason for this is very simple. Mr. Bristow was for several years District Attorney in that portion of Kentucky which produces annually the largest amount of whisky. He was credited with being the most successful law officer in connection with revenue cases. When the Department of Justice was to be organized, Mr. Bristow was made the first Solicitor General. That functionary has charge of all revenue laws and cases arising under them, whether internal or customs. The Attorney General is the law adviser; the Solicitor General is the prosecutor in all such cases. He prepares and manages them. Mr. Bristow organized this office. It was probably this fact, combined with his high character for integrity and firmness, which induced the President to call him to the Treasury. It is not probable that a man so trained has in any essential particular overstepped the plain letter of the law in the important action recently taken.

REPUBLICANISM means safety to the nation, and true prosperity to its citizens. Democracy means the reverse. Who can hesitate in what direction their personal influence should be cast?

HISTORICAL INCIDENTS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

Surely no subject can be more interesting to students of history, politics and literature, than that of the Parliaments of the world. The classic literature of the nations abounds in quotations from speeches delivered in the Senates of the ancient Republics, especially those of Sparta and Rome, whose Senates were composed of the brightest intellects and rarest talent the world has ever known, rendering it difficult for critics to produce equals to Lycurgus and Romulus as lawgivers; or to Solon and Cicero as orators. The House of Representatives associated with the Sparta Senate, was known as the Ephori, that of Rome as the Tribune, the Senators being chosen for life, and composed mainly, if not wholly of lawyers, and the latter by the people, for a term of years, from their own body.

The English Parliament is copied in a great degree, from the ancient systems referred to, the higher branch, the House of Lords, being composed of the opulent nobility, with life leases to their offices and hereditary train, while the lower House, the House of Commons, is elected from the people.

But it is not our purpose to write a philippic on ancient or modern Senates, but rather to cast some light upon our own, showing the origin of the system upon which it is elected, and the reasons governing the Constitution framers for providing that U. S. Senators should be elected by representatives of the people rather than by the people—by the States, instead of by the electors of the States.

The Government of the United States is composed of three branches, viz., the Executive, Legislative and Judicial.

The President is elected for four years, is Commander of the Army and Navy, has the exclusive power of nominating public officers, but the concurrence of the Senate is necessary to their appointment; he has the power of negotiating treaties, but the consent of two-thirds of the Senators to their ratification is essential, and he has a qualified negative in legislation.

The House of Representatives is elected for two years; has the exclusive right of originating impeachments; has the sole power of originating revenue laws, subject to the authority of the Senate to amend them as in other cases, and a co-equal power with the Senate in ordinary legislation, and has the power of electing the President in case no choice is made by the electors, when the members vote by States, each State having one vote.

The Senate is elected for six years; has the exclusive power of trying impeachments, except in case of the impeachment of the President, when the Chief Justice is associated with them; has co-equal power with the House of Representatives in legislation, except in the origination of revenue bills; has a concurrent power with the President in the appointment of public officers, and the consent of two-thirds of the members present is necessary to the validity of a treaty.

The third branch of our Government is the Judiciary, or Supreme Court, which is composed of nine members, appointed by the President and Senate, and holding their office during good behavior.

So much by way of premise, and to present the relation which the U. S. Senate bears to the General Government.

The permanency of the Senate, and the various powers, Executive, Legislative and Judicial, vested in that body, renders it the pre-eminent power of the Constitution. The union of the Senate with the Executive in the treaty-making power, is calculated to give that body an important influence, if not the principal control, over our foreign relations. It is the property of every permanent body to carry its powers to their utmost extent. Why was the Senate made the depository of so large a portion of the powers delegated to the General Government? Why was it put in the power of that body to control the operations of both the Executive and Legislative Departments? Statesmen of the day, when the Constitution was framed, tell us

that it was because the members of the Senate represented the States, were chosen by them, and were responsible to them, and would be bound by this tie to defend the sovereignty and independence of the States against any plan of policy that would impair them, or, in case they should fail in their efforts to do this, would be bound to apprise the States they represented of the danger with which they are threatened. This may seem like an acknowledgment of the doctrine of "State Rights." So it is; but let us see what estimate the framers of the Constitution had of State Rights. In Madison Papers, vol. 1, p. 89, we find the following:

"The Confederation was an abridgment of sovereignty. It has ever been my opinion that Congress ought to have complete sovereignty in all but the mere municipal law of such State. * * * An excess of the spirit of liberty which made the particular States show a jealousy of all power not in their own hands; and this jealousy has led them to exercise a right of judging in the last resort of the measures recommended by Congress, and of acting according to their own opinions of their propriety or necessity; a diffidence in Congress of their own powers, by which they have been timid and indecisive in their resolutions, constantly making concessions to the States until they have scarcely left themselves a shadow of power."

Thus wrote Madison, and he made a report to Congress for its consideration in the following words:

"It is understood and truly declared, in case any of the Confederate States shall refuse or neglect to abide by the determination of Congress, and to observe all the articles of Confederation as required by the 13th Article, the said United States, in Congress assembled, are fully authorized to employ the force of the United States, as well by sea as by land, to compel such State or States to fulfil their federal engagements."—See Madison Papers, vol. 1, p. 89.

Again he speaks of "States inspired with ambition and nourishing ideas of separation and independence," language as pertinent in this age as in that in which he gave it utterance.

Hamilton in an essay in the "Constitutionalist," on the Fourth of July, 1782, closed as follows:

"There is something noble and magnificent in the prospective of a great Federal Republic, closely linked in the pursuit of

a common interest, tranquil and prosperous at home, respected abroad; but there is something proportionately diminutive and contemptible in the prospect of a number of petty States, with the appearance only of union, jarring, jealous and perverse, without any determined action, fluctuating and unhappy at home, weak and insignificant by their dissensions in the eyes of other nations. Happy America, if those to whom thou hast entrusted the guardianship of thy infancy, know how to provide for thy future repose, but miserable and undone if their negligence or ignorance permits the spirit of discord to erect her banner on the ruins of thy tranquility."

There were many who held views antagonistic to those of Madison and Hamilton, but happily they were not in the Constitutional Convention. Many were devoted to their States and did not desire a parent government. R. B. Lee, grandfather of Robert E. Lee, was one of these. April 5th, 1790, he wrote a letter in which he said: "The Southern States are too weak at present to stand by themselves, and a General Government will certainly be advantageous to us, as it produces no other effect than protection from hostilities and uniform commercial regulations. And when we shall retain our natural degree of population, I flatter myself that we shall have the power to do ourselves justice, with *dissolving the bond which binds us together*; it is better to put up with those little inconveniences than to run the hazard of greater calamities."—See *Federalist*.

Madison and Hamilton talk like modern Republicans, Lee like unto a modern Democrat. Truly his political ideas were inherited by his grandson.

Thus much to show what the fathers of the Constitution designed should be the relation of the States to the General Government. It may appear as a digression, but is not, as the writer's design is, to exhibit the precise relation of the Senate to the Government and the Government to the Senate, as intended by those statesmen who evolved the idea and relationship.

In the Convention, four plans or methods of electing U. S. Senators were proposed, viz.: 1st, by the first branch of the National Legislature, which meant the House of Rep-

representatives; 2nd, by the National Executive; 3d, by the people of the several or respective States; 4th, by the people at large. Geary, of Massachusetts, stood nearly alone in advocacy of the latter plan.

Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, argued that the sense of the States would be better collected through their Governments than immediately from the people at large. Secondly, because he wished the Senate to consist of the most distinguished characters, distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property and business, as strong a likeness to the British House of Lords as possible.—*Madison Papers*, p. 166.

The proposition of Read, of Pennsylvania, that the Senators should be appointed by the Executive Magistrate, from a number of persons nominated by the individual Legislatures, was not seconded nor supported.

While the subject of electing U. S. Senators was under discussion, Mr. Cabot, of Massachusetts, said:

"I consider the *Democratic* branch of the National Government, the branch chosen immediately by the people, as intended to be a check on the Federal branch, which latter is not an immediate representation of the people of America, and is not chosen by them, but is a representation of the sovereignty of the individual States, and its members delegated by the several State Legislatures, and if the State Legislatures are suffered to regulate conclusively the elections of the Democratic branch, they may, by such an interference, first weaken, and at last destroy—not check—they may at first diminish and finally annihilate that control of the General Government which the people ought always to have through their immediate representatives.

In the Congress, not only the States are represented in the Senate, but to balance the power, and to give the people a suitable and efficient check upon them, the federal representatives are introduced into Congress. The Legislatures of the several State are the constituents of the Senate, and the people are the constituents of the representatives. Those two branches, therefore, have different constituents, and are designed as mutual checks upon each other."—*Elliot's Debates*, vol. 1, p. 47.

Mr. Ames, of Massachusetts, observed that

"An objection was made against the Constitution, because the Senators are to be chosen for six years. It has been said that

they will be too far removed from the control of the people, and that to keep them in proper dependence they should be chosen annually. It is necessary to premise that no argument against the new plan has made a deeper impression than this, that it will produce a consolidation of the States. This is an effort which all good men will deprecate. For, it is obvious, that, if the State powers are to be destroyed, the representation is too small. The trust, in that case would be too great to be confided in so few persons. The objects of legislation would be so multiplied and complicated that the Government would be unwieldy and impracticable. The State governments are essential parts of the system, and the defence of the Article is drawn from its tendency to their preservation. The Senators represent the Sovereignty of the States, in the other house individuals are represented. The Senate may not originate bills. It need not be said that they are principally to direct the affairs of war and treaties. They are in the quality of ambassadors of the States and it will not be denied that some permanency in their office is necessary to a discharge of their duty. Now, if they are chosen yearly how could they perform their trust? If they would be brought by that means, more immediately under the influence of the people, then they will represent the legislatures less and become the representatives of individuals. This belongs to the other house. The absurdity of this, and its repugnancy to the federal principles of the Constitution, will appear more fully, by supposing that they are chosen by the people at large. If there is any force in the objection to this Article, this would be proper. But whom, in that case would they represent? Not legislatures of the States, but the people. This would totally obliterate the federal features of the Constitution. What would become of the State Governments, and on whom would devolve the duty of defending them against the encroachments of the federal Government? A consolidation of the States would ensue, which it is conceded, would subvert the new Constitution, and against which this new Article so much condemned, is our best security. Too much provision cannot be made against a consolidation. The State Governments represent the wishes and feelings and local interests of the people. They are the safeguard and ornament of the Constitution—they will protract the period of our liberties—afford a shelter against the abuse of power, and will be the natural avenger of our violated rights. A very effectual check upon the power of the Senate is provided. A third part is to retire from office every two years. By this means while the Senators are seated for six years, they

are admonished of their responsibility to their State legislatures. If one-third new members are introduced, who feel the sentiment of their States, they will awe that third whose term will be near expiring. This Article seems to be an excellence of the Constitution and affords just grounds to believe that it will be in practice, as in theory, a federal Republic."—*Elliot's Debates*, January 21, 1787, vol. 1, p. 64.

We again turn to Alexander Hamilton, who, as a writer upon Constitutional questions, as indeed upon all others in which he indulged, was the most lucid of his day.

"It is unnecessary to dilate on the appointment of Senators by the State Legislatures. Among the various modes which might have been devised for constituting this branch of the government, that which has been proposed by the convention is probably the most congenial with the public opinion. It is recommended by the double advantage of favoring a select appointment, and of giving to the State governments such an agency in the formation of the Federal Government, as must secure the authority of the former, and may form a convenient link between the two systems." *Federalist*. p. 467.

To the argument that a Senate appointed not immediately by the people, and for the term of six years, would gradually acquire a dangerous pre-eminence in the government, and finally transform it into a tyrannical aristocracy, Hamilton said:

"Before such a revolution can be effected, the Senate, it is to be observed, must in the first place, corrupt itself; must next corrupt the State legislatures; must then corrupt the House of Representatives; and must finally corrupt the people at large. It is evident that the Senate must first be corrupted before it can attempt the establishment of tyranny. Without corrupting the legislatures, it cannot prosecute the attempt, because the periodical change of members would otherwise regenerate the whole body. Without exerting the means of corruption with equal success on the House of Representatives, the opposition of that co-equal branch of the government, would inevitably defeat the attempt; and without corrupting the people themselves, a succession of new representatives would speedily restore all things to their pristine order. Is there any man who can seriously persuade himself that the proposed Senate can, by any possible means within the compass of human address, arrive at the object of a lawless ambition, through all these obstructions?" *Federalist*. p. 481.

The careful reader of this article cannot now fail in noticing that some of the speakers quoted dwelt with considerable force and feeling upon the fear and apprehension lest the establishment of a Federal government should swallow up the States. But every student of the early history of our Government—those who have carefully perused the debates in the Constitutional Convention, or Congress, which adopted, or rather framed, the Constitution, will also remember that in those days the representatives of New York, Virginia, North Carolina, Massachusetts, and one or two other States, were infatuated with a love of, and devotion to the area comprising the limits of their States. They had but just emerged from a severe struggle for independence, and the heroism and unselfishness of their neighbors and friends was still vivid in and to their minds, each being impressed with the belief that his people had done more than any other to secure the blessings fought for. It will be remembered that the people of those days were wont to call their States "Commonwealths," after the manner of Cromwell. This spirit was commendable. The federal system had not been tried, only suggested, and representatives of States disliked the idea of consolidating in one government, of blending in one azure field the glories of the whole people, and it was only because the first law of nature, self-protection, made a union of all the States necessary and imperative, that they considered the proposition at all. The States were then, as now, unequal in size, some larger than others, and while the smaller did not strive to encroach upon their neighbors and extend their area, the larger ones were averse to surrendering any of their territory even for the making of new States.

Thus it will be seen the policy of electing United States Senators by the representatives of States rather than by the people of the several States, was founded upon the idea that the lustre of each State would thereby be permitted to shimmer in the galaxy proportionate to its revolutionary record.

Since then, however, the framers of the Constitution have passed away, have gone to that house whose doors never outward swing;

our nation has grown from thirteen to thirty-seven States (we might almost say thirty-eight, inasmuch as authority has been given Colorado to prepare for entrance); the lines of some of the original States have been changed; other wars have ensued in which a people and territory, unknown to the Fathers of the Republic, have shed imperishable honor on a common country, and while State pride still holds its seat in the heart of every citizen, whether he sprang from the sterile soil of the most sterile State, or first saw the light in the most favored State in the Union, still the heart of every patriot throbs with livelier emotion as he places his hand upon it and says "I am an American citizen," than in contemplating his fortune in being born in any particular State or portion of our country.

The original law defining the manner of electing U. S. Senators, *i. e.*, by the Representatives of the States in and by their several Legislatures, did not fix the time, nor was the law sufficiently mandatory in its provisions, as was evidenced in Indiana and New Jersey, where Senators were doubtfully elected. The consequence was, Congress, July 25th, 1866, passed the following law which now governs all the States.

"The Legislature of each State, which shall be chosen next preceding the expiration of the term of which any Senator was elected to represent said State in Congress, shall, on the second Tuesday after the meeting, and on organization thereof, proceed to elect a Senator in Congress, in the place of such Senator going out of office, in the following manner: Each house shall openly, by a *viva voce* of each member present, name one person for Senator in Congress from said State, and the name of the person so voted for, who shall have a majority of the whole number of votes cast in each house, shall be entered on the journal of each house, by the clerk or Secretary thereof; but if either house shall fail to give such majority to any person on said day, that fact shall be entered on the journal. At 12 o'clock, M., of the day following that on which proceedings are required to take place, as aforesaid, the members of the two houses shall convene in joint assembly, and the journal of each house shall then be read, and if the same person shall have received a majority of all the votes in each house, such person shall be declared

elected Senator, to represent said State in the Congress of the United States; but if the same person shall not have received a majority of the votes in each house, or if either house shall have failed to take proceedings as required by this act, the joint assembly shall then proceed to choose, by a *viva voce* vote of each member present, a person for the purposes aforesaid, and the person having a majority of all the votes of the said joint assembly, a majority of all the members elected to both houses being present and voting, shall be declared duly elected; and in case no person shall receive such majority on the first day, the joint assembly shall meet at 12 o'clock M., of each succeeding day, during the session of the legislature, and take at least one vote until a Senator shall be elected."

Some of the States are agitating the propriety and feasibility of electing their U. S. Senators by a vote of the people. This can only be done by or through an amendment to the National Constitution, which question will probably soon be agitated in and by Congress, though that body is commendably cautious when changes in the organic provisions of the Constitution are proposed.

THE past is the only index that we have of the possibilities of the future. If we have known a man through a long series of years, and can bear testimony to his honesty, his fidelity, his ability, we are not afraid to trust him in the future. Our confidence has a firm basis, and though it may be shaken, the chances are that it will not; that the character which has proven true in the part, will continue true to the end. This is the teaching of human experience, and holds good with parties as it does with men. The Republican party has stood the test of fourteen years of severe trial. Its fidelity has been tried. Its honesty proven. Its patriotism has been established beyond question. It has brought the nation through danger greater than any that ever confronted a people. Its whole record from 1861 to 1875, is is open, like a book, to be read and judged by all men. It has had its faults, but they have been the unintentional faults of a friend, and not the designs of an enemy. Judged by the standard of practical experience, it has proven a worthy public servant, devoted to those vital principles which are necessary to a healthy public growth and the preservation of free institutions.

REPUBLICAN RECORD.

Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Paper*, one of the most ultra of the Democratic journals in the country speaks of the Republican record in this wise:—

“The Republican record during these fourteen years it is useless for us to discuss. It has certainly been a brilliant one. The party has carried on its shoulders a weight of responsibility never before assumed by a political party in a free republic. It has been followed by a majority of the people of the North with almost religious ardor, and the negroes of the South bless it as their almost divine emancipator.

It is impossible for an American, be he Northern or Southern, to contemplate the history of this great political organization without a feeling of admiration, however much he may oppose the principles, and however bitterly he may suffer in consequence of its success.”

This is noble testimony; and given unsolicited by a political opponent, is all the more trustworthy and emphatic. The record is of the Republican party, the party whose ascendancy has been jeopardized by the apathy and neglect of Republicans. Such a record illustrates the admirable fitness of the party to deal with the questions which bear so deeply on the country's welfare. When the Democratic party was put aside as untrustworthy and disloyal, the country was about to enter a conflict designed to rend asunder the Union of the fathers, and introduce the legality of slavery under a new Constitution. The world had grown indignant at the bare idea of human bondage; and all Christendom joined in the cry for its suppression. In the Great Republic of the West, the people of the free States had caught the spirit of freedom, and were prepared to check the progress of slavery by limiting its area. It was actually moribund,—on the eve of expiring by reason of its wasteful expensiveness, confined as it was. For slave labor could never be skilled; and the loss of fertility in the soil, the direct result of slave culture, could not be renewed for lack of means. The discovery of the costliness of unpaid labor because unskilled, urged the slave owners to seek new territory to exhaust, and to build

up the social system of slavery in localities devoted to liberty. The Republican party opposed the scheme of the slave owners; and the slave owners having appealed to arms, lost their cause, while the slave obtained his freedom under Republican principles.

How slavery, while it existed, affected the social and intellectual condition of the South, is to be seen in its history. It demanded the prevalence of a common sentiment in its favor, at any hazard. Fears of servile insurrection were never absent. The pulpit was forced to uphold the doctrine of human bondage, and say that the right to enslave the black man was of Divine sanction. A clergyman might have the zeal of an apostle, the faith of a Wesley, and the eloquence of a Whitfield; but unless he made slavery as prominent as the salvation of the soul, he lost caste. The bench and the bar were subjected to the same ordeal, and the fame of the judge and the advocate depended upon the devotion he showed to the beauties of human bondage. Collegiate institutions were founded in the interest of slavery. The most learned professors were those who could most deeply impress the students with the absolute commission of the white to enslave the black by the Power which rules on high. In consequence, young men left those abodes of learning, if ignorant of all else, thoroughly enamored of slavery. Literary men had to demonstrate their subservience to the institution. If an author possessed the talents of a Dickens, or Longfellow, or Sidney Herbert, he had to make pleasant allusions to the fettered negro, or invent some new argument in the same direction, when his reputation was established. Editors of newspapers had to bow to the reigning sentiment; and the most audacious attacks on freedom were received with the greatest favor. Art did not flourish in such a community, unless it represented the happy darkey dancing a breakdown by the light of the moon. Science of course sought another clime. In planters' mansions, and the homes of the well to do, in hotels and stores, the blessings of slavery was the sole topic on which all agreed. A

stranger entering a city or town attracted attention until his opinions were known; and if they were opposed to the general views he was soon made to understand the situation, and depart with a whole skin. In a word, slavery hung like a pall over the South, shutting out the light of day; dwarfing the popular mind; and barring out the spirit of progress and enterprise: and it did so as long as it lasted. And what is the consequence? The South has no great authors, or artists, or statesmen, except those who became resplendent by claiming that human bondage is of divine permission.

The wisest men in the South now see the mistake. But they come too slowly into line to partake of the advantages of freedom. The Republican party after preserving the Union set itself diligently to work to rehabilitate and restore. The Democratic party cannot do this. It is too deeply implicated in the worst phases of the past. Moreover, it is obsolete, when tested with the needs of the hour. Wherever it has secured a majority, there the community has retrograded, and it may be said that its principles not being applicable to current affairs, are the embodiment of retrogression. The principles of the Republican party are suited to the condition of the country. They are to be regarded as the national expression in all that relates to popular aspiration and achievement in statesmanship. The Republican party, which has created a NATION by the union of the States, desires to complete a unity of its work. The Democratic party has intervened and complicated, what might otherwise have been easier of accomplishment. The Democratic party is in the way and must be put aside till the work of the Republican party is done. That work, guided by the wisdom of experience, consists in restoring the South to its true position in the Union; in keeping open the way for the education of all its citizens; in upholding the rights of all and their free exercise; in assisting in the creation of a sound public opinion, which shall be tolerant of difference and protect the weak from the tyranny of the strong; and in laboring for the return of a free, happy and contented people to share in the common prosperity and glory of the republic.

NOT A FAILURE.—Democracy claims that the reconstruction policy of the Republican party has proven a failure. Where is the evidence of the failure? Not in the States themselves, for they have been restored to all their original rights and privileges in the Union. If the administrations of State governments has fallen short of what it should have been, the fault lies with the people of the States, not with the policy of reconstruction. The plan of reconstruction was a wise one, and if the people had shown equal wisdom in conducting their affairs, prosperity, such as the Southern States never before enjoyed, would have been its share to-day.

If unworthy men have in some instances crept into power, the responsibility for this is with those who permitted them to be elected. If the intelligent citizen had laid aside his prejudices and united with those who desired good government, the plan of reconstruction would to-day be regarded as among the foremost triumphs of Republican legislation.

That it has fully succeeded in spite of the the opposition which it has encountered, speaks volumes in its favor. A few years hence, when common sense takes the place of passion and prejudice, the people of the South, irrespective of party, will unite in praising the reconstruction policy, which Democracy now condemns.

SECRETARY BRISTOW is still after those who have been practicing fraud upon the revenues of the country. He is determined to break up the rascally practice which puts large fortunes in the pockets of the dishonest few at the expense of the honest dealers. This is right, for no honest merchant can compete with those rascals who sell goods on which no tax has been paid. Mr. Bristow has infused a share of his own fearless spirit into the outside branches of his Department. Treasury agents everywhere are becoming more active in, and watchful of, the public interest. Under this effective policy we may reasonably expect a large increase of revenue during the coming year.

THE MUTUAL RELATION,

AS TO PRICE OF GOLD, GREENBACKS, SILVER BULLION AND SILVER COIN.

Gold Price of Silver Bullion.—Owing to the large demand for gold, and the corresponding diminution in the demand for silver, consequent upon the change by certain continental governments—Germany and the Scandinavian Governments of Sweden, Norway and Denmark—from a silver standard for their money of account, to a gold standard; and to the hoarding of gold by the Bank of France preparatory to its resumption of specie payments; and also to the large production of silver from the Comstock and other mines of our silver-bearing territories, the price of silver, relatively to gold, has been for several years gradually sinking, until it has reached in the London market, according to a late cable dispatch, the low point of 55½ pence sterling per standard British ounce, (the equivalent quotation in New York market, for fine bars, being from 1.21 to 1.22 per ounce,) the lowest point of value, relatively to gold, on record in the history of man.

The price indicates that the ratio of the value of gold to silver, is as 17 to 1; that is, that the value of gold in the markets of the world is now seventeen times that of silver of equal weight and like fineness. It follows, as may readily be shown, that the price in United States gold, of the quantity of bullion contained in a dollar of our new fraction silver is 88.0 cents; or, conversely, that what may be termed the silver-bullion price of gold—the silver unit being 25 grammes 9-10 fine—is 113.6

Go'd Price of Silver Coin.—The gold price of the United States silver coin, (fractional) which is used as currency—containing to the dollar, when of legal weight and fineness, 25 grammes 9-10 fine—was quoted on the same day, (June 5, 1875) in the New York market, at from 92 to 95 cents, showing the silver coin price of gold to have been from 108.7 to 105.3; the difference depending on the quantity of pure metal contained, as indicated by the date of the mintage and by the degree of the abrasion of the coin.

Gold Price of Greenbacks.—The greenback price of gold is now quoted, in the language of the market, at 117, showing the gold price of greenbacks to be 85½.

Greenback Price of Silver Bullion and of Silver Coin.—It follows that, at the present time, the greenback price of silver bullion—25 grammes 9-10 fine to the dollar—is 103 (more exactly, 102.9); the greenback price of silver coin, of the same weight and fineness, ranging from 107.6 for older and abraded coins, to 111.1 for coins of the full legal weight.

Exportation of Silver Coin for Melting or Recoinage.—Should the price of greenbacks, relatively to that of silver bullion, advance three per cent., silver coin, even at its minimum or bullion value, would prove more profitable for circulation as money than for use in the arts, or for exportation for coinage abroad.

Exportation of Silver Coin for Use as Money Elsewhere.—The fractional silver coin of the United States is demanded, in limited quantities, by certain South American and other countries, chiefly on this side of the Atlantic, for circulation; which fact accounts in part for the higher price which our fractional silver coin commands in the market compared with bullion. To what extent this fact will operate—when a liberal supply of coin shall be issued and thrown upon the market—to retain as now, the price of coin beyond that of bullion, is, as yet, uncertain.

Effect on the Price of Silver Coin, of the Demand for its use at Home as Subsidiary Coinage.—Gold and greenbacks are each legal tender of payment in all amounts, but United States fractional silver coin is legal tender of payment only in limited amounts, not exceeding five dollars in any one payment. The effect of this provision of law is to give to silver coin a value superior to its intrinsic value as bullion, and to protect it against remelting at home, and against exportation for melting or recoinage abroad.

When greenbacks rule in the market at a lower point than that of silver coin, such

coin will not be in demand at home for use as money for general circulation, except at the extreme Southwest and on the Pacific Slope. When, however, greenbacks command in the market a higher price than silver coin, the subsidiary silver coin will be in demand as money, but will command a price above that of its value as bullion.

When greenbacks advance from $85\frac{1}{2}$, their existing rate, to 83, the existing bullion rate (corresponding to a premium on gold of 13.6)—assuming that the relative values of gold and silver remain unchanged—silver coin will necessarily cease to be profitably exported as bullion for melting or recoinage, even though—by virtue of the provision of the law which gives it the character of a legal tender in limited amounts—it should have no value above that of the bullion contained.

When greenbacks advance to 92 (corresponding to a premium on gold of 8 7-10)—the existing prices of silver coin remaining unchanged—the less perfect and less desirable silver coins will circulate, as currency, side by side with the fractional paper currency.

When greenbacks advance to 95 cents (corresponding to a premium on gold of 5 3-10)—the existing prices of silver coin remaining unchanged—the new and more perfect silver coins will circulate, as currency, side by side with our fractional paper currency.

When greenbacks advance beyond this rate, nearer to a par with gold, silver coin will supercede greenbacks, and their associated fractional paper currency. The intrinsic bullion value of new silver coins, of legal weight and fineness, is now 88 cents to the dollar, but their value as coin in the market is 95 cents. The issuing and placing on the market of the new silver coinage in considerable quantities, will tend to lower somewhat the price in the market of these new coins, but will not reduce the price to the bullion standard. The gold price of greenbacks in the market, therefore, must advance considerably beyond 88 cents, the present value of the bullion contained in silver coins of legal weight and fineness—

that is, the greenback price of gold must fall considerably below 113 6-10, in order to secure the free and general circulation of such coins.

The higher price of our fractional silver coin, as compared with silver bullion, of the same weight and fineness, is due, in part, to the fact that, in limited amounts (not exceeding \$5 in any one payment), it is like gold a legal tender of payment in the United States, and, in part, to a limited demand for its use as money in the payment of balances for customs purposes, and for the settlement of fractional amounts in the payment of interest on our bonded debt; also, for use in general circulation on the Pacific slope of the United States and in Texas and certain other portions of the southwest, where gold is the sole standard, paper currency not being recognized in trade; and, also, in certain South American and other countries.

TABULAR STATEMENT.

In the following tabular statement, the dollar of silver bullion, and the dollar of silver coin, are each assumed to be 25 grammes of silver of the fineness of 9-10—the same with regard to quantity and fineness, as that of the legal silver currency (fractional) of the United States :

PRICES — June 5, 1875.

The gold price of \$100 in greenbacks, is	\$85.50
The gold price of \$100 in silver bullion, is ...	\$38.01
The gold price of \$100 in silver coin, is from \$32 to 95	
Consequently —	
The greenback price of \$100 in gold, is	\$117.0
The silver bullion price of \$100 in gold, is	\$113.6
The silver coin price of \$100 in gold, is { from	\$108.7
to	\$105.3
Also —	
The greenback price of \$100 in silver bullion, is	\$102.9
Greenback price of \$100 in silver coin, { from	\$107 6
to	\$111.1
Also —	
The silver bullion price of \$100 in sil- { from	\$104.5
ver coin, is.....	to \$108.0
The silver bul'n price of \$100. in greenbacks, is	\$ 97.2

EVERY Centennial celebration should deepen the public gratitude for the great party which saved the nation from destruction. If our forefathers are held in grateful remembrance for their wisdom, and for their fidelity to the spirit of liberty, the patriot who in these latter days should equal wisdom and fidelity should not be forgotten in the general rejoicing. The Republican party may justly claim for itself a share of the gratitude bestowed upon those who fought the first battles for popular freedom.

VATICANISM IN GERMANY.

The present attitude of Germany toward Rome, is not one of hostility to the Roman Catholic Church as a spiritual power, but as a temporal one, assuming authority above the state. Except, so far as it comes in conflict with the church doctrine of infallibility, it is, in no sense of the term, a religious movement; it is simply the German Empire asserting its supremacy in matters of state over what has been called by the defenders of the Romish Church, the Apostolic Empire.

The question to be settled by the German Empire, is one of allegiance to its laws. The Romish Church, both in theory and practice, holds its first allegiance to the Apostolic Empire, with the Pope as its supreme head; its second allegiance, to the German Empire with King William as its ruler. The adherents of this church number many millions; its teachings have become part of their faith, and thus Germany has within its borders citizens who claim its protection and the full benefit of its laws, and yet hold an allegiance to a foreign potentate whose orders they are bound to obey, even though obedience brings them into direct antagonism with the State whose citizens they claim to be.

This anomaly was one which early attracted, not only the attention of Bismarck, but other distinguished statesmen, some of whom were earnest Catholics devoted to the church and yet sensible of their duty to the Empire. They saw that two powers claiming equal or superior jurisdiction, could not exist without the final submission of one to the other. It would eventually come about either through bloody conflict or peaceful measures. The questions with these statesmen were simply, shall Germany be ruled by Rome or by herself? Shall the laws of the Empire be weaker than the words of the Pope? On these points there could be no compromise; it must be one or the other—the supremacy of the German Empire, or the supremacy of the Apostolic Empire.

The breaking out of the war with France postponed the settlement of a question which had long been pending. The close of the war found the German Empire more thoroughly nationalized than at the opening. Its several parts were more united; its borders were enlarged; its people were more devoted to the interest and advancement of the Empire; in a word it had grown in the midst of a destructive war.

France no longer dreaded as an ally of Rome; Italy far from friendly to the Papal doctrine of infallibility; Austria too intent on keeping peace with a nation flushed with victory, and guarded by the best equipped standing army in all Europe, gave to Germany the opportunity which she had sought for years, to say to the Roman Catholic Church, "as a spiritual power you can continue in Germany, but as a temporal power, claiming equal authority with the laws of the Empire, you hereby receive notice to vacate the State or obey its laws. Henceforth the German Empire assumes full control of its citizens, and the Apostolic Empire must conform to the new order of things."

By its recent acts toward the Romish Church, Germany simply proclaims its independence and asserts its sovereignty. Henceforth the German citizen, whether he be a bishop, a priest, or a layman, can appeal for protection to the State against the rigors or injustice of ecclesiastical law. If the Pope of Rome, seeks through the bishops to fine or imprison a Catholic citizen, or to deprive him of his honors or his property, or to molest him in any way, the punishment can only be inflicted by first obtaining the consent of the punished, and even then it must not violate the laws of the realm. This, it will be noted, destroys the temporal power of the church, and only the temporal power, for it leaves untouched the faith which recognizes the Pope as the spiritual head of the church. Therefore, the movement is political and not character, more defensive and though the Romish Church

the world may endeavor to construe it into a movement of religious persecution, the unprejudiced observer will see in it nothing but the exercise of an inherent right on the part of a nation to compel all church or other organizations to submit to its laws, and to enjoy their forms of worship on the basis of equality, each entitled to respect and protection, and all required to conform to the laws of the only temporal sovereign, the State.

VATICANISM.

To better understand the causes which have led to the suppression of the temporal power of the Roman Church, or to the subordination of the Apostolic Empire or Roman Hierarchy to the civil laws of the German Empire, we should first understand the character of Vaticanism, the power from which the Hierarchy derives its authority, and on which it bases its claims to make its own laws and to annul those of the State which in any way interfere with its prerogatives.

What is Vaticanism? To give a detailed answer that would cover all its claims and set forth all its pretensions to the exercise of temporal authority, would fill a volume. The briefest reply is the one most comprehensive. Vaticanism is Papal authority in its organized form, or, the will of the Vatican as expressed through canonical and ecclesiastical laws; a system arrogating to itself the divine right of governing, both in politics and religion, the whole domain of Roman Catholic Christendom. The Vatican decrees are held to be the supreme command of God, through the Pope, to his faithful subjects, to be obeyed by them on all questions of faith and morals, of civil and religious duty. Therefore, whatever the Vatican decrees becomes a law, imperative, absolute, to be obeyed and not gainsaid by all within the province of the Romish Church.

What is the nature of its power? How far can Vaticanism go in the government of a people? These are questions on which Catholics are divided, and the solution of which is continually affecting the unity of the Church. The majority of the adherents

of the Romish Church believe in the universal or supreme authority of Vaticanism, are loyal to its decrees, and subordinate their allegiance to their country, to their higher allegiance to the Pope, recognizing in him the only sovereign who derives his authority from God, who through such devotion has the right to command their allegiance.

Other Catholics, no less sincere in their devotion to the church than the ones mentioned, hold to the doctrine that Vaticanism has no relation to the State, except through the force of example; that its province is spiritual, and not in any sense political, and that the Vatican decrees are simply directory in their character, confined to church discipline, and have no binding force over a citizen in his relations to the State in which he claims citizenship.

Here we have a division of opinion in a church that recognizes a common head. Both sides of the question admit the spiritual authority of the Pope as the head of the church, both agree in all matters of discipline, but a line divides them on a question of temporal power, the one claiming him to be above the princes of the earth, the other asserting that he has no political power. In Germany this division is marked, and has led to a serious split in the church. The result has been, the dissenters from the accepted meaning and scope of Vaticanism, have banded together, and under the name of Old Catholics are daily gaining converts to what they deem the only true doctrine on which Catholicism can stand. But as these dissenters, or Old Catholics, are largely in the minority, we must accept the assumption of Vaticanism, of its right to supremacy over civil law as the vital point at issue between the German Government and the Church of Rome.

Gladstone, in speaking of these Vatican decrees, says: "In the presence of these decrees it is no longer possible for English Catholics to pay to their sovereign a full and undivided allegiance." And again. "The Vatican decrees do, in the strictest sense, establish for the Pope a supreme command over loyalty and civil duty. And again he says with great clearness:

“It is, in my opinion, an entire mistake to suppose that theories like those of which Rome is the centre, are not operative on the thoughts and actions of men. An army of teachers, the largest and most compact in the world, is ever sedulously at work to bring them into practice. Within our time they have most powerfully, as well as most injuriously, altered the spirit and feeling of the Roman Church at large; and it will be strange indeed if, having done so much in the last half century, they shall effect nothing in the next.”

THE TEMPORAL POWER OF ROME.

It is with this power of Vaticanism—teaching to German subjects the fatal doctrine of Papal infallibility; dividing them in their loyalty to the Empire; disturbing them in their civil relations to the realm; and sowing seeds of political and religious dissensions—that Bismarck has to deal. It has been said that Bismarck is the power behind the throne, but this is true only in the sense of his representative character. In this Bismarck represents the spirit of progressive Germany; the soul of the new Empire that is shaking off the chains of the past, and rising up like a youthful giant to enjoy its liberties, enforce its rights, and become the leader among the nations of Europe. It is the irrepressible spirit of the German people who long to see the Empire supreme within its own borders, that impels Bismarck, as its best and most courageous representative to lead the movement, not against the Catholic faith, but against the temporal power which Vaticanism or Papal authority has exercised over the civil law for more than half a century.

The movement is not a sudden one. It is the result of deliberate judgment formed from the experience of years. Leading German statesmen for the past twenty years have seen in the assumption of the Romish Hierarchy, a danger which would eventually, unless checked, destroy the integrity of the State. They saw, with alarm, a church which had been invited to enjoy the freedom accorded by Prussian laws to other churches, abusing the spirit of toleration, and transforming what was granted as a privilege into

a divine right above the laws of the realm and responsible only to Rome. They beheld a church which had come to them humbled, shattered, destitute, glad to accept their hospitality and the protection of their liberal laws, grow, not in sympathy with the nation which sheltered it, but in sympathy with a foreign potentate, whose commands taught its followers not gratitude and loyalty to Prussia, but supreme loyalty to Rome.

From 1821 to 1837, the Roman Church quietly acquiesced in those civil laws which Prussia had established for her own safety. In fact, one of the conditions on which the Romish Church was re-established in Prussia, shortly after 1815, was a willing submission to Prussian laws. This was cheerfully given, and the Church and State lived in harmony until about 1844, when the secret intrigues of the Order of Jesuits began to bear fruits in the shape of new demands and aggressions on the part of the church. The Constitution of 1850 gave the Papal Hierarchy its first strong hold upon the State. Under the plausible plea of “the freedom of the Church,” it secured certain rights which became the levers to overturn restrictions placed upon it. The power of supervision, still retained by Prussia in her Constitution of 1850, soon became a dead letter, so far as it applied to the Romish Hierarchy, and the church as it grew in strength increased in arrogance, until its pretensions of authority and open defiance of law, made it absolutely necessary for the State to surrender its authority to Rome, or at once take such steps as would subordinate the Romish Church to the same laws which governed other religious organizations in the realm.

The measures necessary to restrict Papal authority were delayed from year to year. Italy under the finger of the Pope; Austria obedient to his commands; France the natural enemy of Prussia, and governed by Napoleon, who drew his inspiration from Rome, made the work of self-protection, not only hazardous to the peace of the realm, but perilous to national existence.

In the meantime the Papal Hierarchy grew in boldness, and became more exacting in its demands. Romish Bishops entered Government schools and instructed teachers, ap-

pointed and paid for by the State, what they should, and what they should not teach. When called to an account for this abuse of a supervising privilege granted them, they arrogantly replied, that every Catholic teacher was subject to their control, and this, not through the laws of Prussia, but under the laws of the Church.

THE CONFLICT A POLITICAL ONE.

The Romish organs of Papacy have endeavored to transform the purely defensive and political policy of Germany into a bitter persecution of the Catholic Church. Nothing could be wider from the truth, for the Catholic Church, to-day, enjoys equal privileges in Germany with the Evangelical Church. Its liberty of conscience has not been interfered with; its forms of worship remain the same as ever; the persons of its priests and bishops are protected, and its 14,000,000 of followers have all the rights accorded to the 25,000,000 who worship under the forms of the Evangelical Church. In fact, religious and civil liberty were never greater in Germany than in the presence of this movement, which seeks to increase personal liberty by removing from the State a tyranny, which, in the name of God and the Church, proclaims itself not only the owner of the citizen's conscience, but the God-appointed judge, over and above the nation itself. Therefore, it should be borne in mind, in order to form a correct idea of the German movement, that the legislation of Prussia and the Empire is directed, not against the Catholic faith, but against a Hierarchy, which proclaims ecclesiastical law to be above the civil, and the Pope above the King.

The whole question was plainly stated by Bismarck in his speech of March 10, 1873. He said:

"In my opinion, the question with which we are occupied is falsified, and the light in which we view it is likewise false, when it is represented as a question of Church or of confession. It is really a political question; it has nothing to do with the struggle of an Evangelical dynasty against the Catholic Church—though some would persuade our Catholic fellow-citizens that this is the issue; it does not enter into the strife between faith and unbelief; it is concerned only with the immemorial conflict of authority—old as the

human race—the conflict between kingship and priestism. * * * * The Papacy has ever been a political power which, with the greatest audacity, and with momentous consequences, has interfered in the affairs of this world; which has striven after such encroachment, and held this in view as its programme. That programme is well understood. The goal which, like the Frenchman's dream of an unbroken Rhine boundary, floats before the Papal power—the programme which, in the time of the mediæval emperors, was near its realization, is the subjection of the civil power to the ecclesiastical. A high political aim; an endeavor which, however, is as old as humanity, since there have always been either shrewd men or actual priests who have put forth the pretension that the will of God was more intimately known to them than to their fellows; and that upon the ground of this pretension they had the right to rule their fellows; and that this position is the basis of the Papal pretension to sovereignty is well known."

This lucid statement of Bismarck gives the key to the conflict now going on in Germany between Church and State, or, as the illustrious statesman gives it, between kingship and priestism.

In a speech delivered in Glasgow, Scotland, October 7, 1874, Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, of Berlin, thus referred to the movement:

"The conflict is not with the Church of Rome, as an ecclesiastical communion, but with the political doings of the Ultramontane party of the Roman Catholic Church; their defiance of the laws; their open contempt of the civil authority; their open and secret plottings against the Empire. * * * A labored attempt has been made through the press of this country to convey the impression that the Roman Catholic Church is persecuted in Germany; and Dr. Manning has gone so far as to say that in Germany there is witnessed to-day the most despotic persecution of the Church that has been known since the days of Diocletian. As an impartial observer during the whole stage of this conflict, I do most solemnly and emphatically deny that there is any persecution of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. I deny that any man in Germany is persecuted, either as an officer or member of that Church, or is dealt with by law for anything that belongs to him or concerns him in his simple and proper capacity as a believer in that faith, or a worshipper in that Church; and I venture to say that Dr. Manning knows that as well as I do. * * * The quarrel with the bishops in Germany is not that *they* believe in the infallibility of the Pope, nor that *they* openly teach this doctrine, but that they use the opprobrium of

ecclesiastical censure to compel other men to believe and to teach this dogma, or to excite the ignorant and superstitious against the school system provided by the Government, because this cannot be used for propagating the decrees of the Vatican Council. * * * With the spiritual discipline of the Romish Church, as a society within itself, the Government does not interfere. In that matter each church is left in the independent use of its powers. But the Government does forbid the use of physical pains and material penalties—such as fines, imprisonment, etc.—to enforce ecclesiastical censures. Above all, the Prussian Government will not suffer the officers of a foreign politico-ecclesiastical power—Roman Jesuits and the like—to use ecclesiastical threats and penalties for the purpose of inciting and arraying its own subjects against itself. It will not suffer an ecclesiastical camp, armed with pains and penalties, to be organized against liberty of the person or peace of the realm. * * * The State is sovereignty, and cannot admit any other sovereignty, temporal or spiritual, between its subjects and itself. You cannot forget the time in the history of Scotland and England, when the Pope held the scales between the two nations, and when the Papal Legate made peace or war for this island. That dictation of Rome is attempted to be forced upon Germany, in our time, and I feel that in this warfare Germany is fighting your battle over again. She has now been put in front of the field. Had she failed in her last war, Victor Emanuel would not now be in Rome; France would be propping up the Papal power with her bayonets, and threatening the peace of Europe with the decrees of the Vatican Council in arms; the Jesuits would have a million soldiers at their backs, and the Pope would feel himself not only infallible but invincible. It is because Germany has defeated all this that Germany is hated at Rome. It is because the Empire has been erected, binding all the German States under the lead of the most powerful Protestant power of Europe, that the Ultramontanes are struggling to undo the work of the last four years."

In the extracts quoted we have a plain statement of the question at issue, and the high authority of the one who gives it entitles it to confidence and belief.

Therefore, nothing can be clearer to the impartial mind than the assertion already made, that the conflict in Germany is purely a political one, having no bearing whatever on religion, except so far as it denies to one of its leading branches the assumption of a power which belongs not to religion, but exclusively to the political or civil power of the State.

PAPAL SUPREMACY TO BE FEARED BY GERMANY.

There are many people who regard the religious legislation, so-called, in Germany, as uncalled for. They claim that Papacy means peace, and that the growth of the Romish Church, with all its assumption of power over its members and society, is compatible with the highest degree of civil liberty.

As a theory of faith, this may be correct, but the experience of centuries proves it wrong in practice. The history of the world, if it teaches anything, teaches this one fact, that Papal supremacy over the civil law is inconsistent with the enjoyment and existence of civil and religious liberty.

Historical facts crowd upon us when we seek the proof of this statement. From the dethronement of Henry the IV, of Germany, by authority of Pope Gregory VII, in the 11th century, down to the compromise treaty at Westphalia, in 1648, not only the soil of Germany, but the soil of all nations under Romish domination, was drenched in the blood shed in those civil wars, waged by Romanism, in the name of the Pope, as the Vicar of Christ, against all who refused to accept the dogmas of the Papal Hierarchy.

Whatever may be the intentions of Roman Catholicism, in the 19th century, the persecutions carried on in its name and by its sanction, for more than ten centuries, are historical facts, and as such, cannot be ignored. The past is too often a faithful index of the future, and what the Romish Church has been in Spain, France, England, and Germany, when it had control of the temporal power of those kingdoms, it may be again, if vested with like authority. The horrors of the Spanish inquisition, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which 70,000 unbelievers in the Romish faith were slain in cold blood; the persecutions in England, under the reign of bloody Mary, and the horrible cruelties which characterized the Papal force during the thirty years' war, which devastated and impoverished Germany, are but single counts in the long list of indictments which stand against the past record of the Romish Church.

We do not say that these persecutions find defense or justification among the intelligent Roman Catholics of the present age, or were

endorsed at the time by all within the Church, but we do say that they illustrate the tyrannical power of the Roman Hierarchy when possessed with supreme authority, and foreshadow the policy which would again be adopted, if the Jesuitical or Ultramontane branch of the Church should be restored to power. •

Of all nations in Europe, Germany has good reasons to dread the ascendancy of Papal authority. Her central position has made her the battle-field of nearly every great war that has desolated the Continent. Her soil has been reddened with the blood of her noblest sons, whose only crime was their refusal to obey the decrees of the Pope.

Germany can never forget the humiliating spectacle of a German Emperor—Henry IV, (1077)—crossing the Alps, in the dead of winter, to obey the summons of Pope Gregory VII; his waiting for three days, barefooted and poorly clad, in an outer court of the Castle of Canossa, before the haughty Prelate would grant him an audience. Nor has she forgotten the thirty years' bloody war which followed the Papal dethronement of her Sovereign. Nor has she erased from her memory the struggle of nearly a century, when the Hohenstaufen Emperors, (1138–1254) stood like a wall of fire between her conscience and the legions of Papacy.

The land which gave birth to Luther—which poured out its blood like water to sustain the Reformation (1517), which suffered—under Charles V (1547), and Ferdinand II (1619–37),—horrors unparalleled in the history of the Church, and which, through the 17th and 18th centuries, has been torn and rent asunder by fierce wars instigated by Papal intrigue, has a natural right to be jealous of her liberties and to be on her guard against the ascendancy of a power which has caused her so much suffering in the past. To the people of this free land, the present attitude of Germany toward the Romish Church, may appear to be one of selfishness, but to the Empire, which builds upon the experience of ten centuries, it has become one of political necessity. Free from Papal domination, Germany has a brilliant career before her—one that will arouse the pride of her children and their descendants throughout the world. To-day she stands

proudly erect in her new manhood, not to persecute, or shackle a doctrine of faith, but to declare civil and religious liberty throughout her borders; to declare the supremacy of her civil laws over those which, in the name of the Church, would undermine her authority, weaken her unity, and eventually destroy her liberty.

OLD DOCTRINES REVIVED.

The reign of Charles the Great, or, as he is more familiarly known, Charlemagne, forms the connecting link between ancient and modern history. He was the most famous of French Kings, and from his reign may be dated the first assumption of power by the Pope of Rome over the sovereignty of Germany.

If history is to be believed, this King received from the hands of the Pope the crown and title "Emperor of the West." The story as told by Goodrich, the historian, runs in this wise: In the year 800, Charlemagne visited Rome, and the Pope, as a testimony of his gratitude for the benefits he had received, resolved to confer upon him the title of "Emperor of the West." But this he intended as a surprise for the King. Accordingly, on Christmas day, when the great church at Rome was crowded with people of various nations, the Pope came softly behind the King, as he knelt before the altar, and placed a crown upon his head. The lofty dome resounded with the cry, "Long life to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God! Long life to the Great Emperor of the Romans!" The extent of this ruler's empire may be judged, when we say, that it covered all the territory now occupied by Italy, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, half of Spain, and all France.

From the reign of Charlemagne to the present, the Papal power has never relinquished, except by force of arms, this claim of supreme sovereignty over the German empire. If Napoleon III had been successful in his attempted conquest of Germany, Pope Pious IX would have conferred upon him a crown and title equal to that which more than a thousand years before had been given to Charlamagne.

This claim to temporal sovereignty is as strong now as it was then. The following

extract from the bull of ex-communication against Henry IV by Gregory VII (1076) is what is now claimed at Rome, with the additional force imparted to it by the doctrine of infallibility, which has been accepted by the Romish church as a dogma of faith :

"Now I beseech you, oh most holy fathers and princes, cause that all the world may understand and know that if ye are able to bind and loose in heaven, ye are able upon earth to give and to take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, marquisates, duchies, countships, and the possessions of all men, according to the deserts of each. Often, indeed, have ye taken away patriarchates, primacies, archbishopries, and bishopries, from the evil and unworthy, and have bestowed these upon men of true piety. If, then, ye judge spiritual things, what must not be believed of your power over worldly things ? And if ye judge the angels who rule over all proud princes, what can you not do to their slaves ?"

As a logical sequence to this assumption of Gregory VII, we have the subsequent deposition of Frederick II by Pope Innocent IV, (1243) delivered in the presence of 140 prelates assembled at the Council of Lyons. After reciting the offence of Frederick against the Church, Innocent declares :

"That because of his iniquities the Emperor has been set aside by God, from the sovereignty of which he has proved himself so unworthy, and is stripped of all his honors and dignities, which judgment the apostolic See doth now pronounce and enforce, absolving all from their oath of allegiance to him, threatening with excommunication all who shall in any way acknowledge or uphold him as emperor or as king ; and summoning the electors of the empire to choose at once a successor to its now deposed and anathematized head."

But papal assumption was never put in a stronger light than by Boniface VIII, (1294) in his famous bull "Unam Sanctam :

"The Pope has two swords the spiritual and the temporal ; the one to be wielded by the Church, the other for the Church ; the one by the priesthood, the other by kings and

soldiers, but this only on the hint or the sufferance of the priest. One sword, however must be under the other, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power. As saith the apostle, "there is no power but of God : the powers that be are ordered of God ;" but they would not be in order unless one sword were under the other. If the temporal power goes astray then must it be rectified by the spiritual ; if such a power illtreats those that are under it, it has a judge in the higher spiritual power ; but this which is highest of all can be judged by God only, not by any man, as saith the apostle ; "he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man." Wherefore we do declare, proclaim, decree, and determine hereby that every human creature is subject to the Roman Pope, and that none can be saved who doth not so believe."

That this doctrine of temporal supremacy is still adhered to by the Ultramontane school of Romanism, and is advocated by some of the most illustrious bishops of the Church is a fact of which we have abundant evidence. In a sermon preached in the Pro-Cathedral at Kensington, October 9, 1864, Dr. Manning, speaking as for the Pope put into his mouth the following :—"I acknowledge no civil power ; I am the subject of no prince ; and I claim more than this—I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men—of the peasant that tills the field and of the prince that sits upon the throne ; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy and the legislator that makes laws for kingdoms ; I am the sole, last supreme judge of what is right and wrong."

This is the power—illustrated in the sentiments that are quoted—against which the German Empire, with Prussia as its leading spirit, is acting to-day. Germany is in earnest ! In the language of the Emperor William, to Earl Russell : "The duty devolves upon me of leading the nation once more in the war maintained in former times, for centuries long, by the German Emperor, against a power whose domination has never in any country been found compatible with the freedom and the welfare of nations."

THE EMPIRE—ITS RELIGION, &c.

The geographical position of Germany makes it naturally the keystone of the political system of Europe. Its central location has made it the theatre of the great wars that for centuries past have desolated the continent. With its boundaries exposed on nearly every side it has offered a tempting field for conquest. Until Bismarck welded the several States into a single empire, German unity seemed more a chimera than a possible fact. For a long series of years the dream of a grand German Empire floated before the vision of illustrious statesmen, but the reality seemed impossible until the result of the late war aroused the pride for a united nationality and in the hands of Bismarck made the Empire an accomplished fact. The military prestige of Prussia made it the leading spirit in the new Union, and to her king as the Emperor of united Germany the smaller States and principalities rendered willing allegiance. The present Emperor was elected by a vote of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation on the initiative of all the reigning Princes of Germany.

The constitution of the German Empire under William I, bears date April 16, 1871. The States of the Empire number 27. The Bundesrath, or Federal Council, numbers 59 members, and represents the individual States of Germany. The Reichstag or Diet of the Realm, represents the German nation and numbers 397 deputies.

The census of December 1, 1871, shows the population of the Empire to be 41,041,485, divided as follows: Protestants, 25,579,709; Roman Catholics, 14,867,463; Christian sects of various denominations, 82,155, and Jews, 512,158. In Prussia, in 1871, 65 per cent. of the inhabitants were Protestants, and 33½ per cent. Roman Catholics; while in Bavaria 71 per cent. were Roman Catholics, and 27½ per cent. Protestants. In the Reichsland of Alsace-Lorraine, 80 per cent. were Roman Catholics and 17½ per cent. Protestants.

The royal family incline to the Evangelic faith. In Prussia, this faith is shared by about 64.87 per cent. of the people. The Roman Catholic church in this State claims

about 32.56 per cent., and other creeds 2.57 per cent. In the provinces of Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Saxony, the Protestant faith largely predominates, while in Posen, Silesia, Westphalia, and Rhenish Prussia, the Roman Catholics are in the majority. The new provinces annexed, in 1866, are mostly Protestant in their religious belief. Protestantism is gradually increasing. Its proportionate growth is greater than that of Catholicism.

The Protestant church* is governed by "consistories," or boards appointed by the Government, one for each province. There are also synods in most circles and provinces. In the Rhenish provinces it is fixed by the concordat entered into between the Government and Pope Pius VII. But in every other part of the monarchy, the Crown has reserved to itself a control over the election of bishops and priests. There were at the census of 1864 more Roman Catholic priests than Protestant ministers, the number of the former amounting to 6,706, and of the latter to 6,531. The Protestants at the same date had 8,401 churches, and 1,113 other religious meeting places, while the Roman Catholics had 5,548 churches, and 2,567 chapels, besides 243 convents and monasteries.

The higher Catholic clergy are paid by the State, the Archbishop of Breslau receiving £1,700 a year, and the other bishops about £1,135. The incomes of the parochial clergy, of both sects, mostly arise from endowments. In general, Government does not guarantee the stipend, either of Protestant or Catholic clergymen; but in some parishes in the Rhenish provinces the clergy enjoy a public provision.

Napoleon overthrew, in 1806, all that was left of the Old German Empire. Its previous existence was more in name than in fact. At one time it was split up into about three hundred principalities, each claiming for itself absolute authority. Religious wars between these small states kept the so-called empire in a continual ferment. The new empire dates from the close of the Franco-Prussian war. The military prestige of the German armies, and the statesmanship of

* Statesman's Year Book, 1875

Bismarck, welded into a unit the fractions which had so long remained apart.

The French war against Prussia was most disastrous to France. Aside from the fearful cost in life and treasure, she was compelled to pay as war indemnity to Germany, 200,000,000 pounds sterling. The wonderful recuperative power of France is shown from the fact that this immense sum was fully paid at the end of September, 1873. Besides this treaty indemnity, Germany received a tribute from Paris, amounting to 6,000,000 pounds sterling, and during the occupation of French soil, levied contribution, amounting in the aggregate to nearly 200,000,000 pounds sterling. Thus the war, instigated by the Pope, in order to recover Italy by the aid of French bayonets, had two results. It struck into existence a powerful Protestant Empire, the germs of which it sought to crush; and it crippled, almost to its death, the nation which was relied upon by the Romish Hierarchy to subjugate Europe to the doctrine of infallibility as believed by the Jesuits of France.

RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION IN GERMANY.

It will be remembered by the reader, that the doctrine of Papal infallibility was announced at Rome, July 10th, 1870, the same month and the same year, and within 48 hours from the time, July 16th, 1870, when France under Papal influence, declared war against Prussia. It seems hardly probable that this remarkable coincidence was accidental. The motive for publishing the decree of infallibility, was to weaken Prussia by withdrawing from her the sympathy and aid of Catholic States of the German Confederation, and to divide her own subjects on the question of allegiance to King and Pope. But the German Catholics had not been partial to Ultramontanism, and were not to be converted in a moment to a decree repugnant to their spirit of independence. The old war spirit was aroused by the declaration from France, and most of the smaller German States agreed to make common cause with Prussia, for they saw in her downfall the departure of their own freedom. Bavaria the strongest Roman Catholic State, was loth to join the movement, but finally, by a majority

of one, joined hands with the rest of Germany.

Since the close of the war, the Ultramontane doctrine has gained ground among the German Catholics. Bishops and others of influence in the Church have surrendered their original convictions, and given in a loyal adherence to the decree of infallibility, thus placing their allegiance to the Pope above their allegiance to the Empire. Many Catholics—probably about 100,000, have remained true to their old faith, and these, in opposition to the Ultramontanes, are firmly united under the name of "Old Catholics."

Here was an element of disintegration which, if not checked, would disturb the peace of the Empire. If the States became divided in their allegiance, the Catholic States holding allegiance to the Pope in both temporal and spiritual matters, and the Protestant States remaining true to the nation, it required no prophetic vision to see in the not far future, a disruption of the Empire, and the repetition, on a larger scale, of the bloody struggles of the past.

To prevent this, the nation has exercised the right which belongs to it. It has placed the Romish Church on the same level with other churches. It has passed laws to prevent the growth of a disloyal sentiment in the church. These laws differ very little from those in force in Austria. One of them asserts the right of the State to exercise a supreme control over the education of the clergy.

This is justified by the State on the grounds that it was originally agreed to by the church, and is simply the revival of laws already on the statute book. Also on the grounds that the State pays the expenses of the Bishops, and has the right to supervise their education, and the education of those whom they appoint.

Another law establishes the right of the State to superintend the discipline exercised over clergymen by the church.

The State justifies this law by claiming, that no discipline should be exercised over the clergy to enforce upon them a doctrine which would array them against the State. The third law defines the limits of the eccle-

siastical power to exercise church discipline over laymen. The State justifies this on the grounds that it has the right to protect its citizens against any invasion of their personal rights, either by the church or other power. The fourth law lays down certain regulations for the protection of those who desire to leave the church. This law effectually protects freedom of conscience throughout the realm.

Another, and more recent law, cuts off the endowment of those Bishops who violate the laws of the realm, or publish decrees, received from Rome, which have for their object the annulling of the laws, and the absolving of German Catholics from all allegiance to the State.

These are the principle laws relating to the jurisdiction of the Church, now in force in Germany. They trench upon no private rights, they interfere with no personal exercise of religious faith, they trammel no man's conscience, they simply deny to an organized institution, having its fountain head at Rome, the right to exercise the independent powers of a kingdom within the jurisdiction of the German Empire. In his dispatch to the United States Government, dated July 16, 1870, George Bancroft, our minister at Berlin, said: "The sentiment prevails that Germany is fighting the battle of public liberty and of independent nationalities." So to-day, it may truly be said, that in her legislation to check the growth of Ultramontanism "she is fighting the battle of public liberty and of independent nationalities."

As the continental leader in European civilization she deserves, and will receive, the sympathy of the liberal minded and enlightened throughout the world. Armed in the cause of justice and humanity; freeing civil and religious liberty from the shackles of intolerance; her attitude is one of defence in behalf of personal freedom and the Empire which makes it possible.

AMERICA'S INTEREST IN GERMANY.

The people of the United States are united to Germany by bonds which were formed a century ago. The land which gave us the gallant De Kalb and Steuben, and which has

sent to our shores ripened scholars, earnest, industrious, skilled men and women, who to-day form the most reliable and intelligent foreign element in our midst, has a right to claim our respect and sympathy.

Therefore, the warm sympathy of America went out for Germany in her war against France. Her triumphs, rejoiced over by her children on our soil, found responsive echoes in the hearts of our people. To the Republican party, which represents the most intelligent element among all classes of freemen, the success of Germany meant the growth of those principles which had triumphed in our own war, while her defeat meant their suppression and ultimate extinction. Germany, heart and soul, and hand, was with us during our struggle for national existence, and we were as truly with her in her splendid defence of nationality. When the bankers of Europe turned a cold shoulder to our bonds, those of Frankfort-on-the-Main were an exception, and their wealth was tendered with a willingness that spoke of an earnest sympathy for our cause. German money, German citizens, German prayers and assistance, did much to make our armies successful in the field and our statesmen successful in council. The intuitive love of liberty and hatred of wrong, which characterize the German the world over, prompted our German population to espouse the cause of the Republican party, and to give their time, their talents, and their money for the advancement of its principles. To this close affiliation of our German population to the great party of freedom the Republic owes, in a large degree, those liberal measures which have been the result of Republican ascendancy.

This natural sympathy which exists between the intelligent German and the intelligent American makes our interest in the present movement in Germany national in its character. In the maintenance of the German Empire, on the broad basis of civil and religious liberty, we see our own perpetuity as a Republic. In the triumph or ascendancy of Ultramontanism in the German Empire, we see the approach and triumph of the same power in our own free land. Our national interests in the checking of Romish assumption are mutual, therefore, protec-

tion to Germany, as the result of her present legislation, means safety to America.

It may be argued that the Jesuitical or Ultramontane school of the Romish church has no respectable following among the intelligent Catholics of the United States. While we are willing to admit that the great mass of our Roman Catholic citizens are loyal to our government and not yet ready to admit the doctrine of Papal infallibility in the sense of temporal or political supremacy, yet the experience of the past few years proves that the Romish church in this country is becoming more and more—under the influence of Ultramontane teachers—hostile to that broad Catholic spirit which accords to all men the right to assert individuality in both religious and political affairs.

Thanks to the wisdom of our early fathers, our free land is not vexed with that troublesome alliance of Church and State which still hinders the reform movement in Europe. Under our constitution, religious liberty is the birth-right of the humblest citizen, while the civil law is supreme over all.

Hitherto, the success of parties was simply the triumph of a civil policy, without any religious significance whatever. Political parties were combinations of citizens, of all churches and every faith, banded together to control the Government, not in the interest of church or creed, but for the good of the whole people. Nominations were not based upon the religious opinions of the candidate, but upon the general fitness of the man to fill the office. The test of fitness was not his devotion to the Catholic, or the Presbyterian, or the Methodist church, but his fidelity as a man, and his loyalty as a citizen. To this liberal spirit, growing out of the complete separation of Church and State, we are indebted for that peace and prosperity which have been enjoyed by each religious denomination, and every citizen in the land.

CHURCH AND PARTY.

There is a movement on foot—not yet crystalized into a policy, to be condemned or advocated by its opponents or friends—but sufficiently defined in its object to excite in the minds of our citizens apprehension if not alarm. We refer to that alliance of Church

and party, which in certain localities is so marked as to leave no doubt of its purpose. This alliance is the surest evidence that Ultramontaniam which has cursed Europe for centuries, is seeking a foothold upon our soil. Our Catholic clergy have a perfect right to labor and vote for the Democratic party, but they have no right to use the discipline of their Church to force those who believe in their faith, but not in their politics, to unite with them at the ballot box.

Yet the coercive policy is the one now adopted. The discipline of the Church is to be brought to bear upon its followers, and the Romish Church, inspired by Jesuitical teachings, is to make common cause with Democracy, in its endeavor to overthrow the Republican party and with it, the free school system which it sustains.

In a recent address at Cincinnati, Bishop McQuaid is reported to have said :

“I stand here and say that unless we bring this thing of the school taxes to the ballot-box, we do not deserve the name of Catholics. It may not be necessary to bring it to the ballot-box ; we may obtain a platform on which we can stand. Politicians will come to us. Irish, German and American Catholics will not be so patient as their fathers have been. The platform of the schools is not now for us ; it is for Jews, for Infidels, for Protestants, but we are under it. Suppose we get strong enough to rise up, remember the platform is on us ; where will the platform be then ? Men will learn that we have something more to do than praying ; we must vote and the laymen must work.”

* * * * *

“Every honest-minded Christian must labor to gather children into Christian schools. This means unquestionably the breaking down of the present system. But the blame must not rest on us, but on the bigots and the infidels, whose minds would not see the rights of others and whose hearts were steeled against justice. Intolerant and persecuting is the present common school system.”

As the Catholic *Telegraph* gave a verbatim report of the address, these extracts may be regarded as reliable. This paper in speaking of the prospects of the Democratic party, pointedly says :

“The unbroken solid vote of the Catholic citizens of this State will be given to the Democracy at the fall election.”

When the Geghan Bill, an obnoxious measure which virtually gives the Romish Church the religious control of the Prisons and State charitable institutions of Ohio, was up for discussion, the *Telegraph* used the following language:

"The political party with which nine-tenths of the Catholic voters affiliate, on account of past services that they will never forget, now control the State. Withdraw the support which Catholics have given to it, and it will fall in this city, county and State as speedily as it has risen to its long lost position and power. That party is now upon trial; Mr. Geghan's bill will test the sincerity of its professions."

The legislation of Ohio and New York, especially its city legislation, affords strong proof of the design of the Papal Hierarchy to use the Democratic party as the political lever to overthrow the free school system of the land. This accomplished, the door is open for the control of other institutions in the future, and through a national triumph of the party to which the Church is allied, to a radical change of our form of government.

These possibilities should arouse intelligent citizens of all creeds, whether of native or foreign birth, to the danger that threatens our country if the Ultramontane element of the Church, through the success of Democracy, should obtain control of our national affairs. If a knowledge of what has been done in Germany, through priestism, will awaken our people to the designs of the same power in the United States, the firm stand of Bismarck was not taken an hour too soon. That it may attract the attention of every American citizen, and cause him to labor with greater fidelity for the party that is pledged to the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, the support of the free schools, and the perfect equality of all men before the law, is not only the hope of the writer, but the prayer of millions in Europe, who look upon our free government as the young giant that is yet to break the fetters of the world's oppressed.

GEN. BUFORD, in the Kentucky Democratic Convention, made the honest confession "That the old-fashioned, simon-pure Democrat was the next thing in this age to a fool."

FUSION OF INDEPENDENTS WITH REPUBLICANS.—

There seems to be a very general desire among the Republican press, says the *Sacramento Bee*, for a fusion between the Republicans and their old associates, the Independents; and the Independents are kindly towards it also! Why, then, should it not be? Who will be to blame if it shall not be?

We do not see why this fusion should not take place. If there is any consistency with the Independents they can never be in the Democratic party. Whatever disappointment they may have felt when they left the ranks of the Republicans, they have long since discovered that they are powerless for good of themselves. They are charged with being a faction of disappointed grumblers. Since they assumed to be independent of the two great parties, they have swung like Mahomet's coffin between heaven and earth. We are willing to give them such credit as they are entitled to for not being able to continue in the Republican party because they differed from it. But as the differences are now so small, as they are not Democrats, and as they must wish to be useful in aiding to secure the best men to serve the country, it, perhaps, may not be out of place to suggest that as long as they are Independents they are merely a detached excrescence belonging nowhere and to nobody. Why continue in that state, which permits what is not politically desirable to exist from their sheer inability to prevent it! Why not rather accept the definition of Macauley—the essence of politics is compromise, and compromising the differences which led to this separation, rejoin the Republican party for a grand and decisive effort in the forthcoming campaign?

FAITHFUL TO ITS TRUST.—Never, in the history of the world, has a party been more faithful in carrying out the will of the people, than the Republican party. It has been true to every promise; it has kept sacred every pledge; it has carried the nation through a period of great peril; it has been the recognized bulwark of civil and religious liberty. Its past record is a true index of its future possibilities. To this record, the only one that can determine the merit of individuals or parties, the nation may well point with pride. What the party has been, it now is and will be in the future.

FREE LABOR IN THE SOUTH.

For nearly four years a score of our metropolitan newspapers have been engaged in a deliberate attempt to "run the country." This has been especially manifested in their dealings with the South, and the questions which have arisen out of the conflict between the old and the new—the prejudices and passions belonging to the period of slavery and civil war, contending with the necessities, struggles and mistakes, but gradually eventuating in solid advancement of freed labor and equal citizenship.

The newspapers we have in our mind, have largely directed their powerful machinery of investigation and statement toward the South. Their most trusted attaches have been sent there, nominally to investigate, but in reality to "make points" for this or that preconceived notion as to the condition of affairs which the omnipotent editors, by whose fiat the said correspondents "live, move and hath their being," have evolved from that sublime "interior consciousness" which to the most of them answers for knowledge and judgment. Quite as frequently these "independent" editors are consciously or otherwise, mere puppets in the hands of wily speculators, who find it useful to control a newspaper and to make money out of political conditions, created especially to advance some speculative interest or another. The so-called "Liberal" press is not alone in this sort of work; some prominent journals that are without doubt heartily in accord with the Republican party, have done mischievous work by their superficial endorsement of superficial investigations, coming from correspondents not especially prepared for such a work, and who, at the best, only ride hastily through the South, talk with chance acquaintances, and in the main take more heed of those whose interests or prejudices must necessarily lead them to misrepresent the actual state of affairs.

But the vicious tendency of all journalism towards the sensational "making of points," must vitiate fair and full enquiry. We ask any ordinarily careful reader of the current press for the the past three years, if they

have seen in the large amount of special correspondence from the South, which has been published in the New York, Chicago and Cincinnati newspapers, any attempts to soberly and fully state the facts relative to the changes which have been produced in trade and industry by free labor?

Any reference to the gradually increasing ownership of land by the people who twelve years ago were slaves, seems to be carefully ignored, except by an occasional contribution to religious newspapers, like the *Methodist* of New York. We are not told by the "special correspondents" that the former slaves have so far advanced that they are assessed on property rated at many millions. Yet the auditors' and treasurers' reports of all the Southern States have been and are accessible. We are not told that manufacturing interests have largely increased in the South, showing the natural result that follows free labor, of the introduction of complex in place of simple industries and civilization. We are told of the decadence of New Orleans and other cities, but none of these "trained observers" tell us of the growth of numerous inland towns and villages, and the rapid increase of local trade which has everywhere followed the habilitation of free labor. We are nowhere pointed to the fact that New Orleans, for instance, received a mortal wound by the civil war, in that St. Louis its rival before that event and its master now, was the recipient of vast material benefits created by the war, owing to its position and the fact that it was geographically and politically "sealed" to the Union cause. Under the enormous activity then created and since continued, St. Louis has obtained control of the Mississippi River trade, and has drawn off from New Orleans and other Southern marts by means of its railroad system the business of the vast Southwest, which those marts have naturally supposed to be the prize of their positions and endeavors. What is true of New Orleans, Vicksburg, Natchez and Memphis, is also true of many other Southern cities and ports. It will take

years for them to rebuild and regain their positions. And in the meanwhile their business men growl at reconstruction, and plot with the anxious politician to overthrow what they cannot seriously affect. They blow against the wind and kick against the pricks, and when their spittle comes back to their faces, and their limbs are made sore by the resistance encountered, they cry aloud to the "special correspondents," who haste to record all the ill-temper as proofs of the failure of reconstruction and the disastrous defeat of free citizenship.

Taxes are paraded as proof of corruption by these "priests of the pen." We are nowhere favored with a comparison which will show what has legitimately resulted from the increase of persons to be governed, or what comes also from the increased cost of all administrative functions—a cost which is felt in the Northern as well as in the Southern States. Take Mississippi or South Carolina for example. The usual process is to state, in the bulk, that State expenses are, say for 1873, so many millions, and that they were for, say 1858, so many hundred thousands. There the matter is left. The paragraph is well turned, the point is apparently made, and is easily quoted, which is all our "Special" has any interest in. To have got at the facts would have required labor and thought, two things he avoids whenever it is possible.

Let us look for a moment at the examples we have taken. Taxes have largely increased in the States named. Without doubt there has been wasteful and corrupt expenditures but the aggregate has been very much below what is believed. In proof of this, as well as shallowness of the sapient critics referred to, it should be borne in mind that the body of citizenship has increased over 150 per cent. in both States. Before emancipation and reconstruction, individual masters, and not the community, were charged with the care of paupers, and largely with the punishment of offenses, growing out of the relations to them of those who now make up the large majority of citizens. Courts have had to be organized, jails arranged, police provided, and paupers cared for—and all at the public charge.

Besides, and more important still, no public school system existed, or only so partial a one as not to deserve the name. This has all had to be created, *de novo*. It could not be done without cost, nor can it be maintained without taxes. Possibly, in some instances, there have been wasteful expenditures, but a careful examination and comparison will reduce them to a small minimum. It is the fact that they are taxed to support the hated free schools which make so many of the whites complain. Some of them do this as thoughtlessly as the correspondents published, without stopping to think of the valid reasons for increase, and only seeing that it exists.

So we might go on, *ad libitum*. It would be easy to show how they parade the one hundred or one thousand corrupt instances of which they are told; and fail to state what they might easily learn of the many thousands of sober, industrious, self-supporting and forehanded citizens, who but a few years ago were slaves, and are now useful and independent men and women.

But there is one thing that the "Special" can no longer avoid seeing, and that is, the industry of the enfranchised laborer and how well his work is being performed. Testimony from the pens of such writers as Charles Nordhoff, of the *Herald*, is valuable, not because he has gone there to be thorough and fair, but the reverse, as it seems to us, after carefully reading his Louisiana letters.

Mr. Nordhoff devotes a letter, published June 2, to the colored laborers of Louisiana. The animus of patronizing superiority which runs through all, appears in this, but the effect is to make his testimony all the more valuable. He says:

"The planters, without exception, so far as I have heard them speak, are thoroughly satisfied with the colored man as a laborer. They say that the negroes are orderly, docile, faithful to their engagements, steady laborers in the field, readily submitting to directions and instructions, and easily managed and made contented. This applies to cotton as well as sugar planters, and all is summed up in the phrase I most frequently heard used: 'We have the best laboring class in the world.' Their faults are mainly of carelessness with such property as mules and farm-

ing implements and killing cattle and hogs.

* * * * *

But it appears to make no difference whether the mules belong to the planter or to the laborer. The latter is as conscientiously careless of his own as of another's property. It is part of the heedlessness bred of slavery, and it will take time to be bred out, as it was bred in.

Again he says :

"One thing greatly pleases me—the black man pays his debts. All the petty shopkeepers, of whom the country is full, are ready to give credit to the negroes. It was a question I asked often, and always received the same reply:—'They always pay up.' Among the rice planters where the blacks work by the day they frequently hire cottages, and the owner of some of these told me he would rather have negroes than whites for tenants, because they paid more promptly. A country storekeeper said to me:—'Ninety per cent. of my sales are to colored people, and ninety per cent. of my bad debts are owed by whites.'"

Mr. Nordhoff refers to the ownership of land and the unwillingness of the planters to sell. He does not blame them for this, and says further that the negro is slovenly, and only wants, as a rule, an acre or two as a patch for his garden and cottage.

Among other testimony, he refers to their employment on railroad construction, and gives this statement of a contractor :

"They are the very best of laborers, always willing, zealous and faithful, and will work very hard and in the most disagreeable labor for anyone who treats them well."

Elsewhere Mr. Nordhoff declares that colored mechanics form an important part of the civic populations, that they are industrious, capable, and generally forehanded. He regards the industrial prospects as satisfactory, and thinks that in a few years the colored laborers will very largely become independent farmers.

Yet we are also told that they are incapable, politically, and do not do well as suffragans. The trouble about all that class of criticism is, that the colored voters will not play at "follow my leader;" the proper leader being, in the estimation of the self-sufficient, only those who are better off and better educated. The colored man's instincts and necessities have so far, in spite of all mistakes, been better guides. He has not for-

gotten that it was educated men who enslaved him—that trained intelligence keeps him in that position, and that in the society wherein he moves, both have been and are, in large degree, his implacable foes. As his own intelligence increases, he learns to discriminate as to cause and effect, and will himself correct evils that have grown out of his own ignorance.

But what we aim at, is to show that reconstruction is not a failure; that it has paid all its cost; that a free industry brings its own reward, moulding fairly a social life and material conditions commensurate with its own extent; that it creates forces which make the fabric more stable and secure with every passing year, and that there now exists, as the prize of Republican exertions, and in despite of the hideous obstacles that have and still remain, elements of Republican civilization—which already endows the South with new life, and will ere long be fully recognized as bringing to it the greatest of blessings.

DEMOCRACY.—Democracy has been tried and found wanting. It once stood before the people as a party of honor and justice. But it turned its back on freedom, persecuted its champions and became the mere tool of the slave power. Infidelity to principle, brought corruption into its administration. When the Nation rose in 1861, to cast it out from its high office of governmental control, it was not the political freak of an hour, but the resolve of a people that had no further use for a party that had betrayed its trust. Its fall was the death blow of the power which sustained it. The grave of Slavery should have been the grave of Democracy.

As a political power, it should have been banished from the field of American politics. But the power of evil oftentimes outlives the institutions which generated it. Slavery is dead, but its ripened fruit, corrupt Democracy, still lives to exert its baneful influence on the destiny of a nation. To resist the spread of its political poison, requires fidelity, watchfulness, energy and thorough organization on the part of those who love their country, and desire its government to remain in the loyal hands of those who saved it from the deadly attack of Democracy and Slavery.

DUTIES VS. RIGHTS.

Rights and duties are reciprocal. This is a truism often eloquently turned, but seldom obeyed. We hear continually about the rights of men, of women, of the individual or society; of private property, personal or corporate enterprise, and all the innumerable claims in which "rights" are proclaimed and asserted. Something too much of this is the rule. Let us note for a brief space how seldom the word "duty" is linked with the demand for "rights." Still less do men attempt the performance of duties with the same zeal that they assert their rights. Yet the latter cannot be maintained without the former.

Possession and obligation are mutual—inter-dependent and inter-related. No one can for long maintain unsullied and unrestricted the rights of citizenship, unless at the same time, they see to it that every duty appertaining thereto, at whatever cost of comfort, taste or inclination, is rigidly performed.

It is just here too, that in our country we appear likely to lose ground. It is on the vital fact of citizenship that men too generally fail in the performance of civic duties and obligations. Take for instance the apprehension relating to politics, which so commonly prevails among the busy and well-to-do, the business and professional classes. As a rule they are on the side of good government. Even when they support a political philosophy which we may condemn, it cannot be doubted but that they are personally anxious to see secured both order and liberty.

Yet the apathy of these classes is to-day the greatest danger of the republic. In the South, it allows the violence of the dangerous elements, and the bitter, social and unreasoning hatred of the women, to control the white people and bring the whole section into disrepute, maintaining the policy which they are apt at denouncing, and keeping alive elsewhere the suspicion with which it is not unnatural the animus of a community recently so moved with deadly hostility to the nation, should be viewed by those who were and are faithful thereto. In the North this same supine indifference to duty and

the vigilance it demands, surrenders important communities to the dangerous classes, abandons large public interests to the control of the speculators, and leaves politics, as a business, to the more or less unsafe manipulation, of the professional manager.

Yet everywhere the mass of men are always ready to form under the leadership of the best citizens. If the reverse is too often true, it will surely be found that those who claim to be the best have neglected their duty; or attempting to do it have gone to the task in the spirit of assuming mastership, instead of that of equal and tendered intelligent service. Whoso would lead must first serve and be recognized. But this is straying from our point of insistence, which is that in the domain of government and politics there can be no rights without duties; no privilege without equal vigilance; no freedom without constant resistance to all the encroachments of the influences which come from the opposite spirit. Life is everywhere dual and society is born, trained and maintained, as the offspring thereof. Whichever element of human endeavor—equity or autocracy—obtains the upper hand, will mark all the days with its character. The past brings lessons we should heed. The present hath its duties requiring faithful performance which done now and done continuously, can alone secure all rights to all, now and in the future. This is a philosophy that the republican can least of all afford to ignore. It is one also, that the most intelligent citizen can neglect, only at obvious peril.

THE CENTENNIAL YEAR.—The Centennial jubilee may give birth to many foolish things, but none so foolish as the restoration of Democracy. To celebrate the birth of a nation by restoring to power its would-be assassins, would be a bitter satire on justice and consistency. We must round out our hundredth anniversary by giving an old fashioned welcome to the party that made the Centennial possible. Anything short of a rousing majority for the men and principles that best reflect the sterling patriotism of our early fathers, would be base ingratitude. These men and principles make up the Republican party; to them belongs the honor of a grand Centennial victory.

FORWARD! BY COMPANIES.

As discipline is to an army so is organization to a political party. What is party in the political sense of the term? The banding together of men holding views in common, and desirous of stamping the impress of such views upon the administration of their State or nation. As numerical majorities do not always reap victory in battle, even when all else is even, so political parties do not always issue from campaigns with results proportionate to their numbers. In the former case discipline is essential. Soldiers before engaging on the sanguinary field must have frequent drill meetings, thus not only learning the manual of arms but familiarizing themselves one with another, which association begets confidence and induces a spirit of harmony and mutual determination to achieve victory. Thus we see, or rather have seen, that when discipline and drill are most rigidly observed, a spirit of commendable pride ramifies the organization, from company up to regiment, or as far as associate discipline runs. It is noticeable in this connection that no General, however able, ever rested secure in drilling his men by corps, or divisions, or even by regiments, and no Colonel competent to command, satisfied himself with dress parade or review, but insisted that not only company but squad drill be freely indulged in.

As stated in the outset, what is true as relates to discipline and drill in military organizations applies with equal force to political parties.

The Republicans have a National Executive Committee. Every State in the Union provides a State Executive Committee. Each county has, or should have, a County Central Committee, and every city and town should be similarly provided for, these committees having sub-committees according to necessity or population. The National Committee can do nothing without the aid and co-operation of the State Committees, and the latter but only little without support from sister Committees in their respective commonwealths. But it is too often the case that Republicans content themselves with

State and County Committees, and fail to avail themselves of sympathetic and substantial support naturally growing out of rural Committees, thus, as it were, exposing themselves to the raking fire of their enemies in skirmish line, and drilling by regiment rather than in squads.

As "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," so proper organization is the price of political success. Last fall our party might have been faithfully represented by the image of the ancient god which had neither hands nor feet with which to reach out or advance. Its every member seemed to settle back in his political harness as though he had no load to carry, no responsibility to impel him onward, and the result was defeat, retributive for the apathy which produced it. But the defeat was not a rout, only a stimulus. What we looked upon as Yankee guns proved to be Democratic artillery—when we supposed we were on dress parade we were surprised by the enemy. We did not meet a Bull Run, only a Shiloh surprise. Since then reinforcements have come to us, and now most that is required is drill and organization.

We are now upon the threshold of an important campaign. Let us not put off the work of organization until 1876, but organize at once, and occupy all time intervening between now and November of next year, in filling up our ranks and disciplining our comrades with the truth, faith, and patriotic zeal which is the base and foundation of our political league.

We earnestly entreat every Republican whose eye falls upon this article, to constitute himself a special committee to aid in the work suggested. We have no apprehensions that State Central Committees will not be formed, but are apprehensive lest the forming of sub-committees, in proper numbers, be so long delayed as to render almost nugatory their efficiency. Let county, town and township committees be created to act in conjunction with the State committees, and let the work devolving upon such be actively engaged in, and vigorously accom-

plished, and the result will be such a Waterloo for the enemy, that the misnomer "Democracy," will not again float upon the political atmosphere of our country an offense to the nostrils of those who love their country and its hallowed institutions.

Before closing, the suggestion might not be amiss that political clubs be freely organized in every possible locality. These serve to stimulate the masses, and infuse a spirit of zeal and earnestness otherwise unavailable. Who can fail to remember the value attaching to the "Wide Awakes" of 1860, and the important part they played in the holy scheme of defeating the cohorts of slavery and national disruption. So, too, the "boys in blue," and other organizations of like character since. None need, or should wait for others to present name, style or work for such clubs. The end and aim is to stimulate electors to a sense of duty, not only to cast their votes on the right side but to serve as recruiting offices and camping grounds for the soldiers of our party. The rallying cry is, or should be, the same now as in the past. The contest upon which we are entering is one between loyal citizens and late rebel leaders. The latter are preparing for a desperate struggle to secure political supremacy. "Change," is the only issue presented by the opposition, and "Change" means the dethronement of loyal men, and enthronement of those who plunged our nation into the vortex of financial distress, and crowded the blue ether above us with the spirits of those who preferred death to national dishonor. "Up boys, and at them."

ONE OF ITS TRIUMPHS.—The Republican party, through its administration of a wise financial system, has paid over \$900,000,000 of the public debt in less than ten years, and this in the face of a steady reduction of taxation. This splendid showing may entitle the party to no credit in the eyes of Democracy, but the thoughtful men of the nation will see in this financial exhibit, the proof, strong as holy writ, of the sterling integrity and capacity of the party to govern the Republic wisely and well.

ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE.—In the Constitutional Convention, now in session at Lincoln, Nebraska, a proposition is being discussed, with a probability of its incorporation into the new Constitution, submitting to a direct vote of the people the election of United States Senators. This idea seems practicable. Whether true or false, the charge usually follows a successful aspirant for Senatorial honors that his success was dependent and consequent upon corrupt electioneering. While it might be possible for a wealthy man to buy up a sufficient number of State legislators to secure his election to the United States Senate, there are none wealthy enough to purchase the votes of the masses, and while, under the present system, candidates personally or through interested friends, might have the hardihood to approach members of their State Legislatures corruptly, none could be found with effrontery sufficient to make corrupt overtures to the people. Again, one can scarcely conceive why the power to elect United States Senators should be transferred from the people to their representatives, or why electors are not as well qualified to vote for United States Senators as for representatives to their State Legislatures, or in the lower House of Congress. Another thing to be considered in this connection is, it not unfrequently happens that the will of the people is outraged through the operations of the present system. A State may give a majority for one party and, through the apportionment system, elect a representative of the opposition to the United States Senate. There are many notable instances of such, the most modern of which are those in Illinois and Ohio, wherein Douglas defeated Lincoln in '58, with a majority in the State against him, but a majority of State representatives for him; and Thurman was elected to the United States Senate in 1868, though the State of Ohio, in the election of 1867, which brought about such result, elected the Republican State ticket. Adopt the principle proposed by Nebraska, and the will of the people would be reflected as to who should represent them in the United States Senate, as well as in the local councils. Three years ago, this proposition was submitted to the Committee on Platform in the Philadelphia

Convention, and favorably considered, but was finally tabled in committee, in the belief that the question had not been sufficiently canvassed by the people, though all acknowledged that it was eminently correct in prin-

ciple, and would eventually work into popular favor. It is to be hoped that Nebraska will incorporate the idea into its organic law, and thus exhibit its practical workings.

THE DUTIES OF YOUNG MEN.

There are, throughout the country, thousands of young men who are just beginning business life. They have got through their school days, and have arrived at that period when the dependence of the youth merges into the independence of the man. The next five years will determine what they are likely to be in the mature and ripened days in store for them. Fortunate circumstances may lift some above the plane of their individual exertions, but the ninety and nine out of a hundred will be what they make themselves. If they start out determined to win distinction in any branch of business, the chances are in their favor that they will, sooner or later, win it. If they start life with the spirit of indifference, they will drift along with the tide, may secure enough to eat and drink and to clothe themselves, but old age will overtake them not far in advance of the spot where they started.

Therefore, it is all important that the young man should start right, and when certain on this point, should throw his whole soul into the business he has chosen. Success is the result of energy, an intelligent appreciation of life's opportunities, and business courage. The young man who has these elements to rely upon, will seldom fail to achieve what he set out to obtain. If he seeks wealth, it will come to him; if fame, he will secure it; if power, it will be given to him. The degree of his reward will be in proportion to his deserts as a man. There may be exceptions to this, but wherever found they will be attributable to no fault of the man, but rather to those misfortunes which come like sudden storms, giving no warning of their approach, and destroying in an hour the patient work of a life-time. Respectability and honor come from the man, and not the trade he follows. One business is as honorable as another, if it is

legitimate. This should be borne in mind by all young men who are about to start out into active business life.

Personal integrity should be the cornerstone of character. Without it, the most brilliant attainments will fail to reach success. The world stands in need of upright men, men who can be relied upon, whose word is as good as a bond, who are proof against the corrupting influences which beset the business man everywhere. No matter how strong the temptation, young men often make a mistake in the choice of an occupation. Through false notions of respectability, they enter upon professions or trades for which they have no adaptability. They seek to become lawyers, doctors, preachers, and are voted failures by all who come in contact with them. They might have made good merchants, or excellent mechanics, but they started wrong, and keep wrong all their lives.

Start right! This is all important. A good blacksmith is a hundred-fold more valuable to a community than a poor doctor, lawyer or preacher. He will make a fortune at his anvil, while these professional moths are starving to death.

The young beginner should cling to honest principles as to the rock of safety. To let go this rock is to drift to certain destruction. The ship which breaks from its moorings on a lee shore is no more certain of destruction than the young man who breaks away from honest principles. Honesty first, industry and intelligence second, are the elements which we commend as the only reliable groundwork for human success.

Last, but not least, vote right! A man owes much to his family, to his business, but he owes more to his country, for without this, what would be home or business to him? In starting life, young men should

educate themselves to serve the nation, with the same fidelity with which they apply themselves to business. It is not enough to cast a vote once a year. This is but a fractional part of the duty which a citizen owes to society. He should take part in the primary meetings, have his influence felt in the conventions, and be heard at all times and in all places where his personal influence would tend to elevate politics and secure men of high character for office. When the business men of the country become interested in political affairs, we shall have fewer complaints made of bad or incompetent men being elected to office. It may be difficult to change the habits of old business men in this particular, and bring them to a realization of their duty to the nation, but not so with the young men. They are free to lay down certain duties which must be performed. We urge upon them this sacred duty of citizenship. Let it head the list of obligations, and let its faithful performance be regarded as little short of a religious duty.

To reduce these duties of citizenship to a system that will be a vital force, through combination with others, we urge the young men of the nation to organize Republican clubs in their respective communities, so that, by organized efforts, true reform can be brought about wherever needed. The Republican party has a strong claim upon the young men of the country. It has made possible the government which protects them and the Republic which they love. It is a party of progress, of youthful aspirations, and has within it, subject to greater development, the principles of individual and national success. To the standard of this party, a standard of patriotism, of loyalty, of political integrity, the nation calls its young men. Let them respond to the call, and by their earnest efforts preserve for posterity the rich blessings of self-government, which they now enjoy.

THE New York *Tribune*, speaking of Connecticut, says that neither party has any very strong men in the Legislature, but of the two the Democrats are the weaker.

POLITICAL REGENERATION.—The accusation has often been made against the policy of the Republican party, and the administrative action and legislation, by which it has been formulated and enforced, that southern reconstruction has never aimed at regeneration. The criticism is expressed, that we have superimposed instead of in-forming, and so re-forming the southern body politic. This criticism rests upon a self-evident proposition; that is, that there must be an interior sense and acceptance of ideas and forces; and that without this, exterior applications are only impositions more or less useless in their effects. The cure must be from the interior, outward. We must have "true inwardness" in the best sense.

All this is true, but when you have broken a limb it is necessary to put it into bandages, so that the natural forces may have the opportunity of knitting together the broken parts and thus reconstruct the avenues by which the functions of the injured limb may be restored.

The analogy holds good for the work that has been done in the South. Bandages have to be applied. Limbs that were broken and disjointed had to be kept where the work of re-knitting could be performed. Outside forces had to be brought in, and the veins running in the patient's system had to be drawn off or conquered by the transfusion into its veins of new forces. But it must always be borne in mind, that the truest and surest growth is from within to without. Our southern friends must not forget that regeneration is the most important result that is to be achieved. One county redeemed from the influences of slavery—where the need of education is fully and freely recognized by all, and wherein civil rights are no longer disputed, is practically a greater honor to the cause of true Republicanism, than the enforcing from the outside on a whole state of laws against which, however, right and necessary it may be, there is still a vigorous public antagonism.

It is essential doubtless that there shall continue to be such an outside influence. But Republicans in the South should remember that they must take heed against depending upon it alone, and see to it steadily, that

every interior element of progress is carefully nurtured and encouraged. The primary unit of Republican life is the township or parish. The crowning glory is the nation—resplendent in its strength—slow to interfere with local details and affairs, but swift to maintain the rights of all, when the home forces are no longer in accord with this

essential idea, or are too weak to defend it. But we must begin with the unit. If the township be truly Republican—we mean in the larger and not the party sense—the state, will surely be so, and the Union be kept keen and active by constant and intelligent vigilance.

THE OHIO REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

The Republican Convention which met at Columbus, Ohio, on the 2d inst., have done well, both as to nominations and platform declarations.

The State ticket is an excellent one. The honored Republican whose name heads the ticket has already proved his metal. He has served the nation gallantly in the field; ably in Congress, and as Governor, the State which is asked to re-elect him already knows by good service, how efficient an Executive he can be. The ticket throughout is a strong one—representative of the best elements of the great party by which it is nominated, and commending itself to the numerous body of citizens who claim non-partizan positions, by the ability, experience, and uprightness of the several nominees. Acting on the principle of putting forward the best men, the Ohio Republicans, in the following list, present names on which fall no shadow of reproach or stain:

For Governor—Rutherford B. Hayes, Sandusky.

For Lieutenant Governor—Thomas L. Young, Hamilton.

“ Supreme Judge—George W. McIlvaine.

“ Auditor—James Williams, Franklin.

“ Treasurer—J. Minor Milliken, Butler.

“ Public Works—Peter Thacher, Cuyahoga.

The various interests of the State, geographically considered, are fairly represented in these selections, while no larger principles are subordinated by such considerations.

The platform must strike every citizen favorably. It is brief and direct. It does not overload the issues paramount in the State itself by any unnecessary parading of National questions, yet, at the same time, it meets those that are prominent without eva-

sion or disguise. The “Third Term” folly is squarely met, but not unnecessarily dignified by too elaborate reference. On the other hand, there are declarations, such as that of the sixth, which clearly show that the Republican party in Ohio, as elsewhere, have a clear perception of rising and important issues. The most important planks are found in the “Fourth” and “Fifth” paragraphs. These are temperate but explicit, and clearly set forth the duty of those who are not directly opposed to our free schools, and who do not aim to bind Republican America to the policy of that Apostolic Empire, whose seal is in the Vatican, and whose policy it is to make allegiance thereto superior to all secular and temporal government. The Ohio platform deserves careful perusal. Here it is:

“The Republicans of Ohio, in Convention assembled, reaffirming the cardinal principles of their organization, which have become received maxims of policy, State and National, declare, on specific points, the series of sentiments following:

“*First.* The States are one as a Nation, and all citizens are equal under the laws, and entitled to their fullest protection.

“*Second.* That policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without unnecessary shock to business or trade, will ultimately equalize the purchasing capacity of the coin and paper dollar.

“*Thurd.* We are in favor of a tariff for revenue, with incidental protection to American industry.

“*Fourth.* We stand by free education, our public school system, the taxation of all for its support, and no division of the school fund.

“*Fifth.* Under our Republican system of government there should be no connection, direct or indirect, between Church and State, and we oppose all legislation in the interest of any particular sect. Upon this subject we should not fail to profit by the experience

of foreign governments, where efforts of the Church to control the State constitute an evil of great magnitude and endangers the power and prosperity of the people.

"*Sixth.* We demand such revision of the patent laws as will relieve industry from the oppression of monopolies.

"*Seventh.* A grateful people can never cease to remember the services of our soldiers and sailors, and it is due to them that liberality and generosity should obtain in the adjustment of pay and bounties.

"*Eighth.* We demand that the public domain shall be scrupulously reserved for occupancy by actual settlers.

"*Ninth.* The determination of the Government to collect the revenue, and prevent and punish frauds, has our unqualified approval.

"*Tenth.* That the power of municipal corporations to create debts should be restricted, and local and other expenditures should be so reduced as to diminish taxation.

"*Eleventh.* The observance of Washington's example in retiring at the close of a second Presidential term, will be in the

future, as it has been in the past, regarded as a fundamental rule in the unwritten law of the Republic.

"*Twelfth.* The distinguished success of his administration, which, to the fame of the patriot soldier, has added that of the capable and judicious statesman, entitles President Grant to the gratitude of his countrymen."

Our Ohio friends have done the preliminary work well. But what remains—that of organization—is of the utmost importance. Time is short and much work is needed. There has been considerable demoralization; some dissatisfaction still exists; but neither are so strong or deep-rooted that energetic work cannot overcome them. We expect to redeem Ohio. The Republicans there are determined, and the votes are on their side, if the proper efforts are properly directed and made. We have no fears but what they will be.

THE UNION FOREVER.

It is certainly gratifying to find the Cincinnati *Commercial* outspoken in a direction and upon a subject which appeals at once to the patriotism of the people. General Sherman has recorded in his Memoirs that in 1861, on his way to Lancaster, Ohio, he stopped at New Orleans and visited the quartermaster, Col. A. C. Myers, who had resigned from the army and accepted service under the new regime of secession. Myers was in the same room that Sherman himself had occupied when he was there as Commissary, in 1853; the same pictures were on the wall; and the letters "U. S." were on everything. Gen. Sherman asked Myers if he did not feel funny? "No, not at all," said Myers. "The thing was inevitable; secession was a complete success; there would be no war, but the two Governments would settle all matters of business in a friendly spirit! *Everybody regarded the change of government as final; that Louisiana, by a mere declaration, was a free and independent State, and could enter into any new alliance or combination she chose.*"

The Cincinnati *Commercial* takes the opportunity to remark upon the text: "We find the same doctrine by which the people of Louisiana were beguiled to their ruin, in

1861, in political platforms of this day. The same sort of people who were urging it in 1861, are urging it to-day; and they are as narrow-minded, dull, malicious, and intolerant as they were fourteen years ago. The people at large have learned one exceedingly valuable lesson, however, and that is, that secession means war—instant, utter, overwhelming war. Whatever follies people may hereafter commit, they will not stumble with or wander after their 'States' into a 'Confederacy,' with the impression that they are peaceably asserting a legal right. We, the people of all the townships, municipalities, counties, Territories and States, constitute a nation, and if any county, city or State, attempts to assert its independence, it will find its policy rectified at the point of the bayonet."

It is well that this truth should be borne in mind. No spoken or written folly indicating sympathy with secession, and no action springing from opinions which led to the rebellion, will be tolerated. It is simple treason. The South will find its interest in burying all that provokes antagonism and hinders the final settlement of the questions involved. A turbulent South has been a

godsend to the Democratic party; and that party has been busy in keeping alive the strife. But the peace and prosperity of the nation is too deeply connected with the affairs of the South, to allow those affairs to continue the sport of reckless politicians. Long since, would the South have blossomed as the rose, and its citizens been happy and contented, if the earnest efforts of the Republican party had been allowed to bear their legitimate fruit. The measures of re-

construction are designed to unite the South. They are built upon the only foundation which can or should be laid—namely—the equality of all men before the law. When this great truth is recognized in practice, whatever difference of political faith may exist, a healthy public opinion will be formed, and the troubles in the South will be healed by inaugurating an era of wisdom and justice.

PRESERVE THE PURITY OF THE BALLOT-BOX.

No party however strong it may be numerically, can long sustain its popularity if its political campaigns and elections are not conducted with a strict regard to integrity. The war was followed by a large increase of political corruption, and the ballot-box could no longer be relied upon, in all cases, as indicating with certainty who were really the successful candidates. It is generally claimed that the election of John T. Hoffman, for example, as Governor of New York, was illegal, and no official contradiction of the charge has ever been made. New York City became noted, during the reign of Tweed & Co., for ballot stuffing; and there is little doubt that bribery and corruption at elections have been largely practiced in the South, and no doubt, to some extent, in other sections of the Union since the close of the war. But that circumstance must not be accepted as an indication that these practices have become popular with the people. No man not entirely bereft of the spirit of patriotism, to say nothing of character and honesty, will sell his vote or accept a bribe to do that which he honestly believes to be wrong. The temptation of pinching poverty will have no influence upon his decision. He will spurn the degrading tender, and treat the candidate who offers it directly, or through his friends, with contempt; and this with exceptional cases and in limited localities, is the public sentiment and practice.

Yet ambitious aspirants for office will not scruple to approach honest voters, or employ their friends to do it for them, with sugar-coated bribes in various forms; and it sometimes happens that honest citizens are drawn

into their meshes and forced to vote for certain candidates against their conscientious convictions of duty.

Hence, the opinion is daily gaining strength in the public mind, that additional safeguards are required to meet just such cases, and preserve more thoroughly the public integrity and purity of the ballot-box.

This matter was brought to the notice of the Constitutional Convention, held in Nebraska a few days ago, by J. W. Dawes, one of the delegates, who offered the following as a proper article to be incorporated in the new State Constitution. It seems to be sufficiently clear and binding even for these degenerate times of legislative corruption:

Members of the Legislature before they enter upon their official duties, shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Nebraska, and will faithfully discharge the duties of Senator or Representative—to the best of my ability, and that I have not, knowingly or intentionally paid or contributed anything or made any promise in the nature of a bribe to directly or indirectly influence any vote at the election at which I was chosen to fill the said office, and have not accepted, nor will I accept or receive directly or indirectly, any money or other valuable thing from any corporation, company or person, for any vote or influence I may give, or withhold on any bill, resolution or appropriation, or for any other official act.”

This oath shall be administered by a Judge of the Supreme or Circuit Court, in the hall of the House to which the member is elected, and the Secretary of State shall record and

file the oath subscribed by each member. Any member who shall refuse to take the oath herein prescribed shall forfeit his office; and every member who shall be convicted of having sworn falsely to, or of violating this said oath, shall forfeit his office and be disqualified thereafter from holding any office of profit or trust in this State.

It matters not what may be the practice of political parties in other countries, it is enough for us to know, that in a Republic and under a Republican form of government, the public good requires that all political institutions must be preserved in their purity. This

is unquestionably the popular sentiment of the people throughout the American Union. Political fraud is repugnant to good citizenship; it is offensive to the spirit of Republicanism, and degrading to our manhood. But in no form is it more offensive than when practiced in an election campaign, and in connection with the ballot-box.

Let us therefore by State legislation and other practical safeguards, labor to preserve our political institutions of every form from all those practices which tend to weaken them in the eyes of honest men and destroy their legitimate influences upon society.

FIDELITY TO DUTY AS REPUBLICANS

For a neat disposal of a subject in few words, this from the *Buffalo Express* is about as good as anything that could have been said:

"There is ample scope in our political life for the exercise of individual liberty and independence without making war upon the few cardinal principles that form the foundation of political parties, and so of the government. The individuality and independence that Senator Schurz exercised too much resembled the independence of the bushwhacker who plunders with judicial impartiality the corpses of both armies. Plain, common people will regard his war upon the Republican party as simply treason to it."

At the recent meeting of the Social Science Association, held in Detroit, Professor Kent read a paper on political parties, their organization and management, and the costs thereof. The Professor remarked that political parties are a necessity of the age, and are fully developed in free countries. Through them come reforms. Rarely can a man or a newspaper hold aloof from a party and have much influence. Direct influence on governmental action is only obtained by party ties. A leader must not step outside his party; if he does, influence and leadership will desert him. The ideal after which a party should strive, is to put its best and wisest men at the head. In the management of parties the chief defects are the great excess of party prejudices manifested in the ultra views and statements of the most intelligent men. There is no remedy

for this except a gradual education towards a closer unity of thought. The Professor considered it the sacred duty of good citizens in these days to take a deeper interest in politics. He held that teachers should enforce this, and that preachers should preach it. Every citizen should belong to some party, and strive to purify it by attending the primaries, and by defeating unworthy nominations. Perfection is impossible, but by such means as these much will be gained and the world be benefitted.

The Professor is right, and his suggestions are worthy of attention. The Republican party which has brought the nation through its peril, and whose principles are those of the best and wisest of its citizens, is the only party capable of keeping the nation abreast of the progress of the age. Had Republicans done their duty in the last elections, no such anomaly as a Democratic House of Representatives could have existed in the last quarter of the 19th century. Regret for past neglect is useless, unless accompanied by reformation. Important public questions and living issues have yet to be met and settled; the Republican party is the only party which possesses the requisite intelligence and patriotism to deal with them. Democratic professions and Democratic practice are two different things. The Democratic leaders say that their party will not disturb what the Republicans have done, but Democrats are busy in the South and

elsewhere, fanning the embers of discontent and inflaming sectional prejudice for their own selfish ends. The next Presidential election will determine the political character of the country for years to come. If the doctrine of State Rights is to keep one portion of the people always hovering on the brink of rebellion and resisting Federal authority, it will be through Democratic influence. It is said that the issue in the next campaign will be the same as was the issue in 1860—STATE RIGHTS *versus* POPULAR RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS. No greater calamity can overtake the country than Democratic ascendancy. And this can only be guarded against by Republicans doing their duty—their whole duty.

Suppose, among so large a number of earnest Republicans, there may be some disagreement on minor political points, is it enough to justify men in remaining away from the polls, or in casting their ballots for the Democratic party? If any republican does this he does it with his eyes open. We have a Democratic House of Representatives precisely from this cause. And every Republican voting against his party, or abstaining from voting, strengthens the Demo-

cratic party. Mr. Schurz is a man of admitted ability and was eminently capable of serving his country; but he became wiser than the Republican party that made him and gave him the opportunity of service. And what was the consequence? His influence left him; his eloquence was as beating the air; and instead of being great in the Senate Chamber, his pride of talent and persistent bickering, fault-finding, and charges against public men whose character was certainly as pure as his own, reduced him to a more pitiable condition of insignificance than if his ability had been below mediocrity. And more, his unhappy position rendered it impossible that he should return to the Senate; and he may be charged with having fastened on the State of Missouri, a rebel Democrat for the Senatorial term. Therein he assisted the Democratic party in their schemes, though he says he holds Republican principles. Let then those Republicans who are disposed to grumble, put aside their differences and labor to secure the triumph of the Republican party. For in that triumph the country secures peace and prosperity and all the attendant blessings of National advancement at home and abroad.

HOW DID THE SOUTH ACCEPT THE SITUATION?

The return of the rebel States to a place in the Union which their treason had sought to destroy, was very different from the entry of the States into the Union when the Union was first formed. All had emerged from a war in which all had more or less participated—a war for the freedom and well-being of man, and not on behalf of bondage. Then, morally and politically, the equality of the States was recognized, and they were bound together by ties of mutual respect and esteem for the part they had severally taken in founding the Republic. This Union of the fathers the seceding States rebelled against; and if their rebellion had been successful, the Confederate States would have stood confronting us as a Slave Power, on the same soil as the remnant of the old Union, with freedom as its corner stone. But

in the providence of God the Union was preserved; and throughout the territory of the United States no sigh of a slave ascends to heaven.

It is a mark of wisdom in a people to review the lessons of history, as it tends to strengthen patriotism and solve difficulties. In 1865, as the end of the war approached and its cause was obviously lost, the South expected to be held responsible for its treason—the leaders being apprehensive that their punishment might be severe. The surrender of the Southern armies on the generous terms proposed, somewhat allayed that apprehension. And during the surprise discovery that none of them for the pains and penalties were willing to enter in or pledge for their future

eral authorities were aware of this, and were not slow to ascribe it to the magnanimity shown. Not a rebel suffered in his person for the crime of resorting to arms to dismember the country. The only protection taken was to parole on honor the leaders and the rank and file, who were thenceforward to obey the laws and the authority of the United States.

A war of such intensity and magnitude, in its results, disorganized society in the South, and desolated its most fruitful regions. In the act of secession by force, the South had wrought a fearful and widespread ruin. And, though the magnanimity of the North forbore inflicting additional punishment, it was impossible to save the South from the punishment of its own deeds. It had to be rebuilt, reconstructed, restored, and placed in a way to secure the blessings derived from loyalty to freedom. Treason had failed, and could not be usefully employed in restoration. Nor could the principles and prejudices which had led the South to secession be of service in its return to the Union. It was clear that the South must commence anew, and that the moral and political principles of freedom alone were of value. A new and renovated South was expected to arise from the waste and decay of the old. The expectation was just, all things considered; and the world looked for a fresh example of wise and tolerant government. Old habits, with other disqualifications, prevented the old leaders in Southern politics from taking a prominent part. They held opinions which were behind the age, which were unsuited to the new condition, which the world rejected as unfriendly to progress. The old methods and measures of slave government were altogether out of place, and must give way to what was more in accord with the needs of the occasion. If chaos reigned, and confusion perplexed, the material was at hand to receive the impress of modern civilization. New men with new ideas were there, whose desire was to introduce the new principles adapted to the new elements of Southern society; and Federal legislation lent its powerful aid. It might be supposed that those men and those measures would, under the

circumstances, have received hearty welcome. There was a time when they would have been so received; but impunity and evil counsels wrought mischief. The situation was not accepted in good faith, though prominent Democrats learned to speak the words until they came to indicate a combined and laborious effort to defeat reconstruction. As the Democratic party permitted the war for secession, if it was not instigated by it, the Democratic party cannot reconstruct the South, so that the South and the North shall be a homogeneous people. Nor can the work be done by Southern leaders, who forget that times have changed, and that the old exclusiveness and tyranny of slavery have passed away forever. The South will be a source of vexation and turmoil until the Golden Rule shall find a home in every Southern heart. How long will Southerners fight against their best interests and seek by every pretext and injustice to delay what is inevitable? What is morally wrong can never be politically right. The new conditions of Southern society must be known, felt, and appreciated. The old conditions can never return. There must be freedom of thought and action; freedom in the exercise of political rights; freedom to labor and secure the rewards of labor. There must be State education provided for the youth of both sexes. There must be freedom for intelligence to thrive—to gain its livelihood in the collision of mind with mind, and the certainty of enjoying the fruits in safety. In a word, there must be provided by the South for all men, friends and strangers, that which shall produce a sense of safety; and the only source of safety on earth is justice between man and man and trust in Almighty God.

AGRICULTURAL WARNINGS.—The benefits arising from the forecast of "Old Probabilities" are by no means slight, but they are likely to be soon largely increased as regards agricultural districts. This will form one of the principal subjects of discussion at the forthcoming Meteorological Congress at Paris, and we learn that the French Telegraphic Administration has appointed two delegates to examine, in connection with the Board of Observatory, what steps should be taken to collect by wire meteorological information, in order to send warnings to agricultural districts.

THE WHISKY FRAUDS.

The *New York Nation* presents its readers with the following :

Consider for one moment what has happened. The Secretary of the Treasury discovers, by means of outside informers, that a very large number of manufacturers, in various parts of the country, are engaged in the commission of systematic frauds on the Government, on an enormous scale. Far from giving instructions, however, to the officers of the Government, specially charged with the collection of the revenue, to put the law in force against the delinquents, he carefully conceals from them all knowledge of his discovery; and, indeed, treats them throughout as accomplices in the fraud, and employs new and unofficial agents to bring his plans to maturity. The officers of the Government, too, on getting an inkling of what is going on, far from hastening to the support of their chief, at once place themselves at the disposal of the criminals, and render them every assistance in their power, by information and otherwise; so that to outwit its own servants the Government is actually obliged to invent a new cipher.

There is a class of persons whose blame is praise, and, on the other hand, whose praise is blame. In like manner, there is a class of journals which adopt this line of criticism, and which not only belittle themselves, but the cause they advocate. Notably of this class is the *New York Nation*, a journal as full of crotchets as a nervous beauty, and as doubtful of good results from a bold action as the most confirmed coward. Could it hear the remarks of its friends, it might pause in its career, for however timid it may be, the nation of men does not share its misgivings on the discovery and treatment of the whisky frauds.

The people know, if the *New York Nation* does not, that revenue legislation aims at the collection of taxes, and that the shrewdest intellects will be employed to defeat the law. Congress has, therefore, lodged the power of detection in the hands of the Treasury Department, which is responsible for the collection of taxes. With these facts borne in mind, the fears of the *New York Nation* are not the fears of the American people.

It has been said that the chief labor of the Treasury is to enforce the revenue laws, and

to see that these laws are not evaded. In accordance with this general statement, the appointment of officers and the making of regulations, there has always been a watchful eye kept on the manufacturers of articles, say whisky, on which tax is to be levied, in order that the tax may reach the Treasury. To thwart illegal combinations and check frauds, which deprived the Government of revenue, officers of the Internal Revenue were instructed to report the production of whisky and the tax it ought to yield, and as part of the estimates was calculated on these reports, coupled with the amount of previous collections, if the revenue fell short by any large sum, it was sure to attract attention and lead to investigation. Now, it happened that the revenue from whisky did fall short of what was expected. A record was in existence, not only of the distillers, but of the capacity of their distilleries. More than this, the whisky market was as closely watched as the gold market, by officers whose duty it was to note its operations; and when it was found that whisky was abundant and cheap, while the revenue from it shrank, is there any cause for surprise when we learn that the Government heard of the facts? But if the Government received communications, as it frequently does, from outside parties, the Government had its plans and machinery in constant operation, although it was discreetly silent.

In the ordinary course of business at the Treasury, frauds are discovered every day, and its action is instant and vigorous. In the case of the whisky frauds, as they developed in magnitude and extent, there was no *coup de main*. There was no outcry to alarm; there was no doubt of reaching around them and probing their depth and breadth. Shrewder heads, with nimbler brains, were employed, than ever vs of the *New York Nation* heads and nimbler brains; the interest of the nation was done in the simple When the facts came

Mr. Bristow, and it became his duty to act, he did not hesitate a moment. The Executive was consulted, and the highest officer in the Government lent his aid to the Secretary, and also recognized the call of duty. What instrumentality should be used under the law, was dictated by the experience of the President and Mr. Bristow, and their knowledge of men is certainly not small. They had to reach the guilty parties. The frauds known had been perpetrated almost in the eyes of the revenue officers. If, therefore, measures were taken to punish the guilty, as well as to recover the revenue unpaid, it was unreasonable to expect that the revenue officers would be asked to assist. That they had failed to make the discovery of fraud themselves disqualified them for the task. If they were honest, it was their misfortune to be incapable. But if they had connived at the fraudulent proceedings of the whisky ring, their exclusion in the premises was an act of wisdom. And it may be said here, that while sympathy with honest men may fairly be displayed, with those officers who turn against the Government to aid the ring, their deeds are an evidence of guilt, and the end with them is not yet.

Does it become the *Nation* to parade the assertion that the civil service is rotten, because of its dishonesty through small pay; that revenue officers receive more from the distillers to allow the Government to be defrauded than the salaries paid by the Government? This may be morality in the city of Tweed, but where such men as Tweed could not live, the people have been taught better. On the subject of appointments to office, the position of the President is always one of difficulty. He does not know the men personally, and must rely upon the written or oral testimony presented to him. The officers in whose districts frauds were discovered are, in almost all cases, men moving in the best society, against whom was no taint of suspicion. They would have passed the purest civil service of any country with honor; but human nature is not perfect, and the most shining appearance of virtue becomes reality, only when strong enough to resist temptation. But a Republican admin-

istration has been persistent in its endeavor to secure honest men and an honest collection of the revenue, and it may be said with truth that it has always punished those who betrayed their trust.

We have only to repeat that when the disclosures in the whisky frauds were made, the machinery of the Government, detecting frauds daily, simply widened the area of its operations. The machinery was there in full play, and the operators were on duty and watchful. It was no unusual display of effort. It was no spasmodic exercise of power. There was no ulterior object in view. There was, however, a stern determination to find out the guilty parties, distillers and officers, and to put the law in force to punish them, while the Government recovered the revenue of which it had been defrauded.

NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY.—Democratic supremacy means national bankruptcy. The payment of its honest debts has been a task which has taxed the nation to its utmost. It has yet to pay nearly \$2,000,000,000 of debt, incurred to put down the rebellion, for which the Democratic party stands responsible. Add to this, and other legitimate expenses, the debts of the Southern States, their war claims, the refunding of the cotton tax, the payment for slaves set free, all favorite schemes of Southern Democracy, and the nation would stagger under a load of debt that would end in National bankruptcy. This is but one of the dangers which would follow in the track of Democratic restoration.

FIRELESS ENGINES ON TRAMWAYS.—Experiments have been made in Belgium to test a locomotive's power to work after the fire has been dropped, and M. Pichault publishes the result in the *Annales Industrielles*. It has been conclusively shown "that the employment of an ordinary engine fed from a simple hot water tank, for drawing cars along tramways, is possible, and even easy, not only in theory, but also in practice." The publication of these facts takes place at the time of the death of Sir Goldsworthy Gurney, who was so persevering in his attempts to get steam carriages used for ordinary traffic in Great Britain. This subject will certainly not be permitted to remain a mere theory.

NATIONAL UNITY—POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

The friends of Christianity and the working advocates of National unity of sentiment have watched with intense interest the recent proceedings of the Churches, North and South, with a view to re-union and fellowship. It is to be regretted, however, that up to this time the work has not been productive of very encouraging results. It is not necessary here to inquire where the blame lies. It is enough to know that the grave responsibilities resting upon the Christian Churches, North and South, cannot be ignored with impunity. The growing enthusiasm in favor of harmony and unity of political and religious sentiment and action, must not be impeded by the absence of Christian fellowship among Church organizations. If the Christian communities, North and South, cannot work successfully, through their Churches, to bring the people together in harmony, there is but one other course to pursue, and that is to go forward with the work independent of those organizations.

It should be distinctly understood, as the fact is almost universally admitted, that there is no cause for the continued division of the Southern and Northern branches of the Presbyterian Church, or of any of the professedly Christian Churches that have been separated from the close of the war up to this time. If they had been guided by the spirit and lessons of Him who said, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall inherit the earth," the Churches would have made the first advances after the close of the war toward universal unity and harmony; but they have passed through a period of ten years and are still divided in spirit and action. Are they aware of the wrong they are thus doing to the communities, to the nations, and to the Cause they have espoused and profess to be anxious to advance? Even in a pecuniary point of view they are defeating their own interests by depleting their ranks and weakening their power.

It is gratifying, however, to note the fact, that the Young Men's Christian Associations, North and South, are a unit in effort, and have become a powerful element in the work of

conciliation and concord among all classes, in every section of the Union. Their re-union, a few days ago, in the city of Richmond, Virginia, so recently the Capital of the Confederate States, was of the most cordial character. Their prayers, addresses and proceedings all signified an earnest desire to cement the affections of the communities and labor together for universal harmony and Christian amity in the future. The citizens manifested their hospitality by throwing open their houses and inviting the delegates from the North and the South alike to their tables.

One of the Union addresses made during the four days' proceedings was by Hon. Robert Ould, the late Confederate Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, and his words were not accepted by the entire audience as expressing the emotions and feelings of a sincere man.

We have a farther evidence of the progress of the spirit of unity and harmony outside of the Churches, in the fact that the Masonic Order and the Odd Fellows, as well as other lay organizations, are respectively a unit, North and South, in the work of National unity. In short, the only considerable impediment to a general movement toward universal unity of feeling and interest, is found in the very organization that might reasonably be expected to be foremost in the work. How long this may continue it is not easy to predict; but there is reason to hope that the Church opposition will soon yield to the popular sentiment, if not to *Christian principle*, and throw its power in favor of the popular movement for a unity of sentiment and social and political harmony.

TRICHINÆ IN THE WILD HOG.—It has until recently been supposed *trichinæ* were the exclusive possession of the domesticated breeds of the hog. Their discovery in the wild German boar is of practical, as well as of scientific value, and throws light on some difficult questions concerning hereditary *trichinæ* and the influence of domestication.

THE ELECTIONS—PRIMARY MEASURES.

The nation is now entering upon a period during which, in a political point of view, each citizen will be called to the discharge of important duties to his country. In many of the States Conventions have been or will soon be called, for the purpose of nominating State officers, and in some cases Representatives in Congress. The campaign will then open and be continued until the Fall elections, which occur this year in the following order :

Kentucky.....	Monday, Aug. 2, 1875
California.....	Wed'ay, Sept. 1, 1875
Arkansas.....	Monday, Sept. 6, 1875
Maine.....	Monday, Sept. 13, 1875
Iowa.....	Tuesday, Oct. 12, 1875
Ohio.....	Tuesday, Oct. 12, 1875
Virginia.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Kansas.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Maryland.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Massachusetts.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Mississippi.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Minnesota.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Missouri.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
New York.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
New Jersey.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Pennsylvania.....	Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1875
Texas.....	Tuesday, Dec. 7, 1875

Each of these elections will carry with it more than ordinary importance, as the result will have a direct bearing of more or less weight upon the Presidential and Congressional elections of the ensuing year. In fact the Campaigning work will practically be continuous from this time until the next Presidential vote is cast.

In all kinds of enterprise a good commencement is essential to success. It is especially so in an election contest. The tone and spirit of the primary meetings may, with a large degree of confidence, be taken as indicating final results. The first object is to have the primary meetings in central localities, and in halls of easy access. General publicity should be given of the time and place of meeting, and the notices should bear on their face an invitation for a full attendance. In the next place, every voter should feel it to be his duty to be present. Much depends on the character of the meeting. If it is composed of intelligent citizens, among whom are embraced the property-holders of the community, there is every reason to believe that every part of the proceedings will be harmonious, and candidates

will be selected whose fitness for the places for which they have been designated will be a guarantee of their strength, popularity and election. If, however, as is too often the case in late years, the primary meetings are left entirely to irresponsible and speculating politicians, in four cases out of five aspirants will thrust themselves into notice who are without qualifications, character or weight, and whose nomination could scarcely fail to be followed by defeat.

Another precaution which should never, under any circumstances, be lost sight of, is harmony of action, after the selection of candidates has been made, the whole strength and influence of the patriotic portion of the community, and friends of the Union should be exerted in favor of their election.

It will not do for aspirants to stand in the way if the choice of the people is clearly indicated in another direction. Self-abnegation in favor of the public interests, is the governing impulse in the breast of the patriot, and where this feeling prevails there can be no probability of divisions and party splits.

The party of progress is numerically much stronger than the opposition, and, with the best men for candidates and a strong "pull all together," their success is certain.

A GLORIOUS RECORD.—The history of the Republican party is the history of the nation during its most glorious period. It came into existence for the defense of the Republic, it will retire when its teachings become as strong in the popular heart as the unwritten law of the land. It sprang, full armed, into life and activity by the decree of loyalty, and it will lay aside its power when loyalty has no further use for it. That time has not yet come; there is work still unfinished. There is a debt to be paid; a broader freedom in the South to be established; civil and religious liberty to be made more secure. The nation will not entrust this work to the Democratic party.

SECESSION VS. RECONSTRUCTION.

"Ben" Hill, of Georgia, who will be in the next House, and is sure to divide with Lamar, of Mississippi, the leadership of the Southern Democrats, has uttered the Shibboleth of the Confederate campaign. In substance, he says: We, the Confederates, have abandoned secession, and you, the North, must give up reconstruction.

No other words than these could be found so more tersely express the whole contest. The South abandons secession, if they do, and we who conquered it are to abandon liberty and the hope of finally establishing Republican equity and unity. In order that we may live at peace with "Ben" Hill and his tribe, we are to surrender. That is what it means; nothing less, and a great deal more. This same orator and leader recently said that we (the South) must be let alone, to control our own labor in our own way. One of his intimates, also a reorganized leader of the Confederate politicians, Governor Smith, of Georgia, not long ago illustrated what was meant by "our own way," in saying that they could preserve their plantation system and rebuild it on a baronial plan. Sounding words, but having an ominous meaning. It means that the laborer of the South is to be enslaved to society there. While nominally free, he is to be practically a serf.

This is the whole of it. We are coolly asked to believe that the South gives up secession. In that, Hill falsified. Secession was destroyed. The indissolubility of the Union is sealed in the blood of half a million of men, North and South, who fell on one or the other side of the mad attempt to destroy it. The South, as represented by Hill and Lamar, Jeff Davis and Bob Toombs, gives up nothing. It surrenders only because it must.

To-day their devotion to the doctrine of State sovereignty is as extreme as it was in 1860. Only zeal, therefore, is tempered by the discretion our bayonets have enforced. Other methods are to be used. Other means are to be organized. One of them is found

in the systematic attempt that has been made since Ku-Kluxism proved a terror which turned and rended its contrivers, to make the loyal people believe that reconstruction has been a breeder of corruption and the fecund propagator of bad and barbaric government. The object is self-evident. We ought to give it up, as the South has given up secession. There might be something in this, if the latter part of the proposition was true, instead of being absolutely false.

State sovereignty, as inculcated South, as sustained North by Eaton, Bayard, Thurman, Allen, Hendricks & Co., leads inevitably to disintegration, secession, or the support of a strong, self-willed Chieftain like Andrew Jackson, who, to preserve the national unity, will substitute his will for law, his policy for the constitution, and so pave the way for the supremacy of the Executive power, establishing the one-man or autocratic idea for that balanced average of co-ordinate forces, which is the most sagacious feature of our system.

That reconstruction which we are so coolly asked to give up, means the reverse of all this. In spite of the lapses and errors which have arisen because the plans adopted have been too lenient, compromising too much with the "Ben" Hill element, its result is sure, in the creation of free labor, equal citizenship, the broadening of educational opportunities, and the growth, if slow, of all the complex features of a free society, controlled by law equally made and enforced, and moving forward orderly towards the establishment of all the varied interests of Republican civilization, such as is seen around us, in the States that conquered secession and have well maintained reconstruction.

Since the Democratic party power in Connecticut the re State debt has ceased. During the rate of taxation having been the Legislature of 1873, the cost of the State have exceeded the revenue by nearly one hundred thousand dollars. Comment is needless.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards our public school system is one of aggression. It desires to get control of the education of the young with a view to priestly instruction. Our common school system is the offspring of a free people, and could only exist in a country of free institutions. Indeed, it is unsuited to the habit of priestly tyranny, which could only alter its character and destroy its virtue. The Romish Church dreads the public school because the youth instructed there know nothing of priestly intolerance. Bishop McQuaid at Cincinnati denounced the public schools of that State as "Godless schools," as there was no religious teaching. The outrage perpetrated by the Bishop, and of which he ought to be ashamed, consisted in the fact that the reading of the Bible in the public schools of Cincinnati was dispensed with through Roman Catholic influence. A State does not undertake to teach religion; but among Christian nations, in the education of children, the Bible is not an unknown book. A religious sect in this country like the Roman Catholic Church, which banishes the Bible from the public schools in a locality where the ignorance of its church members abounds, cannot stigmatise those schools as "Godless" on that account without deserving and receiving severe rebuke. What it gains in Cincinnati in this respect, it will lose with contempt in States where the Roman sect has less power.

Is it not strange that in Rome where the Pope dwells, and the whole machinery of the Catholic Church is at work, the Roman people neither love the Pope nor the church? They desire to break away from all priestly instruction and have their children educated to become good citizens. They find that schools under the supervision of priests are not such as they desire to perpetuate. Even the Romish "Parochial Schools," now clamored for by the Catholic priesthood of New York, the Romans hate, and will not have. There are, therefore, "Godless schools" in Rome which send out pupils better trained for the duties of life than those taught by the priests.

Moreover, the political power of the priesthood is curtailed in Rome, and the Romans are not to be hoodwinked as to the political character of the Catholic Church. In the "Godless schools" in Rome the Bible is read, and the boys and girls are taught to love their country and be loyal to their sovereign, while the pupils in clerical schools are not, but taught that their fidelity is due first of all, to the Pope.

The difference is great. The elements of patriotism and obedience to law are wanting as subjects of instruction in clerical schools, which exist in the public schools of this country. The founders of public schools and those who support them desire that they shall be made available for the instruction of children in the best and noblest precepts of citizenship. Where the Roman Catholic Church is powerless for political evil, the children read the Word of God with profit. The Republican party is the party of education; and has done more to extend the public school system during the last decade than the Democratic party during its whole existence. The Democratic party, for political reasons, is in league with the Roman Catholic Church. That party will aid the church in its designs for the sake of the Catholic vote, which is cast at the bidding of the priesthood. Free public education is one of the cardinal doctrines of the Republican party; and it expects the support of every right thinking man; for its principles are those which alone can preserve the freedom of the country, and keep it in the true path of progress.

GEN. FITZHUGH LEE, in a letter to General Bartlett, says: "Your words in reference to Federal soldiers are equally applicable to the Confederate soldiers, for they too 'have a prejudice in favor of peace,' and I fully agree with you that 'between the soldiers of the two great sections of our great country fraternal relations were established long ago,' and we feel that if such a felicitous companionship of sentiment could have found a resting-place in the hearts of other classes of people, the rehabilitation of the South would long since have been assured."

MR. BRISTOW'S VIEWS OF THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS.

Mr. Bristow's address at Cave Hill Cemetery embodied more than is usually to be heard on such occasions, and was too significant to be allowed to fade from the memory. Mr. Bristow spoke in his native State to an audience chiefly composed of the people of Kentucky; and he took the opportunity of expressing his views upon the war and its results; and upon the new conditions and duties imposed upon the South. He appears to have adopted that course from two motives, both actively prominent and both working harmoniously, namely: First:—He felt that he was an American citizen, proud of the country of his birth and loving it better than life. And secondly: He felt the value of the teachings of experience and the advantage it gave to a public man. His experience in public affairs had been great, and he was able to take a wider range, and even look beneath the surface of things of which the world knew nothing, save from hearsay. For he was one of the men whose daily lives make history, and who have to deal with great questions, not only as patriots, but as statesmen—statesmen whose utterances sway the public mind and direct it to secure and preserve the blessings purchased through the pain and suffering of the past.

"Although ten years have passed," said Mr. Bristow, "since the conflict ended," it is even now too soon to know and appreciate, to their fullest extent, its beneficent results, or its influence upon the destiny of a great people." The object and conduct of the war was not left to the fortuitous combinations and strategy of men in civil life or in the field, but was influenced by a power which, while unseen by mortal eye, governs and sustains the heart of man. As there was no malice in the conflict of the mighty armies of the Union and their illustrious chiefs, so, was there a controlling influence which made them yearn that that Union should be unbroken, and all that had wrought the mischief in the South should be moved out of the Nation's pathway in the restoration of the future. The war, dreadful as it was, was rendered absolutely inevitable,

in order to give completeness to the work of the fathers, and to place the Republic on a sure foundation. Mr. Bristow said that "the Government for which the soldiers of the Federal armies went forth to battle has not only been saved from overthrow, but its foundations are made deeper and broader. The fundamental idea upon which the great founders builded has been carried to its logical result. The political axiom of our fathers, 'that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' has found fuller illustration and broader application."

Until the end of the war, it was clear that every blow struck at wrong was to open an avenue for the establishment of human right and justice. And it may be said that the echo of those blows on this continent was heard throughout Christendom; and their echo will be heard through the coming ages, until the rights of humanity are everywhere recognized throughout the world. The eloquent words of Mr. Bristow on the subject of the destruction of slavery will find a ready response from thoughtful and patriotic men. He says:

"I but declare a truth, which will not be controverted or questioned by any considerable number of intelligent persons, when I assert that a great blight has been removed from the South by the abolition of slavery. It requires no prophet to foretell, that sooner or later, the South must enter upon a career of unexampled prosperity under the influence of free institutions. Her resources are, practically, boundless. Her fertile soil, her rich mineral deposits, her propitious climate, all point to future wealth and power. Free labor must and will develop these, as it has already done in the less favored region of the North. The causes which have operated since the close of the civil war to retard the onward movement and check the prosperity of the South might be easily traced."

The noble sentiment of Mr. Lincoln at Gettysburg that the soldiers who had fallen on that celebrated battle-field gave their lives that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, should not per-

from the earth, was referred to by Mr. Bristow, who declared that a nobler sentiment in fitter words was never uttered. Mr. Bristow bore testimony to the courage and endurance of the men of the South—that they fought for what they believed to be right, however they might have been misled by false theories of government, or deluded by the artful teachings of cunning and ambitious leaders. But our troops too, fought for principles, and the principles they fought for are the principles which must prevail in the accomplishment of our National reunion. The two grand results of the war which, said Mr. Bristow, more than compensates for all the bereavements and vast expenditure and waste of money, are the extinction of slavery and the recognized indissolubility of our National Union; and, the time is not far distant when these will be admitted and accepted as blessings by the people of every section. We have a right to insist upon practical loyalty to the country and cheerful obedience to its constitution and laws. With such loyalty and obedience, sectional animosities would die out, and the bitter discussion of controversies over the struggles of the war, give way to a more generous and genial occupation. The revolution in England in the seventeenth century produced a similar loyalty among the leaders and the people, over whom Cromwell ruled as Protector—and England flourished. And holding the South to the exhibition of such loyalty, Mr. Bristow concluded with the following earnest appeal:

“May we not, then, look forward with assured confidence to the time in the near future when all intelligent men, North and South, will not only accept the results of the late conflict, but will recognize the blessings that flow from it and admit that any other issue would have been an irreparable calamity to both sections of the country. While we must differ from those who sought to dissolve the Union, and look from a different standpoint upon the history of the struggle that ensued, we may safely concede to them the right to hold such opinions as they like in respect of the past, and claim from them only a cheerful and hearty loyalty to the present and future. And why should this not be so? Are we not bound together by ties of consanguinity and community of material interests? Whatever promotes discord, or weakens our common Government, threatens danger and disaster to all alike;

and whatever gives strength and perpetuity to our free institutions promises blessings to the people in every part of the country, and to their posterity. God speed the time when the men of the North and of the South shall vie with each other in efforts to rebuild the waste places, to promote the general welfare, and to advance by all proper means the greatness and prosperity of our common country!”

A STATE PROHIBITION CONVENTION was held at Harrisburg, Pa., on the 17th of June, which placed in nomination as Governor, Dr. R. A. Brown, of Lawrence county, and E. F. Pennypacker, of Chester, for State Treasurer. The speeches were as intemperate in denunciation of Governor Hartranft, and of political parties generally, as could be expected from a body belonging to what has been aptly termed a “parasite party.” The resolutions are a curiosity. By the first motion it is declared the State should not allow the manufacture or sale of liquors; that licenses cannot limit; that as a political issue temperance transcends all others; that none but temperance men should be elected or appointed to office, and that other parties are untrustworthy, venal, and are conspirators against the public peace. Governor Hartranft is denounced for signing the law repealing the local option act. Other resolutions ask the appointment of a commission to investigate the liquor traffic, endorse the temperance crusade, declare the labor troubles largely due to intemperance, and denounce all ecclesiastical interference with the public school revenues. For all this success is hoped for by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the power of an Omnipotent God. The resolution and proceedings vividly recall Æsop’s fable of the beleaguered city, and the council its people held as to means of defence, when the courier insisted that for fortifications there was “nothing like leather.”

THE recent New Hampshire contest involved this point—re-districting of the State. The democrats feared that the republicans, if allowed to control the Senate, would secure some advantage in the next Legislature, which is to elect Senator Cragin’s successor. The Senate being democratic, can prevent the passage of any re-districting bill that does not suit its majority.

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

All reports from California are of a cheering character, and the Republicans there present an unbroken front. For the first time for some years past there are no internal dissensions, and this may be accepted as evidence of coming victory. The resolutions adopted at the State Convention, held June 11th, in San Francisco, are of no uncertain sound, as to either National or State affairs. The latter has, in some aspects, an importance not second even to those of a more general character.

Senator Sargent presided, and the Hon. George C. Gorham, Secretary of the U. S. Senate, led off in vigorous support of the bold declarations passed, relating to the railroad issue. These gentlemen have heretofore been proclaimed by the opposition press as the special champions, in State and Congress, of the Central Pacific Railroad. Senator Newton Booth won high renown for his presumed antagonism thereto, and came eastward heralded as the new-found Republican leader against the great incorporated monopolists. He is to-day without position on that or other issues, the solitary "independent" in the Senate, while the party which it was claimed his defection would disrupt, is evidently stronger than ever in California. The position now taken heals and unites.

The nominees are as follows: For Governor T. G. Phelps; Lient.-Governor, Joseph M. Cavis; Secretary of State, O. H. Hallett; Comptroller, J. J. Greene; Surveyor-General, R. E. Gardner; Treasurer, Wm. Beckman; Attorney-General, E. D. Sawyer; Clerk Supreme Court, G. P. Taggart; Supt. Public Instruction, E. C. Carr.

These gentlemen are all spoken of as persons of character and ability, every way worthy of the honors and responsibilities for which they are selected.

The Congressional nominations are as follows: 1st District, ——— Betrill; 2d District, Horace F. Page; 3d District, C. B. Denio; 4th District, S. O. Houghton.

Mr. Denio is a mechanic and building contractor, who formerly resided in Illinois, and was a well known personal and political

friend of Abraham Lincoln. He is a man of fine repute as a speaker, and otherwise thoroughly qualified. Messrs. Houghton and Page were members of the last Congress. Mr. Betrill is a lawyer of excellent repute and very much respected.

The Congressional nominations fairly represent that element in the Republican party there which embraces the producers and workers, in contradistinction to the corporation-related powers, which have, it is charged, exercised too great an influence in the councils of both parties. The tickets, State and Congressional, represent the producers rather than attorneys and monopolists. There is nothing uncertain in the other portions of the platform, as will be seen by the synopsis given:

The first resolution is deservedly eulogistic of the President, and the second declares that the "third term letter," so called, must be regarded as "explicit to a final settlement of the third term agitation created by our enemies solely to arouse jealousies and dissensions in the Republican party." The next two resolve that the amendments to the Constitution must be enforced by Congressional legislation, when necessary, and that the conduct of those who, in the South, attempt to prevent the exercise of the franchise by colored citizens, is rebellious in spirit and calculated only to keep alive the animosities of civil war. They declare, also, that the loyal people should not slumber in face of the evident determination expressed and seen, to prevent the next election of the President by the people. The next plank declares a desire to live in fraternal relations with men of all parties; and the wishes of California Republicans to unite with all men in furthering justice and promoting tranquility.

The other resolutions relate to State affairs, and contain an earnest and practical deliverance on the subject of economy and honesty in the administration of the State and County Governments by such a curtailment of the number of officers and their salaries as will place public servants on an equal footing

with business employes in the matter of compensation, and thus abate the general mania for office-holding; a demand that the State and its common schools be kept free from ecclesiastical or secular control; a declaration of war upon the Central Pacific and other railroad companies which deny and resist the right of State regulation and control of fares and tolls; and a pledge that the Republican members of the Legislature will vote for a fair and reasonable reduction in this direction. The platform throws down the gauntlet to all monopolies and corporations seeking to plunder the people, and makes this a leading issue in the campaign.

CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

— In order to support Judge Kelley's declaration that "the United States Treasury is approaching insolvency," the Democratic press is industriously circulating statements to the effect that the revenue receipts have fallen far below the estimates, and that a large deficit at the end of the fiscal year will be the result. On the 16th (June), the Washington correspondent of the Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal* telegraphed to that paper as follows:

"The Secretary of the Treasury estimated that the receipts for the fiscal year would be \$284,000,000, and the expenditures \$275,000,000, leaving \$9,000,000 to go to the credit of the sinking fund. It is now evident that the total receipts for the year will not exceed \$265,000,000 thus creating a deficiency of some \$19,000,000 or over, and the revenue and customs receipts may continue to fall off between this time and the 30th, so that the above estimate may not be reached."

If the correspondent of the *Courier-Journal* had been disposed to furnish the readers of that paper with a truthful statement, he would have applied at the Treasury for the facts, and received the official statement, which is as follows: The estimated receipts for the year, as made by the Secretary of the Treasury in his last report were, as this correspondent states, \$284,000,000, in round numbers. But the receipts, instead of falling below, will exceed the estimates, and amount to at least \$289,000,000. Of this the internal revenue will give \$109,500,000, customs \$157,000,000 to \$157,500,000, and miscellaneous \$12,000,000. The internal revenue receipts will exceed the estimates

\$7,000,000, while the customs revenue will fall \$1,000,000, to \$4,500,000 below the estimates.

The aggregate expenditures for the year will not exceed \$276,000,000, and they will probably be between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 less, varying according to the aggregate of unexpended balances remaining in the hands of disbursing officers. But \$276,000,000 is the maximum of expenditures for the year. This taken from the receipts leaves a balance of thirteen million dollars over the expenditures.

This is the official exhibit of the books of the Treasury, at the present time, and as we are within a few days of the close of the fiscal year, no material variation is possible from the figures as they will stand at the closing of the year's record.

It must, therefore, be concluded that the result is not only satisfactory, but that it affords a complete refutation of the statements of Mr. Kelley and the Democratic press.

There is another fact that should be stated in this connection. The Secretary of the Treasury never expected that the change made by Congress at its last session, in the revenue and customs laws, would increase the receipts during the current fiscal year, but there will be an increase of revenues from this source during the ensuing fiscal year.

When estimates for the fiscal year 1875-6 were made the receipts were put down at \$293,000,000; that is, \$170,000,000 from customs, \$106,000,000 from internal revenues and \$17,000,000 from miscellaneous sources. It is now believed by officials that the receipts will exceed the estimates by \$6,000,000 to \$10,000,000, the increase coming mainly from the internal revenues. Some well informed officers put the increase on the estimates at \$14,000,000. At the same time the appropriations for the ordinary expenses of the fiscal year 1875-6 are \$7,000,000 less than for the present year, and less than for any year since the commencement of the rebellion. It is more than probable, therefore, that the receipts for the next fiscal year will exceed the expenditures by at least \$20,000,000 to \$25,000,000. So much for the probable insolvency of the United States Treasury predicted by the false prophets of modern times.

MR. LINCOLN: HONESTY THE BEST POLICY.

Frequent charges are made of fraud and dishonesty prevailing among persons in business and persons holding public trusts. It is said of persons in the public service that a feeling exists which may be thus formulated: The emolument is small; a change may soon take place; and unless advantage is taken of the moment, the opportunity is lost forever. If the charges were true generally, it would show a sad state of morals; but, as there is truth enough in the charges to make dishonesty the exception and honesty the rule, they deserve attention, for many reasons.

One of the worst examples to young men is that of a public servant, having used his office to enrich himself at the expense of the people; for, although swift punishment will follow discovery, the warning may be forgotten, and only the guilt remembered. In a country like ours, it is most important to instil the principles of honor and honesty in the hearts of men, in order that the duties of good citizenship may be well performed. A violation of those principles is a public calamity, deserving the severest censure, and demanding ample atonement, be the culprit who he may.

Honesty is the best policy. A poor man is not debarred from rising in life by his poverty, if his character is untainted and his ambition wise. If he has been faithful in a limited career, the probability is that he has prepared himself for higher responsibility. The eyes of a community are fixed upon those who do well the duties entrusted to them; and when the time comes, as it always will come, for advancement, the testimony borne to a good reputation is supported by willing hearts and helping hands.

Wherever Mr. Lincoln dwelt he seems to have impressed his neighbors most favorably. In the early days of his obscurity, people remarked in him a certain candor and manly honesty, which, doubtless, was the foundation of his subsequent prosperity. There was a kind of moral grandeur in his independence and freedom from all cause of reproach, that attracted recognition and induced reliance upon his integrity. His poverty spurred him

to industry. His industry enabled him to acquire much general knowledge, and the knowledge of the law, which was his profession. As he rose in public estimation, he labored for his daily bread, with the idea of riches a long way off; but his poverty kept him so scrupulously careful in the path of right, that when receiving money which was not his own he paid it over in the coin that was paid to him.

How many young men with fair prospects in life have wrecked all by using funds which were not theirs, and which they flattered themselves they would soon return, but were not able? They became amenable to the charge of dishonesty, though perhaps, at the time, they did not mean to be dishonest. It is the first wrong step that destroys character. To shun that first step should be our courageous endeavor; and if we reflect upon the results likely to ensue, the temptation may be resisted.

Mr. Lincoln was remarkable for his love of truth and consistency in politics. Trained in a school where he had to labor and suffer, he came out of the trial with a keen appreciation of right and wrong, and of the necessity of private worth as the basis of success. The effect of his surroundings was to chasten his mind and lead him to look out upon the affairs of men from no superficial standpoint. He saw men of promise fall and fail, which aroused his sympathies and gave him a strong bias toward all that was good and noble in our common nature. Had he not received that peculiar culture which saved him from self-deception and guarded his heart, he might have shown weakness in his altered fortunes, when, in fact, his manliness and purity created surprise. As a politician, he was in full accord with the principles and aims of the Republican party. They became incorporated with his manhood, growing with his growth; and, eventuating in an able and wise statesmanship, he could serve his country in the crisis of her fate. With unblemished honor he discharged the duties of the hour without a thought of his future destiny; and he rose, step by step, until he reached

the highest office in the gift of the people. Thus preserved in poverty, and protected as with a shield by his uprightness, the following pleasing incident by "Burleigh," of the *Boston Journal*, tells the secret of his fame, not only to the country of his birth, but to the nations of the world:

"Mr. Lincoln, before he moved to Springfield, was postmaster in a small western town. The office was poor, and Lincoln was poorer than the office. It was known that he was very hard up, and it was also known that the Washington agent was in town to collect the little sum due the General Post-Office. A friend, thinking Lincoln might be embarrassed, came down to the office to loan him the sum necessary to meet the demand. Mr. Lincoln thanked him, and said he did not need any loan. While the two were talking, the gentleman came in. The sum due was less than \$100. Lincoln went to his desk and took out an old stocking, and turned the coin on the table. It was counted out, and met the demand exactly. Well it might, for it was not only the exact amount due, but the identical money itself that Lincoln had taken in; old-fashioned Rix dollars, pistareens, sixpences, old-fashioned cents and all were there. "I never use money that belongs to other people," said Lincoln, and that resolution did much toward making him President of the United States."

GREAT, BUT NOT AMBITIOUS.—In expressing his intention not to be a candidate for a third term, President Grant, with that frank simplicity which always characterizes his language, said: "I do not want it any more than I did the first. I would not write or utter a word to change the will of the people in expressing and having their choice."

This language has been made the text for countless attacks upon the President. He has been represented by the Democratic and so-called Independent press, as a man of inordinate ambition, who sought his first nomination, and obtained his second, through the power and influence of his high military position. These journals refuse to accept his letter as declaratory of his intention to retire to private life, and insist that he is as ambitious to serve a third term as he was to serve the first. We commend to the attention of these journals a letter written by General Grant in 1864, at a time when personal ambition, if it had been a controlling element of his nature, would have shown itself.

The tone of the letter is one of exalted patriotism, and in the light of his recent utterances, affords a key to the President's true character. He never desired a first term. He accepted it as he did the second, through a sense of duty to his country. As he said in his recent letter, "I was made to believe that the public good called me to make the sacrifice."

We present the following letter, because it gives us a better insight into the character of the President, than we could possibly obtain from a document intended for the public eye. Its pointed allusions to the Presidency will make it acceptable at this time:

NASHVILLE, TENN., *January 20, 1864.*

HON. I. N. MORRIS:

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 29th of December I did not receive until two days ago. I receive many such, but do not answer. Yours, however, is written in such a kindly spirit, and as you ask for answer confidentially, I will not withhold it. Allow me to say, however, that I am not a politician, never was, and hope never to be, and could not write a political letter. My only desire is to serve the country in her present trials. To do this efficiently it is necessary to have the confidence of the army and the people. I know no way to better secure this end than by a faithful performance of my duties. So long as I hold my present position, I do not believe that I have the right to criticize the policy or orders of those above me, or to give utterance to views of my own except to the authorities at Washington, through the General-in-Chief of the army. In this respect I know I have proven myself a "good soldier."

In your letter you say I have it in my power to be the next President. This is the last thing in the world I desire. I would regard such a consummation as being highly unfortunate for myself, if not for the country. Through Providence I have attained to more than I ever hoped, and with the position I hold in the regular army, if allowed to retain it, will be more than satisfied. I certainly shall never shape a sentiment, or the expression of a thought, with the view of being a candidate for office. I scarcely know the inducements which could be held out to me to accept office, and unhesitatingly say that I infinitely prefer my present position to that of any civil office within the gift of the people.

This is a private letter to you, not intended for others to see or read, because I want to avoid being heard from by the public, except through acts in the performance of my legitimate duties.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

THE SOUTH, AND HOW ITS WANTS MAY BE SUPPLIED.

The Southern people feel the wants of the South, which visitors from the North, observe with pain, because they not only see that there are wants, but see also the way by which they may be supplied. One of the results of the war was the permanent introduction of free labor; and had the wise counsels of the Republican party been listened to, the South long since would have adapted itself to the new condition. It is impossible for the South to continue in the old habits and ways either of thought or of life, as if no radical change had been effected. The new foundations of industry were designed to uproot the blighting and sluggish system of bondage, which bound the white man, while it existed, as firmly as the negro, though with different fetters. Shall the black man only derive advantage from freedom, while the white man, assuming to have greater intelligence, persistently refuses to better himself, by clinging to the old order, and thrusting back every hand held out to help him to be prosperous? The South to-day is a marvel of prosperity, compared with what it was at any period when it was dependent upon slave labor, in proof of which we give the following fact:

The Louisiana sugar planters are now more prosperous than at any time since the war. The yield for 1874 was 240,000 hogsheads against 103,000 the preceding year, while the crop was made very economically and commanded fair prices.

The same may be said of other States and other industries. And the South might be more prosperous if it would only adopt the course of men of enterprise and business capacity.

It is folly to complain of what Southern men will make no effort to remedy. Do they want the yeoman to immigrate or the manufacturing class? They must make the South inviting and pleasant as a residence to persons who may please themselves in selecting their location, and who will naturally locate only where affairs are most pleasing. Do they want capital? They must make every foot of the South safe for money, person and life, if this desire is to be granted. Moneyed

men are not apt to invest where their money only is the object of respect. They claim to deserve respect; and would prefer to respect the men who need their help rather than expose themselves to cavil, and abuse, and neglect. And they are not disposed to anticipate a contest if they desired to withdraw the money they had invested. It may as well be understood, once for all, that capital will not go where there is danger and contention, and where there is the smallest chance of political disturbance from the exercise of political rights. Yeoman and workman, with means and skill are also supremely indifferent to the wants of the South so long as the South disregards the yeoman's wants, which are peace and freedom, security and evenhanded justice between man and man.

What the South appeared to want in the view of Judge Kelly, he has made known to the people. He says:

"What is required to regenerate the South is subsoil plows, phosphates, agricultural implements generally, a large increase of horses, mules, and horned cattle, a steadily increasing supply of steam engines and machinery, and such manufacturing machinery as can be moved by water power. These, with a comparatively small amount of cash capital, and a few earnest men to teach their use and value, would, in a few years, make the South bloom like a garden, and develop a population as loyal as that of any Northern State during the war. The interests of Northern capitalists require them to supply these potent agents at the earliest practicable day."

In this we agree with Judge Kelly. And we also agree with Judge Kelley that the principles of the Republican party are the only principles that can increase the prosperity of the South. The present prosperity commenced from adherence to them; and it follows that any increase must be built upon the same ground. We hope the men of the South will hasten the time when its political and social condition will be so inviting that both capital and immigration will pass into it, and raise up industrious, upright and intelligent States which shall strengthen and dignify the Nation by adding to its mental and material wealth.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

. . . While Europe has been agitated by the fast flying rumors of coming war, in the United States, nothing but peaceful relations and conditions are known to exist. The month of June has been especially free from disturbing or exciting rumor, or incident, so far as the Nation itself is concerned. In government, politics, civic or material affairs nothing has transpired to mar the "sweet serenity" of these summer days.

. . . At the National Capital, the chief topic of interest has been the recent Sioux conference, and the return of the Indian delegations to their homes in Dakota, in a state of apparent dissatisfaction. It is worth while making a statement derived from official sources of the number of the Sioux nation, and their relations to the general government, as well as to the particular matters under consideration.

According to the last report on Indian affairs, the Sioux embraces more than one half of the Indians who are reported as "wild and scarcely tractable to any extent," beyond receiving the bounty of the government. The enumeration of this class is 98,108, of whom all but about 23,000 roam through the northwest territories. The wild Sioux are set down at 46,663; their total being estimated at 53,000 persons. Of the partially civilized Sioux there are 4,622, and of those who have wholly renounced a nomadic life and are settled as farmers, there are 2,781. Six years ago the government and the country might well have feared an outbreak among the Sioux, growing from such differences as now exists, but as the Commissioner says in his last annual report:

"The feeding process, has so far taken the fight out of them that it was impossible for a portion of the more war-like non-treaty bands to prevail upon their brethren, who have been sitting down at the agencies along the Missouri River, to risk the loss of their coffee, sugar, and beef in exchange for the hardships and perils of a campaign against soldiers."

Red Cloud comprehends the character of this process, and said recently in Washington to a former member of the United States

Senate, "that if the government would stop issuing beef, he would take care of himself."

There is a general misapprehension of the reasons for holding a conference with Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, with their associate chiefs at Washington. The Interior Department has several disturbing questions to settle; among them being the location of the agencies, which are now outside the reservations assigned to such tribes as recognize the chieftianships of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail. Other and more troublesome matters relate to the northern boundary of Nebraska, which the Brule Sioux declare to be wrongfully run through their villages, to certain unceded territory in Nebraska, which is bounded on the south by the Niobrara river, also as to similar territory in Wyoming, and the right to hunt on the Northern or Republican fork of the Kansas River. This valley is being gradually settled by persons engaged principally in raising sheep and cattle. It will be remembered that the famous English colony of "Victoria," embracing a whole county of Kansas, is located on the Republican. This stream makes a north-western course from its junction with the Smoky Hill and Kansas, near Fort Riley, in the latter state, and quite a considerable portion of the upper valley is within the boundaries of Nebraska. A glance at a map will show how dangerous is this liberty to hunt, in a region which is becoming thickly settled and where the growing scarcity of buffalo with the increase of fine stock; must be a constant temptation to the rude young braves, who make up the Sioux hunting parties.

The government is desirous of inducing the Indians to cede this disputed right and also the territory in Nebraska, lying north of the Niobrara river. Twenty-five thousand dollars were appropriated by Congress at its last session for payment of such cession. Besides this practical result, the Black Hills and their cession was of course discussed. The Indian Bureau had no expectation of doing more than impressing upon the chiefs the danger of collision and the necessity of

making some permanent provision for their own future.

The result is believed to be, on the whole, quite favorable. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail have both agreed to use their influence in obtaining an agreement for the cession of the disputed hunting right on the Republican. To that end the Executive has promised his influence with Congress to procure an additional \$25,000 for the Indians. It is expected that the result of the conference at the agency will be favorable.

With regard to the cession of the Black Hills region, or such portions thereof as may be found to be auriferous a grand council is to be held between a commission representing the government and the several chiefs of the Sioux tribes that are interested. This council will represent more Indians than have ever before been in conference with the white people at one time. The endeavor will be, on our part, to procure from the Indians—

First. A relinquishment of all right in the unceded lands in Nebraska, lying north of the Niobrara river. The right of these Indians thereto, is a disputed matter, but the government is ready to come to any fair settlement with them.

Second. To procure the settlement of a similar question in Wyoming. No dispute exists as to the Dakota reservation. Its boundaries are defined. But east of the Big Horn Mountains is a territory which is regarded as unceded by the government. The Indians, however, lay claim to it, as secured by the treaty of 1868. The commissioners are to secure the right of way for a government road, running through it, to definitely determine its future relations, obtaining relinquishments of all the territory west of the summit of the Big Horn Mountains, included in the Wyoming reservation.

Third. To negotiate for the purchase of so much of the Black Hills as may be found containing gold.

The Commission will also urge upon the Indians with such force as they can the propriety of considering the President's recommendation, that they arrange for a removal to the Indian Territory, south of Kansas,

where they will have permanent homes, while the proceeds of the sale of their territory in the northwest, will insure their comfort. It has been asserted that the Executive had no right to make such a proffer, as the territory belongs to other Indians. In reply to this it should be borne in mind that by treaties made in 1866, the civilized Indians, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, etc., ceded a large area for the express purpose of settling other Indians thereon, with the view of making an Indian state at some not distant day. A large number have been gathered there, and others are being removed to that region.

The Sioux council is being watched with the greatest interest. In the meanwhile all proper precautions are being taken to promptly check any turbulence at the outset.

. . . The Treasury Department and that of Justice are actively pushing forward the work of destroying the whisky ring, its aiders and abettors, private or official. So with the smuggling propensities, so common among a large number of importers. It may be safely asserted that there will not be the slightest cessation in this good work; that the utmost harmony exists in all branches of the government, and that offenders will be brought to bay. It is worth while observing here that the comments of the opposition press all point severely to official offenders, and them alone. While it is perfectly just and right to condemn them severely, it is manifestly unjust to have no word of criticism for the clever and cunning rogues in business, who have devised the schemes of fraud now being unearthed, and who tempted with lavish bribes, federal officials to assist in the plundering. The arrest of ex-supervisor John McDonald, of St. Louis, is a proof of the earnestness which animates Secretary Bristow's course.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

. . . The noteworthy event of the month has been the magnificent celebration, at Boston, of the one hundredth anniversary of the "Battle of Bunker Hill." The daily press has given full details of the patriotic outpouring on that occasion, and of the superb

hospitality accorded to visitors. It is in somewhat striking contrast to that shown to the Presidential party at the Concord and Lexington celebrations and the discourteous conduct of the Boston press in publishing the bills incurred by the State in support of its hospitality. There is a mean little yankee trick hidden under the bills referred to. Among the items is one of over four hundred dollars for "wines and cigars." This is being widely published as a proof of bad habits on the part of the distinguished guests of the 19th of April. The truth is that by far the smallest portion of those articles are justly chargeable to the presidential party. There was a legislative committee, of seven or nine members, who were accompanied by a sergeant-at-arms, and several deputies. Several members of Governor Gaston's staff were in constant attendance. Of course, these gentlemen all had many visitors, who desired to be presented to the President, or members of the Cabinet, there present. How convenient to offer them wine and cigars, at the expense of the State, and cover that, by having all charged to the Presidential party. It will be observed that in the Revere House bill, no charge is made for any one of the score or more of state attendants, committee-men, etc., except \$4 50 per day for the board of each. Is it supposable, for a moment, by any one acquainted with the habits of such persons, when junketting at the public expense, that they were so economical, as the bills indicate? Not a whit. They, and their friends, indulged to their heart's content, and had the same charged to the President's bill. The Bunker Hill visitors were doubtless more courteously dealt with.

Putting all this aside, the country may well be congratulated at such scenes as Boston has recently witnessed. It makes little difference to us, whether Putnam, Gridley, or Prescott, had chief command on that memorable 17th of June, 1775; whether the engagement there fought was on "Bunker's" or "Breed's" Hill, or even whether it was or not, in the technical military sense, a victory for the British and a defeat for the Provincials; we know now that its results were and are glorious, and that out of

such heroic endeavors, as those displayed by the rude volunteers, behind their ruder works in Charlestown, a great nation has sprung, whose noblest reward is that the sun looks down on a free people, and that within the ample folds of the Union, enlarged from the struggling array of the Atlantic colonies to the majestic proportions of a continent, while freedom reigns, and no slave breathes, and equity is the aim and spirit of the Nation, and will, ere long, be that of every Commonwealth within its borders.

POLITICAL—STATE CONVENTIONS.

. . . A number of State nominating conventions have been held during the past month. A large portion were republican in character, though two were democratic and others belong to those that "hang on the verge" of "healthy organizations." Ohio republicans led off by a large and harmonious convention at Columbus, on the 2d of June. This body did good work. Their nominations were excellent, and the platform adopted was noticeable for a direct simplicity and terseness of expression, unusual in such documents. It was outspoken against a third term nomination; against a division of the public school fund among religious bodies, and in opposition to patent monopolies. The California republican convention, which met on the 10th of June, was equally as outspoken on the "third term" and "school" questions, and presented in its nominations and declarations relating to railroad monopolies, the boldest platform on the Grangers or producers side, yet adopted. Mr. Phelps, the nominee for Governor, is a leading Granger. The State Republican Convention, of Maine, met on the 14th of the month, and General Selden Conner was placed in nomination as Governor.

The platform adopted declares that the Union of the States must be maintained at all hazards; that the Government is that of the Nation, not of a Confederacy; local self-government, in matters purely local, must be adhered to; that there can be no legitimate conflict between the powers of the Nation and any State; that a sound currency, based on coin, and redeemable in coin, is essential to the prosperity of the people; that

the most kindly and fraternal relations should be cultivated between all sections of the country.

The Iowa Republican convention met at Des Moines on the 30th.

The Democratic conventions were—Ohio, at Columbus, on the 17th; Maryland, at Baltimore, on the 21st; Maine, at Portland, on the 22d, and that of California, at San Francisco, on the 29th.

A "People's Independent" convention was called at San Francisco on the 22d.

. . . Among other bodies which have been in session is the New York Liberal State Committee, at Albany, June 10th, which called a State Convention for the 1st of August next. Resolutions favoring union with the democracy and republicans were not adopted. One of the speakers said the result of liberalism in Missouri when Carl Schurz was laid aside for a rebel general, ought to teach liberals a wholesome lesson. Another said he was opposed to grantism on the one hand and bourbonism on the other. The family is not very happy and will probably dissolve, each member taking his place under the banner which pleases him best. The dissatisfaction manifested is seen wherever there is a corporal's guard of liberals.

A most striking proof of this is in a letter from Colonel William Grosvenor, of St. Louis, to the New York *Tribune*, published in its issue of June 8th. Grosvenor was the organizing brain of the Greeley and revenue reform bolt of 1872, and what he says is worth heeding. He says:

"On the streets here to-day one cannot find an independent voter nor a German of either party, unless he is an extreme Catholic, who has not a set purpose to overthrow the Democratic party. Possibly events may change that feeling; but to-day it exists, and its causes are worthy of notice. It will be felt elsewhere." Again, "in Illinois, men whose names are known all over the land share the same feeling. Nor is it by any means confined to German Independents."

OTHER CONVENTIONS.

. . . The Prohibitionists Convention convened at Des Moines, Iowa, on the 20th ult., the day before the republicans. The purpose of

the Convention was to take political action either by joining with one of the organized parties, or to form a new prohibitory party. A National Temperance Convention was also held in Chicago, which decided against forming a National party, but recommended political action in the states, as occasion offered. A State Temperance Convention for Indiana assembled at Indianapolis, June 8th, in which resolutions were adopted asking Congress to appoint a national commission to investigate and report upon the effects of the alcoholic liquor traffic upon pauperism, crime, revenue, taxation, and the general welfare of the country.

2. To prohibit the manufacture and sale of such beverages in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States.

3. To prohibit the importation of alcoholic liquors from foreign countries.

4. To require total abstinence from all such beverages on the part of officials and subordinates in the civil, military, and naval service of the United States.

It did not resolve on separate political action at this time.

IN COMMENT.

. . . It may be stated with reasonable assurance that the pending campaign will be conducted on both sides with great spirit, as each recognizes its importance in connection with the presidential year. During the current months, republican conventions will be held in Wisconsin on the 7th, and in Minnesota on the 28th instants. At both full state tickets are to be nominated.

. . . The National Head-quarters of the Patrons of Husbandry, which have been established at the national capital since the order was formed, are to be removed to Louisville, Kentucky. It is to be feared that this will be found to be a mistake, and one evidence of this is to be seen in statements made by the grand secretary, who has recently published a volume on the order. Mr. Kelley complains in the earlier chapters of the supineness of his Washington associates on the executive committee, and says in substance and frequently that the people look with eagerness and authority to Washington for information. The popular instinct easily seizes upon a

salient fact in regard to the federal district. That is, that it is the one center or city in the country which is given over to national questions and influences. All other of our great cities and centers are swayed by their dominating local or sectional influence. New York is wholly commercial. Boston is New England and necessarily provincial—though it is a fine type. Philadelphia is pre-eminently Pennsylvanian and not national. Chicago and St. Louis are western, of the Lakes and Mississippi Valley. It is true their outlook is continental, but even then it is exclusive. So with Cincinnati, though it may fairly be said for the Queen city that it is nearer national in its central and unifying position than the others. No southern city can be, for years to come, anything but sectional in its public expression. The Grangers have then deliberately placed themselves outside non-partizan influences and will pass under those of a sectional character. It may seem strange, but we doubt if anywhere else than in Washington, they can be as free from direct political and trading impressions. At the present time there is a stupendous effort to enlarge the order in the south, and the number of granges there are nearly as many as in the western states, the Louisville location must tend to place the Patrons under southern interests. It is perhaps a fear without reason, but it exists, nevertheless—that this removal will be followed by a marked growth of certain political forces within the granges. If so, the days of the great order are numbered.

. . . Ex-Secretary McCulloch has written another interesting letter from London. He speaks of the causes which led to the depreciation of American credit abroad. The principal cause has been the failure of the States to provide for the payment of their bonds and the interest thereon in gold. These bonds were negotiated upon a gold basis, with the understanding that both principal and interest should be payable in coin. The States have been unable to live up to their part of the contract, have paid in greenbacks instead of gold, and have made no effort since the close of the war to fulfill their original obligations. This has entailed great loss upon European investors, and caused them to look

with suspicion on bonds based upon the credit of the States. Not fully understanding the complex system which makes the nation supreme in the exercise of certain functions, while it leaves the States sovereign in the exercise of other functions, the prejudice against investing in State securities operates in a measure, against those of the nation. For this reason, our national credit abroad is not as high as it should be. According to Mr. McCulloch, an early resumption of specie payments by the States and the nation would restore European confidence in our home securities.

. . . The Missouri Constitutional Convention now in session at Jefferson City, in that State, under the presidency of Waldo P. Johnson, one of the most pronounced of confederate politicians, came within one vote on the 6th of June, of striking a deadly blow to the public school system. The report on executive and ministerial departments was under consideration, and a motion was made by a Mr. Adams, of Cooper county, to strike out the words "Superintendent of Public Instruction," under the plea that the Legislature should be allowed to decide whether such an officer was necessary or not. After warm debate the vote was 28 to 29; defeating the motion. The convention is largely democratic—with strong confederate proclivities. The attempt is in accord with a general policy.

. . . The Alabama Legislature refused to appropriate money for the decennial census provided for under the present as well as former constitutions. The Democratic majority were more anxious to convene a Constitutional Convention and used the money needed for the census-taking for that purpose. This was done avowedly after discussion. The last census taken by that State was in 1865-6, after the civil war had ceased. It showed that Alabama had decreased in population by about 27,000 persons—mostly males. Of these about 13,000 were white and the remainder colored. The relative decrease was larger, because the increase for five years was also swallowed by the war losses. The only states taking a decennial census are New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER ON THE THIRD TERM.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29, 1875.

DEAR SIR: A short time subsequent to the Presidential election of 1872, the press, a portion of it hostile to the Republican party, and particularly so to the Administration, started the cry of 'Cæsarism' and "the third term," calling lustily for me to define my position on the latter subject. I believed it to be beneath the dignity of the office, which I have been twice called upon to fill, to answer such a question before the subject should be presented by competent authority to make a nomination, or by a body of such dignity and authority as not to make a reply a fair subject of ridicule. In fact, I have been surprised that so many sensible persons in the Republican party should permit their enemy to force upon them and their party an issue which cannot add strength to the party, no matter how met. But a body of the dignity and party authority of a convention to make nominations for the State officers of the second State in the Union, having considered this question, I deem it not improper that I should speak.

In the first place, I never sought the office for a second, nor even for a first nomination. To the first I was called from a life position—one created by Congress expressly for me for supposed services rendered to the Republic. The position vacated I liked. It would have been most agreeable to me to have retained it until such time as Congress might have consented to my retirement, with the rank and a portion of the emoluments which I so much needed, to a home where the balance of my days might be spent in peace and the enjoyment of domestic quiet, relieved from the cares which have oppressed me so constantly now for fourteen years. But I was made to believe that the public good called me to make the sacrifice. Without seeking the office for the second term, the nomination was tendered to me by a unanimous vote of the delegates of all the States and Territories, selected by the Republicans of each to represent their whole number, for the purpose of making their nomination. I cannot say that I was not pleased at this, and at the overwhelming endorsement which their action received at the election following. But it must be remembered that all the sacrifices except that of comfort had been made in accepting the first term. Then, too, such a fire of personal abuse and slander had been kept up for four years, notwithstanding the conscientious performance of my duties to the best of

my understanding, though I admit, in the light of subsequent events, many times subject to fair criticism, that an endorsement from the people, who alone govern republics, was a gratification that it is only human to have appreciated and enjoyed.

Now for the third term: I do not want it any more than I did the first. I would not write or utter a word to change the will of the people in expressing and having their choice. The question of the number of terms allowed to any one Executive can only come up fairly in the shape of a proposition to amend the Constitution—a shape in which all political parties can participate—fixing the length of time or the number of terms for which any one person shall be eligible for the office of President. Until such an amendment is adopted, the people cannot be restricted in their choice by resolution further than they are now restricted as to age, nativity, etc. It may happen in the future history of the country that to change an Executive, because he has been eight years in office, will prove unfortunate if not disastrous. The idea that any man could elect himself President, or even re-nominate himself, is preposterous. It is a reflection upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people to suppose such a thing possible. Any man can destroy his chances for the office, but no one can force an election, or even a nomination.

To recapitulate: I am not, nor have I ever been, a candidate for a re-nomination. I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise.

I congratulate the convention over which you presided for the harmony which prevailed, and for the excellent ticket put in the field, and which I hope may be triumphantly elected. With great respect, your obedient servant.

[Signed]

U. S. GRANT.

To General Harry White, President Pennsylvania Republican State Convention.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

COUNSEL RECOGNIZED.

Julius Webster has been recognized by the President as vice consul of Russia for the port of Mobile.

DUTIES ABROGATED.

The Secretary of the Treasury has received from the Department of State official information that by a decree of the General Government of Mexico, all foreign money (coin)

heretofore paying the regular export duty of five per cent. on silver, and one half per cent. on gold is declared free from export duty. The export duty on Mexican money (coin) remains without modification.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

REVENUES AND FINANCES.

It is estimated that the internal Revenue receipts for the present fiscal year will aggregate \$109,500,000.

THE ROBBERY.

No arrests have yet been made in connection with the Treasury robbery of \$47,500.

BONDS CALLED IN.

The following call for coupon bonds was issued by Acting Secretary of the Treasury Conant on the 2d of June:

"Notice is hereby given that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds hereinbelow designated, known as '5-20 bonds,' will be paid at the Treasury of the United States; in the city of Washington, on and after the 1st day of September, 1875, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day. That is to say, coupon bonds, known as the fourth series, act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1st, 1862, as follows: \$50—No. 20,301 to No. 21,000; \$100—No. 51,601 to No. 59,100; \$500—No. 27,501 to No. 31,900; \$1,000—No. 80,651 to No. 91,500, all inclusive. The amount outstanding (embraced in the numbers above) is \$10,000,000. United States securities, forwarded for redemption, should be addressed to the loan division of the Secretary's office."

AMENDED CENTENNIAL REGULATIONS.

The following circular, amending regulations of October 3, 1874, governing the free importation of goods for the Centennial exhibition, has been issued:

Article 4 of "Regulations governing the free importation of goods for the International Exhibition of 1876, at Philadelphia," (Printed Decisions, 2192,) is hereby so amended as to read as follows:

Fourth. All goods arriving so marked and represented will, without examination, be forwarded from the port of arrival by bonded line of transportation to Philadelphia; there to be delivered to the custody of the collector at that port.

B. H. BRISTOW, Secretary.

ILLICIT STILLS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Collector Carpenter, of Columbia, S. C., has just returned from a raid upon illicit distilling. He was accompanied with ten United States soldiers, mounted, under command of Lieutenant John Anderson, United States Army, and two deputies. The party destroyed eleven distilleries, took into custody five prisoners and a large quantity of spirits. The trip created something of a panic amongst the violaters of the law in that region.

THE NEW COLLECTOR AT CHICAGO.

General J. D. Webster, just appointed collector of internal revenue at Chicago, was General Grant's chief of artillery at the time of the battle of Shiloh. He was afterwards chief of staff to Sherman. General Webster is an editor by profession. It was he who originally established the *Chicago Tribune*. General Webster ranks with the first men of Chicago. He commands universal respect.

SEIZURE OF STEAMERS.

The following circular relative to the seizure of steam vessels has been promulgated:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 31st, 1875.

It has recently been decided by the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Michigan that, before the commencement in Court of proceedings in cases of prosecution of steam vessels for non-compliance with the requirements of the laws relating to the inspection and equipment of such vessels, there should be a seizure by a government officer. Collectors and other chief officers of the customs, therefore, are instructed, under sections 4,462 and 4,496 of the Revised Statutes, to seize vessels in case they have become liable to seizure or forfeiture for any violation of the laws aforesaid, and if the penalty or fine incurred, has not been paid to the proper officer. It is suggested, however, that prior to seizure, in cases where it is practicable, a report shall be made of the facts and circumstances of each case, with the names of witnesses, and the provisions of law alleged to be violated, to the proper United States Attorney, to the end that his opinion may be obtained in regard to the action required.

CHARLES F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

FOG BELLS.

The Light-house Board gives notice that on and after the 20th of May there will be

sounded during thick and foggy weather, at Horn Island light-station, a fog-bell, struck by machinery, giving one blow at intervals of fifteen seconds. The bell is located on the east gallery of the light-house. Notice is also given that, during thick and foggy weather, there will be sounded, at Head of passes light-station, a fog-bell, struck by machinery, giving two blows and one blow at alternate intervals of ten and twenty seconds. The bell tower is located immediately in front of the light-house.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

GOVERNORS APPOINTED.

The Secretary of the Interior has issued appointments to Governor Aptell, of Utah, to be Governor of New Mexico, vice Giddings, deceased; also George W. Emery, to be Governor of Utah, vice Aptell, appointed to New Mexico.

THE SIOUX COMMISSION.

The following is the Sioux commission as completed by the Secretary of the Interior: William B. Allison, of Iowa; Bishop E. R. Ames, Maryland; F. W. Palmer, Illinois; Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, U. S. A., Allen Comingo, Missouri; Rev. S. D. Hinman, Dakota; G. P. Beauvais, Missouri; and Gen. A. G. Lawrence, R. I. John S. Collins, post trader of Fort Laramie, is appointed secretary to the commission. The salary of the commissioners will be eight dollars per day and expenses.

PENSION BOARD OF APPEALS.

The following is the board of appeals appointed by the Commissioner of Pensions, whose duties, as was recently stated, are to examine cases reported rejected, and to consider cases where differences of opinion exist between the examiners and reviewers, &c.: Joseph Lockey, deputy commissioner, chairman; J. L. Penniman, George Ewing, E. M. Dawson and J. B. J. Ryan. Dr. N. F. Graham is appointed medical adviser of the board.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

IMPROVED CONDITION OF THE ARMY.

By a statement from the Adjutant General's office, it appears that the desertions from

the army, since the 1st of July last have diminished more than one half in comparison with those in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1874, and the number of re-enlistments have averaged three times as many during the same period. The desertions have averaged 383 per month during the first named period and 172 per month during the year ended June 30, 1874, and have averaged 178 per month during the present fiscal year. These statistics show that the tone and condition of the army is elevated, and speak well for the management of the army by the War Department. This increasing contentment indicates kind, methodical and considerate treatment of the enlisted men by the officers, as well as the effect of enlightened legislation in 1872, looking to a gradual increase of pay, rewarding length of service and faithful service, encouraging re-enlistments and providing for a system of deposits, which are forfeited by desertion. But Congress appropriated for the pay of the army, less than the War Department estimated by \$90,000 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1875, and there is a threatened deficiency, so that (as set forth in an order of the War Department) officers and men may be able to receive only one half or two-thirds pay for the month of June, and they may be compelled to wait for the same until a deficiency bill is passed by the next Congress.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

The Board of Naval Officers to examine officers for promotion and retirement, of which Commodore J. W. A. Nicholson is President, resumed its session at the Navy Department on the 15th June.

The following officers have been ordered to report to the Board for examination: Commanders John Irwin, A. E. K. Benham and E. P. Ryan; Masters A. Ross, H. L. Tremain, J. C. Wilson, W. S. W. Ruchenberger; Ensigns G. F. W. Holman, T. G. Salter and P. D. Bolles. A number of officers of the Lancaster, Kansas and Alert with several now on coast survey duty, will be ordered for examination during the summer.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.
INVESTIGATING UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S AC-
COUNTS.

It is said that Attorney General Pierrepont has caused an investigation to be made into the accounts of United States Marshals and Deputy Marshals for the past year, with a view of calling upon certain officers in the Southern States for an explanation of what is deemed most exorbitant charges in the way of witness fees.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

By order of Attorney General Pierrepont, on the first day of June, bureaus under the general supervision of the Solicitor General were organized in the Department of Justice as follows :

Bureau of the Supreme Court; Bureau of the Court of Claims; Bureau of Legal Investigations; Bureau of Official Correspondence; Bureau of the Chief Clerk and Bureau of Criminal Law.

A chief of each Bureau, with assistants, was designated by the Attorney General, and specific duties assigned; but in furtherance of the public service, whenever one bureau is overburdened, calls may be made upon a bureau less burdened for assistance. No vacation or absence from the duties of the Department can be permitted except on leave, specifying the date and length of the absence. Whenever any one in this Department is about to be absent on leave he must register in the Bureau of the Chief Clerk the address where a dispatch can reach him. Permission to go beyond the United States will not be given under any circumstances.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.
COTTON CROP REPORT.

The Department of Agriculture, in its cotton report for June, states that the threatened reduction in area has not taken place, nor has the reduced area of last year been much enlarged. The reported increase is between one and two per cent. The comparison with last year is as follows : North Carolina, 102; South Carolina, 106; Georgia, 96; Florida, 99; Alabama, 104; Mississippi, 102; Louisiana, 101; Texas, 108; Arkansas, 101; Tennessee, 92.

The report of condition is the most favorable in the past five seasons with the exception of that of 1872. The order of procedure in this respect is 1872, 1875, 1873, 1871, 1874. Though planting was late, and the soil generally too wet and cold for rapid germination, the stand is comparatively good, and recent weather has been more favorable to rapid growth. The crop is unusually clean. The comparison with a crop of full vitality and normal growth, in all respects, is, for the present month, as follows : North Carolina, 92; South Carolina, 97; Georgia, 91; Florida, 94; Alabama, 101; Mississippi, 100; Louisiana, 95; Texas, 96; Arkansas, 90; Tennessee, 99.

COURT OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.
THE TIME OF THE DURATION OF THE COURT EX-
TENDED.

The President has made proclamation reciting the eighth section of the act of Congress, creating the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, which provides conditionally for an extension of the functions of said court beyond the period of their original expiration and ordering as follows :

"Now, therefore, be it known, that I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the provisions of the eighth section of the act of Congress aforesaid, do hereby extend the time of the duration of said Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims for a period of six months after the 22d day of July. A. D. 1875. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and caused the seal of the United States to affixed."

Quite recently the United States District Court convicted some democratic county officials of a charge of conspiracy, in Alabama, on account of their having refused to count the votes of over 1,200 colored republicans. The law provides for two separate ballots and polling places for colored and white voters. The sheriff, an independent democrat, desired two polling places, as usual. The County Commissioners opposed this, and refused to appoint election inspectors. The people did it under the law on the day of election. Their votes were then uncounted. The court ruled and the jury decided that the defendants were guilty of a conspiracy.

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Vol. VII.—No. 4.

OCTOBER, 1876.

Whole No. 44.

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July, 1876.

PROSPECTUS.

Vol. 7.

THE REPUBLIC,

Political Science Monthly Magazine.

THE REPUBLIC begins its seventh volume with the July number.

Its publishers are pleased to announce that it has grown steadily in public favor and that it is regarded by all good citizens who have consulted its pages as a power for good throughout the land.

Its past course—consistent, fearless, patriotic—is the index of its future. It will defend the right, denounce the wrong, and endeavor to point out, at all times, the true path for all who love their country to follow.

A sentinel upon the watch-tower of freedom, it will be found at its post of duty to give the word of warning, and sound the alarm should any danger threaten the peace of the Nation.

It will favor the maintenance, by all legitimate means, of free schools, devoid of sectarian influences, and will oppose any attempt to divide the school funds, believing that such division, whether made in the interest of the Catholic Church or its opponents, will ultimately destroy the system of free education, and that civil and religious toleration on which our institutions rest.

It will do all within its power to develop true friendship between the citizens of the North and the South, and for this purpose will advocate the recognition of justice and equality before the law as the only means to secure lasting friendship and its two allies, peace and security.

The Presidential contest of 1876 will be one of the most important in our history. On its issue depends the future policy of the Government. The vital question to be answered by the people is, "Shall the party that proved faithless in war be trusted in peace, and those who saved the country be set aside for those who endeavored to destroy it?"

On this question THE REPUBLIC will take its position at the head of the loyal column, and will do its best to keep the old flag flying until the voice of the people shall announce that Republicanism—the synonym of justice and liberty—has again triumphed over the enemies of good government.

THE REPUBLIC calls upon its friends to aid it in the great work of the present and future. It desires each subscriber to send in at least one additional name to help swell its ranks, and thus add to its power and activity. Is it asking too much—in consideration of the valuable material furnished the cause—to ask that our friends everywhere exert themselves to secure for THE REPUBLIC as many new subscribers as possible?

To the Republican press of the country the magazine sends greeting and cheer. The signs of the times indicate a glorious victory in November. Let no effort be relaxed to make it complete and effective. Insist upon thorough organization, a personal canvass of all doubtful or close districts, the distribution of well-considered documents, and the practice of that vigilance which alone can secure success. If our brethren of the press will but do their duty as faithfully as in the past, victory will be certain.

For their generous confidence and warm support the publishers of THE REPUBLIC return thanks, and hope in the future, as in the past, to deserve by well-doing the good-will so often expressed.

TERMS:

THE REPUBLIC is a magazine of sixty-four pages, published monthly, at \$2 a year, or six copies for \$10. The postage, in all cases, will be paid by the publishers. A few copies of the back volumes may yet be obtained, either bound or in numbers. Remittances should be made by postal money-order or registered letter.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER, 1876.

No. 4.

HOW HARD TIMES ARE MADE HARDER BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The circumstance upon which the Democratic party base their chief hope of success in the present political campaign is unquestionably the hardness of the times. Their expectation is that tens of thousands of Republican voters will desert their party, or at least remain at home on election day, because they find themselves in straitened circumstances. Even the ravages of the grasshopper and the damage to crops by drought in one locality or excessive moisture in another are expected to be traced by some mysterious process to the maladministration, "corruption," or extravagance of the Republican party. It is to the last named fault that Mr. Tilden, in his letter of acceptance, traces the present depressed condition of trade and industry, and it is chiefly by economy in the national expenditures that he proposes to restore the country to a condition of prosperity. Now we believe it to be true that public expenditures are as a whole larger than they ought to be, but it is chiefly in municipal expenditures that this excess exists. In some cases State expenditures may be somewhat extravagant, but those of the National Government have been such as to leave but a slight margin for reduction, and the reductions actually made in the appropriations during the last session of Congress have been chiefly effected by a sacrifice of the public interests, which will suffer incomparably more from this cause than they ever suffered through any slight excess of expenditures which may previously have ex-

isted. The present assessed value of real and personal property in the United States is estimated to be upwards of \$20,000,000,000, and the true value to be about \$43,000,000,000. Taking the assessed value, however, as the basis of calculation, the expenditures of the National Government for the last fiscal year amounted to a tax of less than one and three-tenths per cent. If from the total expenditures (about \$258,000,000) we deduct interest on the public debt (about \$100,000,000) and pensions, (about \$28,000,000,) the expenditures for other purposes will be found equivalent to a tax of only sixty-four hundredths of one per cent., and by deducting other items which, like the two just mentioned, are clearly traceable to the late Democratic rebellion, we should find that the actual expenditures of the Government for current services amount to less than one half of one per cent. on the assessed value of the taxable property of the country. The contrast between these figures and those which are exhibited in the financial reports of the Democratic city of New York is positively startling. We are unable to give the figures for the latest year, but those for 1870—a time when Mr. Tilden was cheek by jowl with Tweed and other ring thieves of that city—show expenditures amounting to no less than four and two-thirds per cent on the total assessed value of the real and personal property subject to taxation. Happily, however, this state of things is quite exceptional; for though our large cities are not, as

a rule, any too well governed, whether under Republican or Democratic rule, New York is the only city which can boast a robber like Tweed, or a reformer like Tilden, whose conversion to virtue and honesty occurred just at the moment to enable him to join in the cry of "Stop thief" when the pursuit of the plunderers began.

The truth is that national taxes are reasonably low and State taxes are not as a general rule extravagant. Particular communities, like the people of New York city, may groan under excessive burdens, but the people at large have no great cause to complain on the score of excessive taxes, and no one knows better than Mr. Tilden the absurdity of attributing to this cause a state of financial distress which had no existence eight or ten years ago, when the taxes collected by the General Government were about twice their present sum and the population and wealth of the country much smaller than they are at present.

The fact is, as Governor Tilden very well knows, if he possesses the intelligence to fit him for the high position to which he aspires, that periods of commercial and industrial distress like that through which we are now passing are due to causes of an exceedingly complex nature, the analysis of which has called forth the best efforts of the ablest statesmen and economists of the age. The financial crises in which such periods originate appear to have little, if any, connection with the political administration of the various countries in which they periodically occur. The last great crisis in our own country previous to that of 1873, from whose

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the immense development of the credit system which has grown out of the necessity of concentrating the small loans and investments of the many into the hands of a comparatively small number, to be employed in erecting and operating the great establishments in which modern industry is so largely carried on, or in the execution of the various gigantic enterprises for which the present century has been so signally distinguished.

The process by which a period of general industrial stagnation is reached is well described in the following extract from a very able article on the "Wage-fund Theory," by General Francis A. Walker, which appeared in the *North American Review* for January, 1875. After briefly sketching the industrial conditions which prevail in a primitive state of society, General Walker says:

"If now we take a long step and reach a condition of industrial civilization, we find great numbers producing that which they do not themselves desire to consume, but which they look to others to take off their hands. If we examine the catalogue of articles thus produced we shall find some of them supplying wants the most imperative, others ministering to the lightest fancies; and between these extremes a host of products meeting desires of varying intensity. Suppose now this intricate organization of the producing body to have been carried to its limits by a long-continued period of general prosperity inducing the greatest diversity of production, when a disaster, industrial or financial in its origin, occurs in the community. Is it not evident that those who are producing the most dispensable articles will find consumption greatly checked, if not destroyed? They cannot at once find a new place in the industrial order. They are trained to one thing only: their tools are adapted to that alone. Even though they enjoyed perfect mobility industrially, it would require a long time to reappportion the supply of labor among a diminished number of industries. Hence they suffer, and in their distress have to forego the use of things more necessary to life than those which they had themselves been producing, and this in turn affects the consumption of these articles, and thus distresses new classes of producers, and so the mischief proceeds. Now, were men all perfectly intelligent and self-possessed, the effect would be a constantly diminishing one, as the original loss should be distributed over an ever-widening circle of production. But as men are, panic enters almost at the first; apprehension runs ahead of the evil; consumption is checked

far more rapidly than is necessary; and every blow which production thus encounters is transmitted with effect heightened by the growing alarm.

"All this would be true if the industrial community were wholly composed of direct producers. But the introduction of "middlemen," merchants, master-manufacturers, and bankers serves prodigiously to heighten the effect. The merchant, perceiving the actual falling off in demand, exaggerates it in his orders to the manufacturer. The latter, judging of the demand only through the merchant's orders, and alarmed by what they show, inevitably in his turn exaggerates the evil and reduces his production more than proportionally. The banker, in his turn, fearing for the safety of the merchant and manufacturer in these critical conditions, and resolved not to be himself the victim, curtails his loans and deprives both of the means essential to the conduct of their already embarrassed business. Such, rudely sketched, are the possibilities of disaster, which lie in the separation of production from consumption, through the division of labor in industrial society."

The industrial conditions of the present day are, in truth, comparatively new to the experience of mankind; and the laws which govern banking, the incorporation of business associations, and generally the business relations of the members of the body politic, are as yet but imperfectly adapted to the wants of the age. This lack of adaptation is due, not to willful maladministration or to willfully bad legislation, but to the occult nature of the problems to be dealt with and the want of an adequate acquaintance with the laws upon which the solution of these problems depends.

It may be said, however, with the most perfect truth and fairness that ignorance of these laws has rarely if ever been more conspicuously manifest in any modern legislative body than it was in the Democratic branch of the Forty-fourth Congress during the session which has just closed; and rarely has such ignorance been conjoined with a stubbornness more thoroughly mulish than that which characterized the action of some of the Democratic leaders of that body. If the science of political economy is not yet sufficiently advanced to afford the means of preventing financial crises, there are at least certain obvious ways in which their effects may be alleviated; and, as all the natural

conditions requisite to public prosperity seemed to be present when the Forty-fourth Congress convened, that body might reasonably have been expected to devote its first and most earnest attention to the task of devising some means for the relief of the prevailing distress. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that this was the very purpose for which that body was elected, thousands of the less intelligent class of voters having entertained a vague notion that a change of political parties would in some mysterious manner bring about a changed condition of affairs throughout the country. Those who entertained such an idea must have discovered by this time how fallacious were their expectations. And yet, as we have already intimated, there was work which might have been done had the House possessed the intelligence and the patriotism to undertake it.

We have mentioned the large development of the credit system in modern society as one of the causes of financial crises. It is one of the peculiarities of the present era that its manufacturing industries are carried on mainly in large establishments; that consequently small amounts of capital cannot, as a rule, be turned to advantageous account by their possessors in any business of their own, but, to become profitable, must be lent to others; and that, as a matter of fact, vast sums in the aggregate are so lent and, in combination, are used in carrying on the great industries of the world.

Now, under a system of industry which depends so largely on tens of thousands of small loans indirectly made through the agency of banks, it is of the utmost importance, nay, it is absolutely vital, to the prosperity of such industry that a feeling of confidence in the safety of this sort of loans shall be diffused throughout the country. Such a feeling of confidence did prevail to a very considerable extent prior to the crisis of 1873; but that event developed the fact that many of the banks which had received these small loans in the form of deposits were unsound; that the managers of these institutions, moved by inordinate greed of gain, had taken the money of depositors and instead of lending it on approved security, as they easily might have done, had invested

it in speculative enterprises. A signal example of such mismanagement is seen in the case of Jay Cooke & Co., who had invested millions of dollars belonging to their depositors in the futile attempt to build a great railroad through the midst of a wilderness. And when such firms failed it was found that depositors were practically without remedy.

Such experience naturally shook the confidence of the people in banking institutions generally, and, by preventing deposits, dried up tens of thousands of small streams of capital which previously had helped to keep the wheels of industry in motion.

Now, one of the greatest of practical problems which a national legislature could have set itself to solve would have been that of restoring these small streams of capital to their usual channels by infusing confidence among the people; and the way to do this was to furnish a solid foundation for such confidence by such an improvement in our banking system as would give to the money of depositors the highest attainable security. The problem is, indeed, a difficult one, but its solution is by no means impossible; and in view of the great value such a measure would have in restoring the country to its normal prosperity it might well have claimed the first place in the deliberations of Congress. Instead of that, we have witnessed a most humiliating spectacle. At a time when wise statesmanship was peculiarly needed we have seen a whole session of Congress—the longest for many years past—almost exclusively devoted to making party capital by the most pitiful arts of the demagogue, while of that statesmanship which by wise measures, undertaken with a single eye to the public good, might, without seeking it, have made party capital enough to last for a generation, we have not had a solitary glimpse.

Even the economy upon which the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives have rested their principal claim to public favor has been mainly of that brilliant description which consists in "saving at the spigot and losing at the bung." Internal revenue districts have been consolidated and the force of collectors and assessors cut down at the risk of losses in collection which will

exceed the few paltry thousands saved in sum of official salaries. Thus the peo-

ple who purchase the products subject to taxation will have to pay taxes which for lack of an adequate force of revenue officers to protect the interests of the Government will go into the pockets of dishonest manufacturers instead of the National Treasury. Navy-yards in which the Government has invested from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 would have been left, had the House had its own way, without a dollar for their care and protection. In a thousand details, so small that they will never reach the public eye, the pseudo economy adopted by the House with a single eye to political effect will bear a crop of waste and loss. Thus, in one of the public offices, we recently saw a quantity of valuable reports which had been received from a foreign Government. They consisted chiefly of heavy quarto volumes in paper covers. A requisition had been made for the binding of them, but the reply came that owing to the scantness of the appropriation for such work it would have to be indefinitely deferred. The expense of binding is not *saved* but merely postponed, and the postponement is at the probable cost of serious damage to the books, which must be used in their present form. There is an old saying that for want of a nail the shoe was lost, and for want of a shoe the horse was disabled. The Democratic economists of the House of Representatives have not hesitated in any case to save the nail at the expense of the horse whenever the loss of the latter could be postponed or concealed until after the November election.

One of the most signal examples of this is seen in the postponement of necessary public works, which, owing to the dullness of the times and the consequent cheapness of labor and materials, might have been executed now at about one-third less cost than they would involve at a time when business is good. The postponing of such works is certainly not the kind of economy which is practiced by sagacious private capitalists. Any one who keeps his eyes open as he walks the streets of our capital city, for example, cannot fail to be struck by the large number of buildings in course of erection and we believe that the same state of thing exists in most other cities and rising towns throughout the country. Is this because

any unusual demand for houses or stores? This question, substantially, was asked a few weeks ago of a gentleman who is engaged in erecting a fine, substantial block of dwellings. His answer was a decided negative. "Why, then, are you building so extensively?" he was asked. "Because I can build so cheaply," was the reply; "and the houses are sure to be wanted by and by."

Now, here is a capitalist who is erecting buildings on the faith of a *prospective* demand for them; and were there not many others like him the condition of the working classes throughout the country would be much worse than it is. In contrast with the foresight and enterprise of such men how wretchedly stupid and imbecile appears the policy which men of the Randall type are impressing upon the National Government! The nation has no need to erect public buildings with a view to a *prospective* necessity for them. The necessity exists already, and, in Washington particularly its existence, on a large scale, is *demonstrated* by the rents the Government is paying for private buildings to accommodate public offices for which there is not room in the Departments to which they belong. In these buildings large amounts of property and public records of the utmost importance are exposed to constant risk of fire, while furniture is subject to breakage, and the public business to interruption and derangement by frequent removals, three of which are commonly said to be as bad as fire itself.

Now, why is it that the buildings necessary for the permanent accommodation of these outlying offices cannot be erected at once? And why is it that we cannot at once erect such buildings as the public service needs in various other cities throughout the country? • Why is it that we cannot now continue work on the double-turreted iron-clads whose construction, being deemed necessary to enable us to hold our own, even in a contest with an effete and third-rate power like Spain, was commenced two or three years ago? Why is it that we cannot provide for the necessary repairs to ships of our existing navy, or even for the ordinary care needed to preserve them from decay? Why can we not now, as well as any other time, construct

the fortifications which competent military men deem necessary to the safety of our scattered garrisons, and to the efficiency of our operations against the hostile savages, who have come to understand so well our paltry economies that even our forty odd millions of population no longer have any terrors for them? Why need we postpone such improvements as are really needed in important rivers and harbors, and thus, by subjecting commerce to unnecessary disabilities, add to the cost of imported articles and diminish the price which the producer receives for articles destined for exportation? Are we postponing the work until there is a revival of business? But with a revival of business will come an increased demand for labor and a consequent rise in wages and in commodities. Why, then, should we forego the saving which might be effected by executing these works now? Is it because the people are at present too poor to bear additional taxation? But additional taxation is unnecessary. The credit of the Government is so good that it can now borrow money at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum; and, as regards public buildings, at least, it may safely be said that the rents saved by their erection would much more than pay the interest on the sum required to erect them; while the saving in cost which would be effected by executing these and the various other works above named at the present time, instead of postponing them until after the revival of business, would alone be sufficient to make it immensely profitable to borrow every dollar needed for the purpose. There has been no question of borrowing, however, or of adding a dollar to existing taxation. All that has been proposed on the part of the executive department of the Government has been work for the execution of which the existing revenues would probably yield all the money that would be needed. There seems, therefore, to be but one reason why this work must be postponed, and that is the necessity under which the Democratic party finds itself of doing some startling thing by way of demonstrating that it is the party of economy. And the plan it has selected is that of postponing the expenditure of a certain number of millions now with the pro-

spect of having to spend those same millions, with half as many more added, after the revival of business shall have increased the rates of wages and the prices of materials.

Not merely is this wasteful policy unwarranted by the present depression in business; not only does it utterly fail to afford the slightest relief from the pressure of hard times, but, on the contrary, it aggravates existing distress and withholds from thousands of the working classes a relief which would have been as welcome to them as the giving of it would have been profitable to the Government. The total reduction in the appropriation bills of this year, as compared with those for the fiscal year 1875-6, is shown by a careful analysis to be about \$20,000,000, of which about three-fourths consist of postponed appropriations.

These postponed appropriations, for the most part, represent postponed work, and the postponement of work implies the throwing of workmen out of employment, or the failure to employ those to whom employment might have been furnished. Hence it is not merely at a loss to the Government, but at a still graver loss to the working classes, and through them to the trade of the country, that necessary public works have been postponed. The good which might have been done by the judicious employment of the \$15,000,000 unnecessarily and wastefully withheld cannot easily be calculated. At a moderate estimate the expenditure of this sum would have given steady employment for a year to more than twenty thousand mechanics and laborers. These workmen would thus have had the means of purchasing many comforts which they will now be obliged to forego, and their custom would have given employment to other workmen in producing the articles which they would have been enabled to consume. The employment of this second body of workmen would in turn have increased *their* power as consumers, and thus would have furnished employment for a third body, and so on indefinitely. It is therefore difficult to estimate the aggregate number of persons who could have been furnished with employment by the adoption of a wisely liberal policy in reference to the prosecution of public works;

and this, too, as we have already shown, not merely without loss, but at a great profit to the Government itself, and without imposing any additional burdens upon the people, whose taxes this economical House of Representatives has not reduced by a single penny.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

We have shown that the Democratic outcry against the extravagance of the Federal Government under Republican administration is unfounded.

The *total* expenditures for the last fiscal year amounted to only one and three-tenths per cent. on the present assessed value of our property, and to not more than six-tenths of one per cent. on its estimated true value.

Deducting interest on the public debt, pensions, and other expenses due to the late Democratic rebellion, from the total expenditures, the expenditures for all other objects amount to less than half of one per cent. on the assessed, and less than one-fourth of one per cent. on the true value of our taxable property.

The expenditures of the Democratic city of New York in 1870, when Tilden and Tweed were still on terms of intimacy, amounted to $4\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. on the assessed value of property in that city.

The assertion that the present depression in business is due to official extravagance is contradicted by the fact that business was comparatively good when the expenditures of the Government were about twice their present amount. It is also at variance with the views of the ablest political economists, who attribute financial crises, and the business prostration which follows them, to the causes already pointed out.

If the assertion were sincerely made it would indicate such ignorance on the part of those who make it as to preclude all hope of their discovering and removing the causes of our financial troubles.

The incompetency of the Democratic party to discover and remove these causes has in fact been abundantly demonstrated by the course of its representatives in Congress during the last session.

Their sole remedy for hard times has been

to cut down the appropriations by which they have—

First. Crippled the Government and exposed it to loss through an imperfect collection of the revenues.

Second. Postponed needed public works, upon which millions of dollars might have been saved by executing them while labor and materials can be had at their present low rates.

Third. Added tens of thousands, directly and indirectly, to the great army of the unemployed, who in some of our cities are already muttering "bread or blood," and withheld from as many more employment which, under an enlightened policy, might have

been furnished with equal advantage to them, to the Government, and to the people at large.

In all of this there has not appeared a spark of patriotic purpose. It is true that much of the mischief done may be attributed to ignorance and stupidity; but the motives of the House were as bad as its intelligence was defective; and if its legislation has been worse than party spirit and unmitigated demagogism need have made it, it is only because the leading Democratic members lacked the wit to see how far they might take care of the public interests without compromising the interests of their party.

THE SITUATION.

That the condition of the country is a critical one even the most cursory observer will admit. The issues of the hour are those of 1860 resurrected under a new name, and thousands more sprung into life during the last sixteen years. And these issues are of such vital importance, appeal so strongly to the *patriotism* of the whole country, not to mere *political bias*, that no man or woman who has the life and welfare of that country at heart can look upon them with the indifference with which many regard the ordinary struggles of one party to dethrone the other every four years. The issues of 1860 are entering largely into the present conflict. They were defeated then by the bullet—they must be overcome now by the ballot. When the rebels laid down their arms in 1865 the loyal people threw away theirs and sprang forward with hands extended to give the clasp of reconciliation and brotherly love. But how were they met? Was the response equally frank and sincere? No! Like whipped schoolboys the Southerners put their hands behind their backs and refused the offered pledge. Still, the North was patient and hopeful. They trusted that when time had healed the wounds and softened the bitterness the South would see what was for their own good and accept the situation. They (the North) were like travelers in a new country met by a terrific storm. After weathering it—after seeing the clouds break

away, the flashes of lightning becoming less and less frequent, the thunder fainter and fainter, and finally the sun shine forth in mid-sky, they fondly hoped all danger past. Because the sun was not obscured they said the elemental strife was over. And when those who were "native here and to the manner born," the loyal people of the South, uttered their words of warning they met a like fate with Cassandra. When they pointed to the low, black shadows lying along the horizon, and the deep red flashes of lightning that occasionally dyed them, and called attention to the distant muttering of the thunder, and cried the storm was but retiring to gather new force—was but gliding around upon the wind and would once more mount to the zenith, and that at no late day, they were laughed at for their fears. But now, after sixteen years, these warnings are proved to have been timely ones; and at the first Presidential election in which all the "reconstructed" Southern States take part the work is all to be done over again if we would not see the country struck down like some monarch of the forest beneath the revived power of the storm. Now, as then, the Southerners are clinging to the false doctrine of State's Rights, only in a new dress. The cry is again that they want "self-government" and "to be let alone." That is all just as it was in 1860—and a very modest request, their apologists told

us. But let us see how the idea is to be carried out in 1876; its working in 1860-5 are patent to all the world. If we had let them alone eight years ago each State would have had slavery re-established under another name, and the negro, as helpless and degraded as before the war, would to-day have cried as loudly for succor as he did then. But we did not let them alone, and the full rebel element not then having a representation in Congress laws of universal suffrage were passed, which put a weapon of self-protection into the black man's hands. Now they want "to be let alone," that by murder and intimidation they may drive that black man and his friends, the Southern Republicans, from the polls, and so obtain that "self-government" of rebels, by rebels, and for rebels for which their souls sigh. And this enfranchised negro is one of the issues which has sprung into life since 1860. The Republican party is responsible for him and to him, and can no more, in honor and honesty, throw him over than they can ignore the national debt.

The geni has escaped from the bottle, which was his prison, and will not redissolve into a mist and return to it to be again corked up and put out of the way. But the geni of the Arabian Nights rewarded, if memory serves, his liberator by valuable presents, and so will the negro, if properly cared for and protected until he can fully protect himself, reward his liberators by helping them to preserve the gift of liberty to the whole country. That the issues of 1860 are revived it is only necessary to read the accounts which reach us constantly from one or other of the reconstructed States that are clamoring for "self-government." Only the other day Wade Hampton, one of the fiercest and most uncompromising rebels—one whose slogan during the war was, "*We have no time to take prisoners,*" and accordingly whose hands are deeper dyed with Northern blood than almost any other of their leaders—Wade Hampton is unanimously nominated for Governor of South Carolina. Why? Because with a wise prudence he tries to induce the people to forget the past, so far as to bear no malice, but to unite with the other States to meet the North half way in its offers of peace?

Because he endeavors to soothe the passions and curb the fierce spirits of those who look upon him as a leader? By no means! But for the very reverse. Because he never loses an opportunity of exciting those very passions, of lashing those fierce spirits into greater fury, of bringing the lost cause forward on all occasions, and waving the palmetto flag before them whenever opportunity offers; because he sneers at the negro and insults him, and vows he shall have no rights now any more than he had in the past, if he can prevent it. For such qualities, and such only, is Wade Hampton *unanimously* nominated by the rebel Democracy of South Carolina to be their Governor. At this Tilden and Hendricks meeting, after the nomination of Wade Hampton, several ex-generals and colonels of the rebel army spoke. Mr. (General?) Sam Ferguson told them how, with a Republican majority of five thousand in Mississippi, the election of the rebel officials was carried by a Democratic majority of eleven hundred. There was no intimidation or violence, according to this gentleman—"but we told the Radical leaders that if one drop of blood was shed not one of them should leave the State alive"—and so "all went merry as a marriage bell." Mr. (General?) Gary advised the people not to hurt the poor, ignorant negro, but to hang the white Republican leaders first, the mulattoes second, and then the black ones, and he believed the American Congress would pass them a vote of thanks! Butler, of Hamburg, explained his little game to them in plain language. And all this was done in a grand ratification meeting in the Columbia State-house yard, not by a few reckless, insignificant men, but by the leaders of the Democracy in the "prostrate State" of South Carolina. And yet there are men like Mr. Lamar who claim for the South full renunciation of the principles leading to the war, and acceptance of those developed by it, and expect the country to believe them! He (Lamar) supposes the world will close its ears to the cries which come up from the victims of these men who are leagued together to carry their murderous policy out at all hazards, and force each State under rebel rule by bloodshed, if no other means will attain their end,

and listen only to the rounded periods in which he dresses his falsehoods as he stands upon the floor of the nation's Congress, under the folds of the very flag he used every effort to destroy, and now insults by his very presence! But if the evil of negro suffrage was a necessity forced upon the Republican party, that of rebel enfranchisement was as grievous a mistake. To that mistaken policy of kindness the evils of the present day are all owing. Had the right to vote been withheld from every man who bore arms in, or aided and abetted the rebellion in any way, the Democratic party would have died a natural death, and from its ashes a better and a wiser one would have arisen. But the evil once done, the object of all loyal men must be to prevent its full effects from destroying the country by defeating them next November in the Presidential contest. The people must not be led astray by the catch words "reform and retrenchment" with which the friends of the rebels are trying to beguile them. They must look back upon the record of the Republicans for the last sixteen years with calm, dispassionate judgment, and giving all due heed to the errors of that party, forget not the good work it has done. When the Democratic rebellion broke upon the country the Republican party sprang, like Minerva from the head of Jove full armed, at once to life and the fulness of power. For four years it guided the ship of State through the sea of blood and brought her safe to anchor at a peaceful port. If it made mistakes it hastened to correct them. That the people indorsed its actions the elections of '64, '68, and '72 have proved. Is it reserved for the Centennial year of our national life to see all that indorsement canceled, all the work of the sixteen years undone, and the country a prey to the very men whose efforts, had they succeeded, would have rendered it in this year of 1876 a by-word and a mockery for the nations?

Another issue of the war which the Republican party is bound to the country to guard is the national debt. Power once put into the hands of the rebels and their Democratic confederates, and that debt will be repudiated and the liabilities of the South met instead. The many rebel personal claims with which they have clogged the wheels of the last session

of Congress would be a mere bagatelle compared to the millions that would be put into the pockets of the rebels under that head, and the nation would be bankrupt in a year. That the country was not wrecked through the machinations of the party which now asks the people to restore it to power is due to the Republican party; that that party made mistakes no one will deny, (and there was no greater mistake than giving the rebels the right to vote;) that wicked and dishonest men cloaked themselves under its name in order to further their own designs no one will deny; neither will they deny that they were ejected from their places as soon as their villainy was discovered, and promptly punished for their crimes by that very party. "To err is human," and the Republican party is composed of men not supernatural beings, consequently as men, they are as apt as any others to err, particularly when they give up the beacon-lights of that party's principles, and while still calling themselves by its name go aside after personal aggrandisement. But the principles of the party will last as long as the world will last, because they are founded upon the rock of right and justice, and even should the people be led astray by the *ignis fatuus* of Democratic promises to desert those principles, they will hasten at the first opportunity to retrieve their mistake and resume their allegiance to them. Democracy has been galvanized into life by the misplaced clemency of over-sanguine Republicans, but there is no soul in it and it cannot thrive.

"Truth crushed to the earth will rise again,
 • The eternal years of God are hers;
 But error, wounded, writhes in pain,
 And dies amid her worshippers."

A MERE "reduction" of the appropriations of the Government service does not always mean a "saving." While the appropriation bills of this year, as passed by the House of Representatives, are in the aggregate \$29,594,187.38 less than for the same branches of the service last year, the actual "saving" to the Treasury, as is conclusively shown by Senator Windom in his speech in the United States Senate August 12th, is *not one-fifth of that sum*. Senator Windom's figures are official, and they are conclusive on that point.

WHERE THE CREDIT BELONGS.

One of the many weak inventions of the enemy in the present political contest is the statement that Governor Tilden has reduced taxation in the State of New York to the extent of eight millions of dollars, and is therefore entitled to the reputation of being a great political reformer, and to the management of the affairs of the National Government. The claim that he is a great reformer is not true in point of fact, and even if it were true it does not follow that he is entitled to the Presidency in preference to Governor Hayes, whose character, record, and views will bear the closest scrutiny without detracting in the least from his fair fame. A reduction of about seven and a half millions of dollars in the State taxes of New York has been made, if we go back to 1874 for a comparison. The reduction from 1875 is considerably smaller. But we shall presently see by whom these reductions were made, and that Governor Tilden is not entitled to the credit. Several weeks ago he issued a campaign document in the shape of a veto, in which he instituted a false and misleading comparison between the State taxes of 1876 and those of 1874, the last year of Governor Dix's administration. Whether intentionally or not, in this manifesto he confuses expenditures with taxes. Out of \$7,459,286, the computed reduction of taxes, he claims \$6,323,417, as the result of "real economies" in expenditures, and craftily insinuates that the whole \$6,323,417 of these so-called savings were effected through his agency and influence. How preposterous this claim is, upon which his reputation as a great reformer is principally based, will appear as we proceed. In fact, the falsity of his pretenses in this respect has been exposed time and again, but by systematic and judicious advertising his bulletins grew and his fictitious fame spread abroad like his own ambition. We even find that in the Senate of the United States a Democratic Senator from Delaware, Mr. Saulsbury, recently declared that there was a cry for reform from all parts of the country, and that his party had presented to the country a man who had reduced the taxes in his own State from \$15,-

000,000 to \$8,000,000. He also said that "the Democrats would hail with joy the day when the Government at Washington would be reformed and purified by the man who had purified the government of New York." A Democratic Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Eaton, in a very partisan speech, said still more recently on the floor of the Senate, that "the taxation of the State of New York before the accession of Mr. Tilden to power was \$16,000,000 annually, and that after his accession to power it was \$8,000,000." He then concluded that "there must be a change here such as there was in New York, where, instead of \$16,000,000 a year, the taxation was reduced to \$8,000,000 a year." His figures and statements, like those of Mr. Saulsbury, were even more exaggerated than those of Mr. Tilden. At the Democratic ratification meeting in Boston Judge Abbott called Governor Tilden, amidst great applause, "a man who has proved by his acts that he is capable in a year and a half of reducing the burden of taxes in the great Empire State of New York nearly one-half." The claims made on Mr. Tilden's behalf can be properly characterized only by the use of very unparliamentary language, or else it must in charity be said that these Senators, this Judge, and their political friends generally, have shown great weakness in taking the Governor at his own word. They are too innocent to suspect or too partisan to admit that Governor Tilden, in order to advance his personal political fortunes, is guilty of claiming for himself a reputation for reform which does not belong to him. Without attempting to reconcile this fact with his character as a candid man, we shall content ourselves with briefly stating the following facts, showing on what an unsubstantial basis rests his reputation as a financial reformer in his own State, upon which he and his supporters greatly rely in advancing his claims for election to the Presidency:

The Legislature of New York, and not the Governor, originates all appropriations and tax bills. The Legislature elected last November, and still existing, consists of 20 Republicans and 12 Democrats in the Senate,

and 72 Republicans and 56 Democrats in the House, and is therefore a Republican Legislature. This Legislature passed this year every one of the tax laws and made all the appropriations. The Governor's vetoes this year were few and insignificant, notwithstanding his great desire to make political capital by the exercise of the veto power. Whatever credit is due for the reduction of taxes this year as compared with those of any former year is therefore due to the Republican Legislature, and not to Governor Tilden. The sum levied in 1874, while General Dix was Governor, for the payment of debts and for the sinking funds, was nearly \$6,000,000, which was made necessary for deficiencies in the sinking funds, several millions of money having been diverted therefrom in consequence of low taxes and profuse expenditures under preceding Democratic administrations. These \$6,000,000 were not for a dollar of expenses, but for extinguishing debt and for the sinking funds. The tax levied for 1876 for the same purposes is nearly \$800,000. The difference of more than \$5,000,000 is due to the extinction of the debt and to the filling up of the sinking funds, and not at all, as Governor Tilden claims, to the reduction of expenses, or what he calls "real economies." This year's taxes are undoubtedly less, but it is not because Governor Tilden has reduced expenses, but because debts have been paid. The provision for the payment of these debts and for the relief of the tax-payers, for which Governor Tilden unjustly wishes to take the credit, is due to the Republican administration of Governor Dix, who restored \$11,000,000 to the sinking funds, from which they had been taken by the Democratic party to help out the State payments. The sinking funds were thus made complete. The whole indebtedness of the State was reduced during Governor Dix's term more than \$8,000,000. The process of extinguishing the bounty debt of \$21,000,000, owing to the large premium upon sinking fund investments made by the Republicans, was in a more advanced condition when Governor Tilden came into office than Governor Dix had anticipated it would be. Last year's tax rate, by being levied on an assessed valuation

much increased over that which was taken as the dividend in computing the rate, produced over a million dollars more than the State required or could lawfully use, and this million is now being used for current appropriations in place of a million dollars which otherwise must have been obtained this year by higher taxes. In 1874 the Legislature and Governor Dix, instead of being favored in this way, were compelled to tax the people for a deficiency in the general fund, which had been created by Democratic management of the State finances. The reduction of taxation, which is due to Governor Dix's interference on behalf of the sinking funds, and to the paying off of debts, is now claimed by Governor Tilden and his supporters to be due to greater economy of administration. In his false and misleading comparison in the message referred to Governor Tilden attempts to rob a Republican of the reputation which is justly due to him, in order to bolster up his own and convey the impression to the people that he has reduced the expenses of the State government by \$6,000,000, and is therefore a great reformer and peculiarly qualified as a Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States. The reduction of taxes to the extent of \$6,000,000, which Governor Tilden claims is due to his efforts, has been exaggerated by Democratic Senators and newspapers to \$8,000,000. The false pretenses which Governor Tilden put forth in order to promote his nomination and election to the Presidency prove conclusively, if they prove anything, that he is one of the most stupendous of those shams which he says "the public mind will no longer accept."

OVER fifty million dollars of the annual public expenditures of the Government, for pensions, &c., are the direct result of the Democratic rebellion. This sum is annually taken from the pockets of the people. That same Democracy now wants to control the Government, in order to vote payment for rebel claims.

PROTECTION against undue foreign industrial competition is as clearly one of the first laws of civilized nations as self-preservation is a law of nature itself.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS—WHY THE REPEAL OF THE LAW WAS WANTED.

The movement of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives for the repeal of the election laws in relation to the registration of voters and the appointment of supervisors of elections was, like much of their legislation, purely a partisan measure. Its political object was to open the door to the old system of frauds that prevailed in elections throughout the Nation, and particularly in the State of New York in 1868, and thus to secure a "solid South" for the Democracy in the pending Presidential contest without any interference on the part of the General Government. It is well known that the grossest frauds prevailed in the elections held in the State of New York in 1868, especially in the city of New York, where Tweed and Tilden, backed by the Tammany Democracy, exercised a powerful influence. Subsequent investigations have shown that these frauds were sanctioned and indorsed by the prominent Democrats of that State, one of whom is now the Presidential candidate of the Democratic party, and who was at that time chairman of the Democratic State Committee. In his capacity of chairman of said committee, Samuel J. Tilden issued a private and strictly confidential circular addressed to his partisan friends throughout the State, in which he urged them "at once to communicate with some reliable person in three or four principal towns, and in each city of the county," requesting him ("expenses duly arranged for at this end") to telegraph to Wm. M. Tweed, Tammany Hall, at the minute of closing the polls, not waiting for the count, such person's estimate of the vote." Specific directions were then given as to the form of the telegram. He then added, and the language is especially significant: "There is, of course, an important object to be attained by a simultaneous transmission at the hour of closing the polls, but not longer waiting." This language is certainly explicit. Waiting longer than the hour of closing the polls would defeat the important object to be attained by a simultaneous transmission. Further directions were given with the view of obtaining a

simultaneous transmission at the hour of closing the polls. The estimates were to be telegraphed to Tweed at the minute of closing the polls, without waiting for the count. And this private and strictly confidential circular, by which an important object to the Democracy was to be obtained by a simultaneous transmission at the hour of closing the polls, and lost by waiting longer, was signed by Samuel J. Tilden, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

In 1869, when the full extent of the election frauds committed by the Democracy in 1868 became fully known, Horace Greeley, who only four years ago was the candidate of the same party for President of the United States, addressed an open letter in the *New York Tribune* of October 20 to Samuel J. Tilden, the present candidate of the same party, in which he accused him of wholesale ballot-box stuffing, and went on to say: "On the principle that the receiver is as bad as the thief, you are as deeply implicated in this matter to-day as though your name were Tweed, O'Brien, or Oakey Hall." Coming from the Democratic candidate in 1872, this declaration ought to have some weight in determining the character of the Democratic candidate in 1875. As Mr. Greeley said, "the manifest intent of this circular was to 'make assurance doubly sure' that the frauds here (in New York city) perpetrated should not be overborne by the honest vote of the rural districts." Mr. Greeley pointed out some of the glaring frauds in the lower wards of the city, and then added: "Mr. Tilden, you know what this contrast attests. Right well do you comprehend the means whereby the vote of 1868 was thus swelled out of all proportions."

The head and front of this gigantic swindle, by which over fifty thousand fraudulent votes were cast and counted in New York city, was William M. Tweed, and in this corrupt scheme he had the influence and aid of Samuel J. Tilden, the chairman of the Democratic State committee. In 1868, at the height of his corrupt power, Tweed could

command all the votes required to balance the honest vote of the State. His plan, as Tilden's strictly confidential circular shows, was to get the news in advance from the State, in order to determine, as nearly as possible, how large a vote was needed from the city to counteract the country vote. Thus, by practicing the grossest frauds, the Democrats carried the State of New York in the Presidential election of 1868, and "counted in" Hoffman as Governor.

These irregularities and frauds, so far as they related to the election for representatives to Congress and electors of President and Vice President, were made the subject of a thorough investigation by a Congressional committee, the report of which was submitted to the House on February 23, 1869, by Mr. Lawrence, of Ohio. Investigation revealed a system of Democratic corruption almost beyond belief. In compliance with Mr. Tilden's confidential request over two hundred telegrams were received and paid for by Tammany Hall; and, as the responses came early in the evening, Tweed & Co. were enabled to supply the necessary vote from the city to counterbalance the country vote and thus carry the State for Hoffman. On Tilden's examination as a witness in the Tweed trial the fact

was developed that he had taken \$5,000 from Tweed as a political contribution. It is said that he received \$15,000, but the proof is positive and admitted that he did receive \$5,000. Thus, out of his own mouth, the fact is established that Mr. Tilden was supplied with funds by Mr. Tweed shortly before the confidential circular was agreed upon and issued. It was therefore truly said that expenses were "duly arranged at this end."

And to-day the Democratic chairman of 1868 for the State of New York is the "Reform" candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This is the "honest" man, this is the "reformer" who, in 1868, could have "expenses duly arranged at this end," and for whom the Democrats of the present House of Representatives have thought it necessary to repeal the supervisory election law, in order that unlimited frauds may prevail at the coming elections, and this "honest" man, this Democratic "Reform" candidate for President, be "counted in," as Hoffman, the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York in 1868, was "counted in." This Democratic "reformer" is in urgent need of reform himself, and the party that supports him, knowing his unclean record, is in still more urgent need of reform.

MR. TILDEN'S "PATRIOTISM ABOVE DOLLARS AND CENTS."

The Democratic party is still composed of the men who hug the old delusions, and who are utterly incapable of realizing that the country has outgrown the restraints of its evil policy and repudiated its control. The stronghold of the Democratic party has always been its belief in the ignorance of the masses. And it has entered upon the work of the Presidential campaign by resorting to its stale tricks of bold assertion of downright, absolute falsehood.

Mr. Tilden himself knows that he has not the faintest claim to be considered a reformer. He is one of that very old school of Democrats who have survived to the Centennial year. He never had a thought in advance of the Democratic party. He commenced his political youth in finding out the

party ruts, and he has been all his life running in those ruts, through pools of corruption and chicanery, until he has reached the office of Governor of New York. But it has been said that if before taking the oath of office he had been required to take an oath that he had not been "counted in," he might have hesitated briefly while he asked himself some questions. At all events, as he looks down the tortuous path through which he had traveled, his long and early connection with Tammany, his offensive and unpatriotic conduct during the war for the Union, and his close intimacy with Tweed till he supplanted him, let him say when it was he first yearned for reform, and what he has done for the good of the country.

When Mr. Tilden placed himself in the

hands of the "*claquers*" of the Democratic party as a Presidential aspirant he thought the people would forget his political career. He should know that a Copperhead always puts himself upon record in such a manner that his subsequent deeds must needs be challenged. Mr. Tilden and patriotism were never related; and even Mr. Hewitt's impudent contradiction of Mr. Kasson in the House of Representatives will not serve his purpose. Mr. Tilden never contributed one cent towards the Tammany regiment. The expenses of the regiment were defrayed from the funds of the Union Defense Committee. Mr. Kasson was right, therefore, in the assertion. It was hardly possible for Mr. Kasson to be wrong in saying that Mr. Tilden never said a word, and never performed an act that showed he was in sympathy with the Union cause; while it was notorious that his sympathies were all the other way.

Mr. Hewitt's disdain must have been something magnificent as he piped out in reply to the inquiry how much Mr. Tilden gave to the regiment—"patriotism is above dollars and cents!" When the Democratic party went into the rebellion of the South Mr. Tilden clung to its skirts in the North, and roared out lustily that the war was an outrage. How much money would such a man give to equip soldiers to go to the front? Not much, Mr. Hewitt. Mr. Tilden knows he gave nothing—simply nothing. And the people know that Mr. Tilden deserves nothing at their hands, and will get it.

Mr. Tilden and the Democratic party are behind the age. When steam printing and the telegraph came into use the party began to decay. Slavery was doomed directly the electric wire touched Southern soil. For it was not possible that the doings of the Slave Power could be flashed through the world without awakening a response that must destroy it root and branch. But Mr. Tilden was at the Northern end of the wire and avoided being shocked by crying that it was an outrage to send the grand armies of the Republic to put down the rebellion. And Mr. Tilden's Democratic rebel friends thought that he had sufficient occupation thus to lift up his voice and cry out in their favor. But they did not understand Mr. Tilden—Mr.

Samuel J. Tilden—who had a little business of his own to attend to in Michigan. It will be remembered that the gold and silver of the country disappeared shortly after the war commenced; and the greenback was necessary to carry on the war. Then national banks were established, in the hope of assisting the Government, whose circulation was made safe by the deposit of bonds. Perhaps Mr. Tilden did not like to invest in United States bonds. Perhaps Mr. Tilden thought a bank tax unjust, and he did not like to pay it. But he did this: He said he was "a hard money man;" that the Government had no right to promise to pay and not keep its promise; it was dishonest. "Gold and silver for me," said Mr. Tilden, "they are the birds that sing all the year round."

No doubt Mr. Tilden heard those birds sing. No doubt he often talked of "the purchasing power of the greenback and the purchasing power of the gold dollar." "Yes, gentlemen, I am a hard money man," said Mr. Tilden. Then Mr. Tilden hied him to North Michigan, where there were iron and copper industries, and many workmen with large families. There he had mills—iron-mills—and money mills, out of which he turned out paper dollars till he flooded North Michigan and was detected, and he ought to have paid the penalty, but he didn't. So Mr. Tilden, the hard money man in New York, was the softest of soft money men in Michigan, and made much money thereby—"A barr'l of money," as they say in Indiana. And Mr. Tilden is a reformer and a Democrat, and wants to be made President of the United States. Yet more: From being a money *maker* in Michigan, the history of Mr. Tilden reveals that he was a money *taker* from the Union Pacific Railroad Company. And between the two he ought to be wealthy, and undoubtedly is. But what honest connection Mr. Tilden could have with the funds of the Union Pacific is a mystery. Mr. Tilden did not tell the story. The books of the railroad told the tale; and this is how the tale is told: Mr. Tilden is connected with the fatal credit mobilier business. A dispatch from this city alleges that the books of the Union Pacific Railroad Company con-

tain the record of the payment in one check of \$25,000 to the Democratic presidential candidate shortly after the credit mobilier transactions, and his receipt also for that amount. It claims, furthermore, for reasons given, that this payment cannot be accounted for as legal fees. Mr. Tilden can possibly explain the matter satisfactorily.

And Mr. Tilden has no right to go back to those days when his patriotism was so great that he called the war an outrage, and plead, as Mr. Hewitt did, that such patriotism was above dollars and cents. Mr. Tilden had \$25,000 of the railroad money in his pocket. Did he earn it? How? Mr. Tilden is not above an answer.

A THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS WANTED.

An act "To facilitate the adjustment and settlement of claims of citizens of the United States for stores and supplies taken or furnished during the rebellion, for the use of the army of the United States, and for other purposes."

This bill, introduced in Congress by Wilshire, of Arkansas, just before the adjournment, has a significance not comprehended by the casual reader or thinker. The purpose, however, is direct, and it is a matter of surprise that any Democratic member of the House at this time could have been persuaded into embodying in a proposition intended to become a law a scope of possibilities so disastrous and ruinous to the country.

The first section of the bill amounts to this, that all citizens having any such claims, including the loss of vessels and cargoes, the emancipation of slaves, injury to property, commercial inconveniences, and every species of damage resulting directly or indirectly from invasion by a victorious army, whether for actual maintenance or for incidental application of personal effects, may substitute suit against the Government in the District Court of the United States for the district where the losses were incurred, and courts are required to hear cases, whatever may be the sum involved.

Another section makes it the duty of the United States District Attorney to represent the Government in each district, and when he is absent, or the functions of his office are suspended, the United States marshal is to serve a valid writ or process, by pasting a copy on the door of the United States courthouse, and this shall be held sufficient to authorize a trial in all cases.

It goes on further to state that "fees are to be paid to attorneys, marshals, and clerks, according to the amount recorded, or to be

recorded by the plaintiff." And then an important item comes in clearly expressed:

"In all cases of final judgment the sum awarded shall be paid out of any general appropriation made by the Government, upon presentation of the judgment to the Secretary of the Treasury, with interest at five per cent. from date of rendition of judgment."

To clear away every obstacle in this contemplated wholesale raid upon the Treasury, it is proposed that "the laws passed to protect the Treasury in 1871, 1872, and 1873, together with the Commission of Claims, are repealed, and all books, records, or papers filed with the Commission of Claims are to be deposited with the Department of Justice, and to be delivered over to the District courts where cases are brought for claims."

This is comprehensive enough for the most skeptical. It is, in fact, the most sweeping of all Southern attempts yet inaugurated for depleting the Treasury of the United States. It is a measure to reward Southern rebels for their fruitless endeavors to destroy the Republic. Through its cunningly worded provisions the Southern traitors are to be fully and amply reimbursed for all damages incident to the war; and every advantage is given the claimant, and the bill is put forth mainly in the interests of Southern autocrats, whose property was lost in the vain effort to establish a slave oligarchy upon the ruins of the Union.

These suits are "to be heard in the districts where the losses are incurred." This is a master stroke of policy. It means the trial shall be in the South; the witnesses from the immediate neighborhood; the judges doubtless slightly biased through ambition to cultivate popularity among their constituents, and the whole proceedings under the

direct influence of similar grievances to be redressed.

Should Samuel J. Tilden, through any means of political trickery, in which he is a consummate master, succeed in his election to the Presidency, it would probably involve the Congressional districts, carrying them for the Democracy, and the State Legislatures going with the same would secure the Senate, when the machinery of the Government would be wholly in their hands. Under such a state of public affairs Mr. Wilshire's bill would speedily become a law, the courts would be largely, if not absolutely, under control of the Administration, and the rush upon the Treasury would begin.

The amount it would take to satisfy this demand can scarcely be realized. Careful and able men, whose positions have given them the knowledge upon which to base a tolerably correct estimate, think the sum would not fall short of *one thousand million dollars*.

Every clause in this bill is intended to make the collection of these claims an easy matter, while not one safeguard is thrown around the Treasury. No question is asked relative to the claimant's loyal status during the rebellion. The Union and Confederate soldiers are forced upon an equal footing, notwithstanding the former gave all—home,

friends, property, yea, life itself—to save the country, while the latter sustained their losses in the mad effort to destroy it. Under this bill of the astute Mr. Wilshire the contrast is amply sufficient in that while there is no adequate redress for Union soldiers in their great sacrifices the rebels are to be paid even to the uttermost farthing.

The claims from Southern sources already before the Commissioners amounts to something over one hundred million dollars. These claims for damages, in most part fraudulent, have been refused under Republican rule; but let this bill become a law, and the one hundred millions will not only quickly be paid, but swelled in proportions to a thousand millions—nearly, if not quite, half the present national debt.

Are the American people prepared for a crisis of this character? Are the old veteran heroes of the war to be satisfied with this misapplication of their services? Are they willing to step out from beneath the banner of victory, and placing themselves side by side with those whom they conquered, say, we ask nothing, not even considerate remembrance, for our sufferings in preserving the Union, and are willing you should be paid dollar for dollar for every wrong or injury we may have inflicted in thus sustaining the integrity and unity of the Republic?

ENFORCEMENT OF THE ELECTION LAWS.

Mr. Scott Lord, of New York, is a Democrat, but is said to be a Christian. As a believer in Divine truth the golden rule had a home in his heart; and the profligate injustice of his party in the South, by denying the rights of citizenship to the colored people, could no more secure his approval than the solemn work of the statesman could be appreciated by a man of the calibre of Mr. Cox, the servant of Tammany Hall, who believes that the chief object in life is to be a buffoon, and to play antics in the face of Heaven when the angels weep to hear his jokes on the horrors of Andersonville and the murders at Hamburg, in South Carolina. Mr. Lord believed the reports of the massacres of voters at the South to prevent their voting

the Republican ticket. He believed that there were Ku-Klux ruffians and White League assassins whose work was in the interest of the Democratic party. And he arose above the trammels of his party and introduced his preamble and resolution in good faith, that the voice of the South might be heard in the election next November, and the polls be kept open for the deposit of ballots.

The Democratic party is furious at the passage of the resolution. Southern Democrats had arranged that the vote of the South should be solid for their party; and every one knows what that means. So vile a conspiracy against the rights of the citizen is worthy of the dark ages. And as the reports of murders and other political crimes in the

South reached European countries, when the people were filled with indignation against the Turkish massacres of unoffending Christians, it is not to be wondered at that a comparison was drawn between the events at Hamburg, South Carolina, and Limestone, Texas, and the events on the Turkish battlefields. The London *Times* could see no difference between the political assassinations by Democrats in the South and the barbarities of the Bashi Bazouks in the Servian villages; and the American people suffer in reputation abroad, as well as materially and morally at home.

The determination of the President to preserve order in the South during the coming campaign is welcomed by all good citizens; and the orders issued, and to be issued to that end, will undoubtedly be carried out. The use of the army in States lately in rebellion where the habit of disloyalty prevails among the Democratic white citizens, the surviving rebels, is eminently constitutional. If the war had just closed, and these gentlemen, uncertain of the fate which awaited them, had taken the same pains to show their hands as they have done since, it is possible that even the generosity of the Republican party might have considered what was due to the rebel chiefs taken with arms in their hands and bitterness in their hearts before deciding upon the gentle terms of amnesty. And the result might have been different. Treason made odious and dangerous to the necks of the guilty would have had no disposition to erect monuments to the memory of men executed at the stern demand of justice. And the elevation of a few of the most guilty dangling from the limb of a tree might have deprived the world of the pleasure of listening to the voice of Jeff. Davis thanking his rebel comrades for their efforts to destroy the Union, or Congress of the delightful eloquence of Maxey and Gordon or of Lamar and Young, as they defied the patriotism of the people and reveled in reminiscences of their rebellion. It might even have narrowed down the numbers of rebels aspiring to represent the nation or the State in high places, so that when such men as Wade Hampton were looked for they could not be found.

But the mistaken clemency of the Republican party has not been without its lessons, although it has cost thousands of lives, every one of them political murders by the Democratic party in the South. Now, the nation cries, Halt! and the gun-shot policy of the Southern Democracy must cease. The President was never more in earnest than he is to day. His determination to use all constitutional means to put down political assassination, and have the polls kept open, is not to be trifled with. Nor is the temper of the North to be trifled with. The election in the South must be as safe and as free for Republican citizens, white or black, as in the States of Vermont or Massachusetts. Let the Southern Democracy take a note of this. It may be for their benefit, if not for their comfort. And to show how thoroughly the work of protection is to be done, and how busy the proper officers are in making preparation for it, the following information is made public as to carrying out the election laws:

The Attorney General is preparing, and will in a few days issue, specific instructions to United States marshals in every State in the Union, instructing them as to their duties and rights under the election laws. The object of the administration, as stated by the Attorney General, is to secure to every citizen, in Massachusetts as well as in South Carolina, his full rights under the law. The marshals having once been instructed as to their rights under the law will be expected to enforce them; and if they cannot do this with the usual force at their command, then the military will be sent to assist them.

Under the order issued to General Sherman there will be no present change in the stations of troops in any of the States, North or South, but the order itself will be issued in the form of a general order, and sent to all officers commanding divisions, departments, and posts, and they will regard it as a sufficient notice to hold their troops in readiness to answer any legal demand that may be made upon them to assist in executing the law. General Sherman, in speaking of this order, says he does not believe it is the intention of the President to interfere unduly in the affairs of any State, but thinks that the President has determined, as far as lies in his power, there shall be a fair and peaceable election in every State in the Union, even if all the available force of the army must be used to protect citizens in their rights.

ADOPTED CITIZENS—THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.

"Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, from the shield of American citizenship." * * * "We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German."—*Democratic Platform*.

Of all the "shams" of the Democratic platform the above quotation contains the most deliberate perversion of truth. It is unworthy even of the hypocrisy of Tilden. For nearly half a century the Democratic party has impudently assumed the exclusive friendship of adopted citizens, when in fact Democrats have only made them "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Democratic administrations, in their treaties, have utterly pretermitted the rights of naturalized citizens when "recrossing the Atlantic." This is absolutely affirmed, and the treaties are appealed to for its confirmation. In truth the only treaties embracing this subject have been negotiated by Republicans. Numerous treaties are signed by Van Buren, Marcy, Buchanan, and other Democratic lights, but not one provides guarantees for "our fellow-citizens of foreign birth" on "recrossing the Atlantic." And not only so, but the lower House of the present Congress is Democratic; what has it done to correct the "errors" complained of? Has any bill or measure been introduced or proposed? Not one. But the subject was investigated by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and a unanimous report made by Mr. Faulkner, its Democratic chairman; which report not only compliments and vindicates the present treaty, (1868,) but declares it to have been carried out by the German Government "with scrupulous honor and good faith." "This treaty," says the report, "gives to the naturalized citizen" * * * "a guarantee from both Governments that his rights shall be fully recognized and protected." What becomes of the Democratic platform? What must be the character of the men who concocted it? In the following pages the Democracy is "stripped" of the assumption in which it has concealed itself,

when it will appear, for "lo, these many years," to have been only an "ass" in a "lion's skin."

The attitude of the Democrats toward naturalized citizens is only equalled by the conduct of Codlin, in Dickens's story of the Old Curiosity Shop. After persecuting little Nell for a long time some circumstances led him to think that something could be made by being on good terms with her. In an instant he turned and shouted, "Codlin's your friend; Codlin's your friend, not Short!"

Our Democratic Codlins, with few interruptions, were in power from the opening of the century until the beginning of the rebellion. During that time they practically controlled every department of the Government. They had the Presidency, the Cabinet, Congress, the Supreme Court—everything. What did they do for the emigrant? And what has been done by their opponents?

I.—AS TO NATURALIZATION.

In the First Congress of the United States the States' rights Democrats were in a great minority. The first statute for regulating naturalization was enacted by that Congress in 1790. It provided that the alien, being a free white person who should have resided within the United States for the term of *two* years, might become a citizen on complying with the provisions of the statute.

In 1795 the Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives. They repealed the act of 1790, and substituted a statute requiring a residence of *five* years in the United States, and a preliminary declaration of intention to become a citizen, to be made *three* years, at least, before the naturalization. Under this statute, however, they allowed the fact of the five years' residence to be proved by the oath of the emigrant himself.

In 1798, under the pressure of a war with France, the period of residence required as a preliminary to naturalization was greatly extended, but the statute was in great measure suspended by provisions permitting

persons who had previously declared their intention to become citizens to become so at any time within four years after the passage of the act, and the act itself was repealed before the expiration of the four years.

In 1802 the States' rights party obtained the entire control of the Government. They repealed the previous acts, and enacted a new statute containing similar provisions as to time as were contained in the act of 1795, but they required the emigrant to prove his five years' residence by other testimony than his own affidavit. The practical effect of this statute was to throw an additional impediment in the way of naturalization. It is still in force, except as hereinafter mentioned.

In 1824 the States' rights Democrats had lost their control of the House. The Congress which elected John Quincy Adams as President modified the act of 1802 by reducing the period for making the preliminary declaration of intention from *three* years to *two* years, and by releasing minors who should reside within the United States three years before arriving at their majority from the necessity of making such a declaration.

With the defeat of John Quincy Adams in 1829 the Democrats came again into power, and no change was made in the naturalization laws until after their defeat in 1860.

In 1862 a Republican Congress again modified the naturalization laws by permitting an alien who had served in the army and been honorably discharged to become a citizen without the usual preliminary declaration and without reference to the length of residence in the United States.

II.—EXPATRIATION.

The Democratic party did not assist the emigrant to become a citizen. Did it assist him in being recognized as such or asserting his rights as such?

Naturalization is the acquisition of citizenship by a person in a country to which he was before then an alien. Expatriation is, in one sense, the reverse of this. It is the loss of citizenship in the land of nativity. The assent of the Power whose allegiance he assumes is necessary to the first. Democratic authorities have, with a single exception, invariably maintained that the assent of the

Power whose allegiance he abandoned is essential to the second.

The authority of Henry Wheaton as an exponent of Democratic ideas cannot be questioned. He was appointed by President Jackson to be the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at Berlin. He was promoted by President Van Buren to be the Minister of the United States at the same Court. In 1840 Johann P. Knoche, a native of Prussia, who had been naturalized in the United States, returned to his native land, and was required to perform military duty. He appealed to Mr. Wheaton for protection. Mr. Wheaton replied:

"It is not in my power to interfere in the manner you desire. Had you remained in the United States, or visited any other foreign Courts (except Prussia) on your lawful business you would have been protected by the American authorities, at home and abroad, in the enjoyment of all your rights and privileges as a naturalized citizen of the United States. But having returned to the country of your birth, your native domicile and natural character revert, so long as you remain in the Prussian domains, and you are bound in all respects to obey the laws exactly as if you had never emigrated."

William L. Marcy was a shining light of Democracy. He was a prominent member of the Albany regency, a Governor of New York, a leader in the Senate, and Secretary of State during the whole term of President Pierce's Administration. While he was Secretary of State, Simon Tousig, an Austrian by birth, came to the United States, resided here for some time, and returned to Austria with a passport from the Department of State. The Austrian military authorities took proceedings against him. He appealed to the Legation at Vienna for protection. Mr. Jackson, who was then *Chargé d'Affaires*, was a Democrat. He reported the case to the Department of State, and Mr. Marcy replied:

"Assuming all that could possibly belong to Tousig's case, that he had a domicile here and was actually clothed with the nationality of the United States, there is a feature in it which distinguishes it from that of Kosota. Tousig voluntarily returned to Austria, and placed himself within the reach of her municipal laws. He has voluntarily placed himself within the jurisdiction of the laws of Austria, and is suffering, as appears by the

case as you present it, for the acts he has done in violation of those laws while he was an Austrian subject."

Jeremiah S. Black was, and still is, regarded as a Democratic leader. In 1857 his official opinion was requested by the Secretary of State as to the status of a Bavarian who, after naturalization in the United States, had returned to Bavaria and taken up his abode there. He replied:

"There is no statute or other law of the United States which prevents either a native or naturalized citizen from severing his political connections with this Government, if he sees proper to do so in time of peace and for a purpose not injurious to the country. There is no mode of renunciation prescribed. In my opinion, if he emigrates, carries his family and effects with him, manifests a plain intention not to return, takes up his permanent residence abroad, and assumes the obligations of a subject of a foreign Government, this would imply a dissolution of his previous relations with the United States."

In a public life of half a century Lewis Cass was a leader among the Democracy. In October, 1857, he instructed Mr. Wright, of Indiana, who was then the representative of the United States at Berlin, to govern himself in dealing with such cases by the views of Secretary Marcy, who, he said, had "clearly and succinctly stated" the rule in such cases.

The treasonable conspiracies in the Democratic ranks loosened the hold which the party had upon Mr. Cass, and in 1859 he modified his views and instructed Mr. Wright to insist that "the moment a foreigner becomes naturalized his allegiance to his native country becomes severed forever."

But the declaration produced no result to the emigrant, and it was not until the States' rights Democrats had been beaten, both at the ballot-box and in the field, that a Republican administration was able to secure a practical recognition of the principle. Meanwhile, experience had shown that while tens of thousands of naturalized citizens had rushed to bear arms in support of the country of their adoption, some recreant cowards who had come here to avoid military service in Europe had flown back again to escape it here. Mr. Lincoln, in his annual message in 1863, said:

"There is also reason to believe that foreigners frequently become citizens of the United States for the sole purpose of evading the duties imposed by the laws of their native countries, to which on becoming naturalized here they at once repair, and, though never returning to the United States, they still claim the interposition of this Government as citizens."

It was thought unworthy of the United States that the mantle of its protection should be extended to such cases of fraud. When, therefore, a Republican administration succeeded in setting aside the precedents which have been established by its Democratic predecessors, and in securing the recognition in Germany of the right of an emigrant to expatriate himself, it did not hesitate to agree on its side that the expatriation must not be a sham. Justice to the honest emigrant who had become a citizen caused it to agree that if the emigrant, instead of really expatriating himself, should return to the land of his nativity to reside permanently, using his foreign nationality in the United States to avoid duties here, and his lately-acquired citizenship to avoid them in his native country, that he should cease to enjoy the benefit of acquired citizenship.

But how could a minister or a Secretary of State know whether the returned emigrant meant to go back to the United States or to stay in the land of his birth? How easy for the latter to reside in the old country year after year, with the declaration of a purpose to go back to the United States ever on his tongue? How can an officer disprove statements which such a person would not hesitate to make, except by the very fact itself of the continued residence? And this was adopted in the treaties as one of the standards of proof, and it was agreed that a two years' continuous residence might afford a presumption of an abandonment of naturalization.

This two years' residence does not of itself afford so strong a presumption that the authorities of the old Government can act upon it without notice of an intent to do so. In all cases they are required to give parties against whom they propose to proceed a reasonable notice, to hear their explanation, and to afford them an opportunity to return to America if they desire to do so.

Thus, the young German who desires to emigrate to America may now do so in safety. In safety he can return to his native land when naturalized here, can revisit his parents and friends, can reside in the old country, and can occupy himself in business or labor for his support while there, assured of the protection of the United States. He can only lose the protection when he fraudulently endeavors to convert a temporary visit into a permanent residence and attempts to commit a fraud upon both Governments.

Mr. Faulkner, a Democratic member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the present House of Representatives, in the name and on behalf of that committee, in a report made February 15, 1876, upon this very subject, says as follows, in reference to the treaty with the North German Confederation:

"Before the existence of that treaty constant difficulties arose between the two countries, growing out of a return of the naturalized German citizen to the land of his birth, and every page of our diplomatic correspondence shows how continually our representatives abroad were called upon to protect the rights of this class of our fellow-citizens; what delays and difficulties were encountered in the vindication of their rights, and how frequently the peace and good understanding between the two Governments were imperiled by the rigid adherence of Prussia and other German Powers to their own views of the obligations resting upon their native-born citizens. Much inconvenience, great loss of time, interruption of business, heavy fines, burdensome costs, and sometimes imprisonment, were the fate of many before their rights were recognized by these foreign Governments, and in no instance have we learned that any compensation or indemnity was ever accorded by the foreign Governments, or demanded by our own, for the cost, privation, and suffering encountered by our fellow-citizens in the vindication of their rights. Emigration itself, under many circumstances, was treated as an offense punishable by their laws.

"Much of this evil has ceased to exist since the formation of the treaty of 1868. That treaty has been carried out by the German Government with scrupulous honor and good faith.

* * * * *

"This treaty admits, in the broadest terms, the natural right of expatriation—a doctrine never before so fully and unconditionally recognized by the German Government.

"It concedes the free right of emigration, and the absolute discharge of every natural-

ized German citizen from all military service not actually required of him by some legal obligation then operative and in active force on the day of his emigration; so that upon his return to Germany the exemption continues as fully as if he was a natural-born citizen of the United States.

"The protection which this treaty gives to the naturalized citizen is of the highest and most solemn character, and gives to him a guarantee from both Governments that his rights shall be fully recognized and protected. This guarantee must necessarily extend to his full indemnity by the Government that unjustly interrupts, delays, or denies those rights.

"So sound and unassailable are the principles incorporated into this treaty that it would be difficult to conjecture any possible ground of objection to it, unless it be that provision which, having declared that if a German, naturalized in America, renews his residence in Germany without the intent to return to America he shall be held to have renounced his naturalization in the United States, also declares 'that the intent not to return may be held to exist when the person naturalized resides more than two years in the country of his birth.' The original phraseology of this treaty used the word 'shall,' but, at the instance of our Minister, the word 'may' was substituted; so, as it now stands, the two years' residence affords only presumptive evidence of an intention not to return, which may be rebutted by facts and circumstances.

"Your committee see no objection to this provision, which has been alike inserted into most of our subsequent naturalization treaties. It is intended to guard against the gross abuse of American citizenship, of which Germany especially affords so many examples. This citizenship is acquired by many, not for the honest and *bona fide* purpose of enjoying the blessings of our Government, and contributing to the advancement of our country, but as a convenient pretext to enable them to escape their obligations as citizens, both to the country of their birth and the country of their adoption. It has been found necessary, therefore, to fix some period that will test the intent of such persons. Two years have been fixed upon as a proper time to determine that question. But even under this treaty that period of time is only presumptive, and may be rebutted by showing that two years' or a longer residence is honest and *bona fide*, and consistent with the intent to return to the country of their adoption."

The naturalized German in the United States owes these benefits alone to Republican statesmen and Republican policy.

NOTES.

NOTE 1. The negotiations and treaties of the United States with foreign Powers can well be divided into and classed under *periods*. The first may be called "The period of the Revolution." By reference to the treaties of this period it will be seen that the question now raised was not presented or discussed.

NOTE 2. The next period may be designated that of "The War of 1812." This war was waged to vindicate the freedom of the national flag. It was the second, or real, war of independence. The main question was the claim of Great Britain to search our ships and seize our seamen or sailors on the high seas. The question now mooted did not arise. Modern Democrats claim to be the special successors of Jefferson and Madison, whose mantle, the former assert, has fallen on their shoulders. If the champions of the war of 1812 failed to assert all they ought these latter-day Democrats are estopped from complaint.

NOTE 3. The country had fully recovered from the war of 1812 only about 1820, when the institution of slavery intruded its hideous and hateful presence into the political arena. From the latter date until the rebellion, a period of over forty years, Democrats and Democratic administrations were engrossed with the task of aiding, protecting, and extending that institution, to which all other interests were subordinated.

Democrats, however, have ever been adepts at frauds, especially on the naturalization laws, thus easily making citizens of emigrants on their arrival on our shores in violation of law. And hence, by such false professions of friendship, fraudulently enticing these new citizens into the Democratic party. Nevertheless, as a matter of history, the treaties negotiated by Democratic administrations show that they did not in a single instance attempt the protection of adopted citizens on their return to their native land. This was the period almost consecutively down to 1861 of complete Democratic ascendancy, culminating in treason to the Constitution and the Union.

NOTE 4. There were negotiated by the United

States, prior to the rebellion, treaties as follows under the administrations of—

(Prior to —, 1789)	17
Washington.....	6
John Adams.....	4
Jefferson.....	6
Madison.....	6
Monroe.....	12
J. Q. Adams.....	13
Jackson.....	19
Van Buren.....	10
Harrison.....	1
Tyler.....	8
Polk.....	16
Taylor.....	5
Fillmore.....	11
Pierce.....	25
Buchanan.....	18

Total..... 177

Not one of the foregoing treaties embraces the subject under consideration, viz: the protection of adopted citizens on their return to the land of their nativity, though of the foregoing 107 were under special, modern Democratic auspices.

NOTE 5. But Republican administrations have negotiated since March 4, 1861, upward of *seventy-five treaties*, or nearly half as many as all prior to that date, a leading feature being a provision recognizing the right of expatriation theretofore denied, and granting personal rights and protection, mutually, to naturalized citizens on their return to their native land; limited, however, quite properly, to cases of naturalization and return to the good faith of the party.

This has been the period since 1861 of Republican administrations—a period full of trials by reason of Democratic treason, yet throughout the world the nation is at the very acme of fame.

CONCLUSION.

It will be seen that upon this, as upon all subjects, the Republican party is progressive. It has been the first to take this step forward, and if anything remains to be done it can be relied on to carry it to perfection.

No one can for a moment doubt that the present administration, with General Grant at its head, would be prompt to exert the whole power of the Government to protect its citizens in any part of the world. Nor will it hesitate, within the Constitution and laws, to protect citizens at home as well.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD—DARE THE NATION TRUST SUCH A PARTY?

When a political party goes before the people with a claim for their suffrage and the control of their Government and public affairs, the first and most natural impulse of the public mind is to know something of the past public record of the claimants. In order to aid in this very proper and necessary investigation the following facts and figures have been drawn from the official records and published. They are presented without note or comment. The reader will draw his own conclusions, and at his leisure answer from his own convictions the question: *Dare the nation trust such a party?*

JACKSON AND HIS TIMES—"TO THE VICTORS," ETC.

On March 4, 1829, Andrew Jackson, pledged to retrenchment, economy, and reform, was inaugurated President of the United States.

Proclaiming the maxim that "to the victors belong the spoils," Jackson let slip the "Furies of the Guillotine" in a wholesale proscription of the old and tried officials of former Administrations. John Q. Adams, in the preceding four years, had made but twelve changes—all for cause. In the preceding FORTY years, all his predecessors together had made only one hundred and thirty-two changes—of these Jefferson had removed sixty-two; but Jackson, in the genuine spirit of a Democratic reformer, in one year removed, it was estimated, one thousand five hundred officials—in one year nearly twelve times as many as by all his predecessors from the beginning of the Government. The officers removed were experienced, capable, and trusty. The character of those who filled their places—"Slamm, Bang & Co."—is attested by the reform which followed.

THE GREAT PUBLIC AND INDIAN LAND GRABS.

A rage for speculation in the public lands distinguished the period. General Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, who pocketed illegally, as extra allowances, the sum of \$68,000, united with Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, Benjamin F. Butler, Attorney General, and others, in a land Credit Mobilier for speculation in public lands—for speculation in sales by the Government, of which they

were members. Amos Kendall, the Fourth Auditor, and subsequently Postmaster General, in like manner united with a Boston land company, for a fee of \$50,000, in the wholesale robbery of certain Indians in Mississippi of their lands—all swindling enterprises in contemptuous violation of the law, of which they were the administrators. (H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

THE GALPHIN SWINDLE.

In 1834 John Forsyth, of Georgia, succeeded Lewis McLane, of Delaware, as Secretary of State, in Jackson's Cabinet. In 1850 the payment of the notorious "Galphin swindle" scandalized the nation. By the Democracy it was denounced as "infamous"—as "without a precedent"—as "a clear and unmitigated swindle!" Their memories were bad. In 1837, before the Wise committee, John Ross, the Cherokee chief, testified that in 1835, in the Cherokee treaty of that year, an article covering the "Galphin" was inserted directly through the influence of "Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State;" that it was urged, in the negotiations of the treaty, that Mr. Forsyth had great influence with the President; that "Mr. Forsyth could and would induce the President to grant a sum sufficient to cover the Galphin *additional* to the sum stipulated in the treaty if the Cherokees would sanction a treaty upon such terms." The article was consequently inserted. Mr. Forsyth admitted that he "advised" its insertion, as also his personal interest in the payment of both principal and interest. He had applied to both Secretaries of War, Eaton and Cass; as Secretary of State had certified the papers from the Department of State to the Secretary of War. General Cass had told him that the claim was just; and when the treaty was pending before the Senate had "conversed" with Senators urging its ratification; but pleads that, to them, his "appeals" were "founded solely on the justice of the claim"—"the hardship of the condition of the claimants."

Hence, lobbied in 1835 by Forsyth, Jackson's Secretary of State, approved by General Cass, his Secretary of War, and justified in 1837 by the Democratic majority of the Wise committee, engineered through Congress, in 1849, by another distinguished Democratic reformer, Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, and the principal paid by James K. Polk, the question of interest was only reserved and its liquidation by Polk only defeated for want of time.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT "INSOLVENT"
UNDER DEMOCRATIC RULE.

In 1834, after a hard battle, (from 1830,) Senators Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, and John M. Clayton, of Delaware, forced an inquiry by the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads into the condition of the Post Office Department. It found the Department "insolvent," a helpless prey to maladministration, corruption, robbery, and fraud. In the preceding administration, under John Q. Adams, the Department had been not only self-sustaining, but had contributed annually \$1,103,063 to the revenues of the nation. But now, in a few brief years, under Democratic reform, it was bankrupt, a burden upon the Treasury. (S. R. 422, first session Twenty-third Congress.)

Mr. Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, the Democratic chairman of the committee, was opposed to the investigation.

Postmaster General Barry refused to recognize its authority. He declared that he was responsible, not to the Senate, but to the President, and through him to the people. He refused to furnish the committee the information it requested, and it was forced to prosecute its labors under the greatest difficulties, among mutilated records and fabricated accounts in the greatest confusion. But even under such disadvantages it developed a condition of affairs utterly without a parallel in all our previous history.

THE "EXTRA-ALLOWANCE" FRAUDS IN DEMOCRATIC TIMES.

One of the greatest abuses of the Department was in its extra allowances, aggregating hundreds of thousands annually, frequently given without an increase of duty or service, without the authority of law, and in

many cases where there was an increase of service, "unreasonable, extravagant, and out of all proportion with such increase." *These extra allowances actually exhausted the whole postal revenues of States, and were granted practically as pensions to party favorites.* This favoritism took a hundred shapes. Certain contractors were compelled to surrender their contracts for the benefit of others. Contracts were granted on bids different from advertisement, and others were altered or changed in material respects after they had been accepted. Proposals for carrying the mail were withheld from advertisement. The contracts, as in the case of the route from Chicago to Green Bay, actually given to clerks in the Department under other men's names, and the compensation on bids raised without an increase of service. Mail lines were authorized, "at a heavy expense," to run more than once daily without benefit to the public, and steamboat lines were established, by private contract without authority of law, at an enormous expense. Oppressive monopolies were actually established by the Department for the benefit of private parties. An instance is given in which an agreement, drawn by an officer of the Government and adopted at his pressing instance, with the sanction of the Postmaster General, was entered into between two companies of mail contractors to put down all opposition lines of coaches—all competition of passengers on their respective mail routes.

The contractors, in turn, divided by handsome loans never repaid—generously relieved the Postmaster General of his debts, and enabled the chief clerk to speculate largely in real estate in Washington. They also furnished the table of both with the most choice wines! *With shrewd business foresight the contractors lent their credit to the Department when threatened with collapse, and the Department responded by pledging its funds for the benefit of contractors.*

DEMOCRATIC SPECIAL-SERVICE PLUMS.

The "incidental expenses" of the Department—not its "contingent expenses," which were separate, distinct, and additional, but its "secret-service fund," in a single year, (1829,) increased to \$56,471, "exceeding

that of any former year," but in 1832, during the Presidential election, it suddenly swelled to \$88,000! It was principally the newspaper fund. After deducting the support of traveling partisan emissaries, under the title of "postal agents," it was the fund out of which the numerous party presses were permitted to richly share the plunder. So the Greenes, of the Boston *Statesman*, the elder Greene (Nathaniel) being postmaster at Boston, and certifying the accounts which were for "printed blanks, twine," etc. So the Hills, of the New Hampshire *Patriot*, the Shadrach Penns, of the Louisville *Public Advertiser*, the Albany *Argus*, New York *Courier and Enquirer*, the Washington *Globe*, the national organ, etc. The prices paid to F. P. Blair of the *Globe* were "enormous." Of the \$22,957.08 of "incidental expenses" during the Presidential election of 1832, \$13,673.31 were paid to the editors of newspapers. Of that Blair received \$8,386.50! During the election he received from this secret fund alone about \$116 daily for every day his paper was issued. The details are disgusting. Maladministration, corruption, and fraud run riot. The aggregate excess of expenditures in four years, as compared with the preceding four years, under Adams, was "\$3,336,859!" The amount of funds actually "sunk" by the Department since 1829 was "\$1,032,933," and the aggregate of its "indebtedness" April 11, 1834, was "\$1,123,600!" To avoid immediate exposure by the collapse and closing of his Department, the Postmaster General was forced, besides his loans from contractors, to unlawfully contract loans, bearing interest, from the banks. There was no evading the judgment. (S. R. 422, first session Twenty-third Congress.) At the next session the report of the Democratic Committee of the House was even more damaging than the Senate's. Hence, under the unanimous verdict of the Senate, Postmaster General Barry was compelled to resign—to accept promotion to the mission to Spain, with its lucrative outfits and infits.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY "PET BANK" ROBBERIES.

About this time the affairs of the old Bank of the United States and its branches began to wane. By law the bank was the deposi-

tory of the Government revenues, and in consequence was the Treasury of the nation. In 1834, by a daring act of usurpation, President Jackson removed the deposits. He transferred them to certain "pet" State banks of the Democratic reformers, who claimed the revenues of the nation as the "spoils" of "THE PARTY!" The destruction of the Bank and subsequent explosion of the "Pet Banks" involved the loss of millions, the destruction and ruin of thousands of the business men and the business of the country—of \$500,000,000 of private capital—and the consequent suffering and want of tens of thousands of all ranks and classes throughout the Union. The Democratic reformers nevertheless applauded. They laughed at the misery and ruin they had caused, belittled their magnitude, and maintained and justified the removal in all its bearings.

INVESTIGATIONS AND EXPOSURES.

In 1837 the Garland committee published the "Wool-clip" correspondence between Secretary Woodbury and the deposit banks, exposed the criminal partisan favoritism of the Treasury in the distribution and management of the deposits or revenues of the nation as the "spoils" of "THE PARTY," and prepared the country for the disastrous explosion of the "Pet Banks" which followed. (H. R. 193, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

The Wise committee unearthed "Forsyth's Nankeen;" exposed the complicity of the high-toned Georgian Secretary of State in the "infamous Galphin swindle;" exposed Postmaster General Kendall's complicity, with "a \$50,000 fee," in the Boston scheme for the wholesale robbery of the Mississippi Indians of their lands; and developed Secretary Cass's corrupt favoritism in the dispensation of his patronage. (H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

FORGERY, ABSENTEEISM, EMBEZZLEMENT, AND EXTORTION.

One T. B. Waterman was a *protege*—a copying clerk in the Pension Office, appointed by the General. Waterman forged the initials of Secretary Cass to an account; Waterman confessed the forgery, and the General paid the account. (H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

D. Azro A. Buck was a model reformer. He was appointed a clerk by Secretary Cass, July 8, 1835. About the same time Buck was also elected a member of the Vermont Legislature. Hence he did not report at the War Department for duty until December. In January, 1836, General Cass paid him for five months' service, when Buck had rendered but one. (H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

Lieutenant Thomas Johnson, a disbursing officer, lost, in gambling, two United States drafts for \$1,000 and \$1,500, respectively. These drafts were protested by a deposit bank—the Union Bank of Louisiana, at New Orleans—and an appeal for their payment was made to the War Department. The facts were all known. The Hon. Ambrose H. Sevier, of Arkansas, and the Hon. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, (model Democratic reformers,) interested themselves in their payment, the pious Attorney General (B. F. Butler) uttered a favorable opinion, and Secretary Cass drew a warrant for their payment even after Woodbury had declined. (H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

At the same time Garret D. Wall, then United States District Attorney at Perth Amboy, N. J., and subsequently United States Senator from New Jersey, a distinguished Democratic reformer, assessed his modest fees for his influence with the Administration. (H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.)

In 1839 resistance to investigation was no longer possible. "No more packed committees," was the fiat of the nation—no more committees appointed by James K. Polk; and accordingly the House, by ballot, elected the celebrated Harlan committee.

Now, the proofs were overwhelming.

THE SWARTWOUT SWINDLES.

In April, 1829, Samuel Swartwout was appointed by President Jackson collector of the port of New York. He was notoriously impetuous, a reckless gambler in stocks, largely in debt, always in want of money, and wholly irresponsible financially. His default began within a year from the date of his appointment, and continued during eight years—for years with the knowledge of the authorities at Washington—for years (from

1834 to 1837) without the bonds required by law to the Government for the safe-keeping of the millions in his hands. (H. R. 313, third session Twenty-fifth Congress.)

His default was for \$1,225,705.69. The causes of his default, as the Harlan committee declare, were his irresponsibility in pecuniary character when appointed; the culpable disregard of law and neglect of official duty by the naval officer at New York, by the First Auditor and First Comptroller of the Treasury; the discontinuance of the use of banks of deposit; the consequent accumulation of vast sums in the hands of a stock gambler so improvident and reckless as Swartwout; and the negligence and failure of the Secretary of the Treasury to discharge his duty as head of the Treasury. In a word, by the abandonment at New York and Washington of all the checks thrown by law around the collection of the revenue. (H. R. 313, third session Twenty-fifth Congress.)

Swartwout was not removed. His commission expired March 28, 1838, and, being apprized in time, he, on the 16th of August, fled to England with his plunder, followed within a fortnight by William M. Price, (the district attorney for the southern district of New York,) a confederate in crime, and, like Swartwout, a defaulter in the sum of \$72,124.06. The default of General C. Gratiot, Chief Engineer United States army, was for \$50,000.

CORRUPTION AND FRAUD REIGN SUPREME.

In every bureau of the New York customs maladministration, corruption, and fraud reigned supreme, and here, with the origin of Democratic reform, began the "tyranny" of assessments for party purposes, levied for national and local elections upon the customs officers and in the navy-yard at New York, as throughout the country and in the executive departments at Washington.

The maladministration and corruption in the collection of the revenue from the sales of the public lands were as flagitious as in the customs. Out of sixty-odd receivers of public moneys fifty defaulted. A few instances will illustrate the whole:

A RECEIVER'S OFFICE MADE A BROKERS' DEN.

John Spencer was receiver at Fort Wayne, Ind. In May, 1836, the Secretary complain-

ed to Spencer that his accounts were in arrears, and appointed Nat. West, jr., of Indianapolis, as examiner, to investigate the office at Fort Wayne. Mr. West reports the office a broker's den for speculation and shaving. Spencer was about to be removed. Hon. Wm. Hendricks rushes to the rescue, and urges that Colonel Spencer is "an honest and honorable man;" that his removal "would, to some extent, produce excitement," "for he has many warm and influential friends, both at Fort Wayne and in Dearborn county. *Better let it be.*" Mr. Woodbury concluded to "*let it be.*" To Mr. Hendricks he writes: "I am happy to inform you that Mr. Spencer's explanations have been such that he will probably continue in office." Mr. Spencer's explanations were: "My Democratic friends think I ought not to leave until after we hold our election for President," "which I have concluded to wait." (H. R. 313, third session Twenty-fifth Congress.)

Willey P. Harris was receiver at Columbus, Miss. "General Harris" was indorsed by his Democratic representative in Congress as "one of the main pillars of Democracy," as of "diffused and deserved popularity," and as "one of the earliest and most distinguished friends of the [Jackson's] Administration in Mississippi." In March, 1834, Secretary Roger B. Taney complained of his conduct, and after fifteen warnings, extending through two years, from Secretary Woodbury, "General Harris" was permitted to resign, and to nominate and secure the appointment of his successor, "Colonel Gordon D. Boyd, of Attala county." Whereupon the Secretary quietly entered on the books of the Treasury: "Balance due from Mr. Harris, \$109,178.08." (H. R. 313, third session Twenty-fifth Congress.)

FIFTY "HONEST" DEMOCRATIC OFFICIALS.

Colonel Boyd early fell into the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. In June, 1837, Mr. Garesche reports the Colonel as a defaulter to the amount of \$50,000, but adds: "All concede that his intemperance has been his greatest crime." "The man seems really penitent, and I am inclined to think, in common with his friends, that he is honest, and has been led away by the example of his predecessor and a certain looseness in the code

of morality which here does not move in so limited a circle as it does with us at home. *Another receiver would probably follow in the footsteps of the two.* You will not, therefore, be surprised if I recommend his being retained." So it was decreed. In October, Boyd was allowed to resign, and the Secretary entered against his name: "Indebted \$50,000, as per last statement." And so with the remainder—Linn, Lewis, Alsbury, Dickson, Skinner, Hays, Simpson—fifty in all; making an aggregate default of \$825,678.28. (H. R. 313, third session Twenty-fifth Congress.)

JESSE HOYT'S SYSTEMATIC ROBBERIES.

In 1841-'42 the Poindexter commission investigated the maladministration of Swartwout's successor, Jesse Hoyt, the special *protege* of Martin Van Buren, who was appointed in March, 1838. At the date of his appointment, Hoyt, like Swartwout and Price, was notoriously impecunious, irresponsible financially, largely in debt, and a reckless speculator in stocks. His maladministration and systematic robberies of the Government and the importers amounted to piracy. Even in the incidental expenses of the customs—in the matter of stationery, printing, and the like—the pillage amounted to tens of thousands annually. No advertisement for the lowest bidder, no contract at stipulated prices for their supply, but ordered extravagantly and in the loosest manner, with no evidence required of the delivery of the article, they were paid for, on demand, at prices ranging from 100 to 200 per cent. greater than the current New York rates. (H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.)

Geo. A. Wasson, "a sort of factotum" for Hoyt, had a monopoly of the cartage at the public stores—two privileged carts, for the use and labor of which, in three years, Hoyt paid him \$94,430.92. In addition to his salary as storekeeper, Hoyt paid Wasson unlawfully, as deputy collector, \$1,500 per annum. (H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.)

In the seizure of goods under Hoyt's rapacious system of reappraisement, Wasson was one of a "triumvirate"—Wasson, Cairns, and Ives—of Hoyt's standing witnesses in the courts. This trained trio were

allowed to share the plunder. In a single instance in 1840 Hoyt paid Wasson, without vouchers, \$1,767.33 over and above the legal fees, for attendance on three trials, between May and October. Wasson was allowed to employ, for his private benefit, laborers hired and paid by the Government. He was a privileged purchaser, in his own name and in the names of others, at the sales of goods remaining nine months unclaimed in the public stores; allowed to plunder the public stores of goods in large quantities; to rob the custom-house of coal for his private use; in a word, to indulge in "a multitude of illegal practices and petty frauds" in addition to the goods, the luxuries, the salaries he absorbed from outside parties interested in the ruin of importers. (H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.)

Cairns and Ives, in like manner, equally shared in the plunder.

In January, 1840, a fire destroyed the Front-street stores. The goods saved were removed by the custom-house *attaches*—placed in an open lot—all entrance to which was refused to the importers for the purpose of identifying and recovering their property; but the goods, practically seized, were made up into piles or lots in which the vilest frauds were practiced to deceive purchasers—struck off at nominal sums to privileged parties in collusion with the officials, and the proceeds, after deducting fees, &c., pocketed by the collector. Thus the owners were robbed of goods aggregating in value \$1,000,000, the Government of \$400,000 as duties, and Hoyt pocketed about \$30,000 which should have been deposited in the Treasury for the benefit of the owners.

Hoyt also rented unlawfully five stores for the safe-keeping of goods entered at the custom-house. These stores yielded him a profit, per annum, of \$10,000, at a

\$30,000; or, in law, but with Woodbury, Hoyt, ted \$30,000, at a 001 (H. R. 669, 1th Congress.)
stic instances in
administration.

Their magnitude and extent were astounding. His criminal rapacity attained its shocking results in his system of fraudulent reappraisement. Goods regularly invoiced, and upon which all demands at the custom-house had been paid after examination and appraisement by the lawful appraisers of the customs, were followed by Wasson, Cairns, and Ives to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities, again examined, reappraised, condemned, seized, and held for trial. At the trials the trained "triumvirate" were the standing witnesses. Nevertheless, "in nearly all these cases"—"thirty-two out of thirty-three"—tried in the United States district court for the southern district of New York, "the verdicts of the juries were in favor" of the importers. A like result attended the suits elsewhere. But in every case, whether favorable to the importer or not, the result to him was equally disastrous—absolute ruin to many through the unlawful seizure, supported by the systematic perjury of a trio trained in the service of Hoyt, with the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury. (H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.)

A single instance will illustrate a multitude of similar cases. Mr. Bottomly swears in 1841: "Mr. Hoyt has taken from me the principal part of all the property I possessed." "In less than two years" Hoyt's rapacity had mulcted Mr. B. in costs aggregating \$200,000. "One-third" of all the English importers were ruined. Their property, (upon the sales of which they depended to meet their liabilities to the foreign manufacturer,) seized and locked up for an indefinite period, their failure was the inevitable result; and their bankruptcy carried with it the ruin of "a large number of English manufacturers." Mr. Bottomly had recently been in England, where goods were unusually cheap, and swears: "I could have procured assignments to the amount of \$1,000,000 for this season, (1841,) and even more, if I could have assured the consignees that they would not be seized after they had passed the custom-house, and the duties thereon had been paid." (H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.) As it was, they

dared not risk their goods within Hoyt's piratical jurisdiction.

HOYT, BUTLER, AND THE "TRIUMVIRATE."

In all this rapacious villainy, systematically pursued under the forms of law, under the grandest protestations of "patriotism" and "reform," again and again repeated, Ex-Attorney General Benjamin F. Butler, President Van Buren's old law-partner, the pious and prayerful president of the defunct bogus "Washington and Warren Bank" of Sandy Hill, and subsequently Price's successor as United States district attorney for the southern district of New York, was Hoyt's adviser and active coadjutor. Through it all the Government bore all the enormous expenses. Hoyt, Butler, and the "triumvirate"—Wasson, Cairns, and Ives—absorbed all the profits. Besides the immense sums accruing as fees in all cases of seizure under reappraisement, Hoyt's practice of retaining in his own hands, with the sanction of Secretary Woodbury, the amount of duties in such cases enabled him for indefinite periods of time—for years—to use the vast sums thus held for his private profit in loans to banks and brokers and in speculations of all kinds—in bolstering, by heavy deposits of the Government funds, such rotten institutions as the "North American Trust and Banking Company," in the stock of which he was a heavy gambler. By his own statement Hoyt thus constantly held of the Government funds, free of interest, an average of \$350,000, at a time in New York when money was demanding 5 per cent. per month. The sum thus held was shown to be much larger, probably not less than half a million, and "it was understood" and believed that his deposits in rotten "banks" were made under the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury," at a time when Woodbury was "borrowing" for the Government "on Treasury notes bearing interest."

The exact aggregate of Hoyt's plunder is not known. The aggregate of his default was not less than \$500,000. His unlawful income—the aggregate of his pillage of importers and merchants—cannot be exactly estimated: it was known to be prodigious; but his annihilation of the commerce of the country, and the consequent heavy loss to

the Government in its revenues, while immensely increasing the cost of collecting the customs at New York, can be approximated. In one year, in 1840, as compared with 1839, the falling off of imports was \$40,232,763, involving, besides the heavy loss to the traffic of the nation, a loss to the Government, in its revenues, of \$7,651,765.53. As compared with 1825, the first year of Adams's Administration, the falling off in the aggregate of imports and exports in 1840 was \$2,975,142, while the cost of collection had increased in a corresponding ratio. In 1825, the amount of duties received at the New York custom-house was \$15,754,827.54, at an expense of collection of \$211,471.87; that is, at the rate of 1.34 per cent. In 1840 the amount received by Jesse Hoyt was \$7,591,760.95, at an expense of collection of \$563,829.39; that is, at the rate of 7.42 per cent. From 1825 to 1828, inclusive, under Adams, the average cost of collection was 1.43 per cent.; from 1838 to 1840, inclusive, under Hoyt, the average cost was 5.20 per cent., while the estimated increase in number of officers employed in the collection was "three hundred and thirty-seven per cent.," and the increased cost of collection "five hundred and fifty per cent."

A SAMPLE OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

So in all departments of the Government—maladministration and corruption rioted unrestrained. Contractors, commissioners, Indian agents, paymasters, officers of the army and navy, and Governors of Territories—all defaulted for thousands upon thousands. The Indians were special objects of rapacity. Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Choctaws, outraged and oppressed in a thousand brutal ways, and forced into hostilities, were mercilessly murdered and deprived of their lands. In forty years, in Indian wars, the nation expended \$500,000,000; in the Seminole war alone, in seven years, \$50,000,000 in gold—an average in gold of \$7,000,000. Thus, Indian claims were the fattest of rotten perquisites. Their name was legion! The robberies attending the removal alone of the Cherokees and Choctaws, under the treaties of 1835 and 1846, are estimated, upon official data, at \$7,358,064.60. In these even Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Van Bu-

ren's Vice President, indulged the dominant propensities, and assessed \$18,000 fees for fraudulent collections.

Necessarily, in every branch of the service, the expenditures increased enormously, while the revenues decreased. Under Adams, the heaviest annual current expenditures amounted to \$13,296,041.45; under Jackson's reform they suddenly swelled to \$29,621,807.82; under Van Buren's, to \$31,793,587.24. The aggregate of the current expenditures of Adams' Administration was \$50,501,914.31. Under Jackson the aggregate of his first term was \$56,270,480.62; of his second term, \$88,275,930.46; total, \$143,380,307. Under Van Buren's single term, \$112,188,692.16.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION AND FRAUDS ON THE INDIANS.

Under Polk the Indian frauds were enormous. These are embraced in a settlement by Commissioner Medill, and covered in a report by William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, dated May 20, 1848, to Congress. Under the treaties of 1835 and 1846 the Cherokees were entitled to \$5,000,000, less \$1,000,000, for the purchase of lands to which they were to emigrate, and the creation of a national fund for the tribe, leaving due the Cherokees \$4,000,000, which should have been paid them. Against that sum, at the settlement, as per William L. Marcy, fraudulent charges, by the agents and others, were audited, amounting to \$3,815,000, leaving for the Indians only \$184,071.28 of their \$4,000,000 under the treaties. Of course the Indians demurred. An appropriation was subsequently made of \$1,256,500.27; and the agents were instructed to demand from the Indians receipts in full before the payment of even that sum. The Indians were compelled to submit. Thus, in the removal of the Cherokees, under the treaties of 1835 and 1846, as per William L. Marcy's settlement, *the Indians* were deliberately robbed of \$2,743,499.27.

Under the same treaties, at the same time, the Government was mulcted in a like sum. The amount paid by the Government in the transportation of the Indians was \$2,915,141.58. An offer was made to transport and subsist the Indians at \$40 per head. Even

the Indians proposed to transport and subsist themselves at the same rate—\$40 per head—which for 13,149 Indians (the number charged for) would amount to \$525,960, showing a swindle, as compared with the amount actually paid by the Government, of \$2,389,181.58. The records of the Indian office show that the contractors charged for 1,633 more than were actually removed, which, at \$40 per head, amounted to \$65,320. The original contractors were compelled by the Government agents to transfer their contracts to second parties, and to the original contractors were awarded as damages the sum of \$227,362.52. The records also show that the Cherokee fund was defrauded by a citizen agent of \$68,145.64, and by two army officers of \$76,976.54, making the total fraud against the Government \$2,827,000.28. In like manner the Choctaws were swindled of \$1,787,565.05.

To recapitulate:

Aggregate fraud against Government under the treaties of 1835-'46	\$2,827,000.28
Aggregate fraud against Cherokees under same treaties	2,743,499.27
Aggregate fraud against Choctaws	1,787,565.05
Total	*7,358,064.60

THE MEXICAN WAR AND DEMOCRATIC CORRUPTION.

The Mexican war exacted an expenditure of hundreds of millions and the lives of 25,000 of our citizens. Corruption in the Government stalked unrestrained. The Eli Moores, the Purdys, the Morrisises, the Patrick Collinses, the Beards, the Scotts, the Kennerlies, the Denbys, and the Wetmores—a host of pillagers—Indian agents, sub-Indian agents, contractors, disbursing officers of the army and navy, navy agents, pension agents, marshals, receivers of public moneys, commercial agents, surveyors, inspectors, and collectors of the customs, plundered their million.

Under Pierce Washington "rings" rejoiced in mammoth fraud in the building of the Capitol wings and in the extension of the Treasury building, and were encouraged in their pillage by Pierce's "outlaws of the

*These facts and figures are from official statements and tables prepared at the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Treasury." The actual and proposed plunder was immense. The aggregate amount of spoils proposed in the first Congress under Pierce was estimated at three hundred millions!—\$120,000,000 in obedience to the decree of the Ostend conference for the purchase of Cuba; \$20,000,000 for the Gadsden purchase, and so on in like acts—all for the aggrandizement of slavery.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL SWINDLES THE GOVERNMENT.

The maladministration of the Post Office Department under Campbell, Pierce's Postmaster General, rivaled that under Barry and Kendall. Even "the sale of letters and papers was made an item of revenue." "Bank-bills, checks, and insurance policies were sold in piles," and a Connecticut mill, buying two thousand of these, exposed the crime.

PRECEDENTS FOR ROBESON.

Secretaries of the Navy anticipated Mr Robeson in transactions now denounced as crimes by the Democracy. Hundreds of thousands of the national funds were intrusted to rotten banking institutions like Fitch & Co.'s. But Judge Mason, styled by the *Union*—the Washington organ of Democratic reform—as "the accomplished and excellent Secretary of the Navy," reformed even upon that. Nathaniel Denby was the agent of the Navy Department at Marseilles, France. Osborne was a Richmond merchant. They defaulted for the sum of \$159,433.67. At a time when Denby had an unexpended balance on hand of nearly \$60,000, with no demands for its use, Judge Mason deposited with the Richmond merchant (Osborne) \$100,000 for the use of Denby. Denby had no use for the money. He even, from his prison under Fillmore, urged in extenuation of his default that he had had no "advices" of this deposit with Osborne. But Osborne says:

"These moneys (\$100,000) I received as [Mr. Denby's] agent, paying interest for them, and consequently, as would be inferred from this circumstance, and also by express understanding, had the use of the funds until called for. All these funds were in the hands of various European and American houses; and in consequence of their failures my losses were so great as to involve my whole estate in ruin and leave me destitute."

THE CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING FRAUDS AND OTHER PARTY SPOILS.

Under Buchanan, as under Jackson and Van Buren, the revenue and the offices were again the "spoils" of "THE PARTY." Loyalty to the Administration, allegiance to slavery, were the conditions of a division. The profits of the Congressional printing were great. The bills of the Printer immense. But the profits of the Executive printing and binding and the printing of the postal blanks were enormous. Out of these profits—the newspaper corruption fund, disbursed by the notorious Cornelius Wendell—presses like the *Pennsylvanian*, the *Philadelphia Argus*, the *Washington Union*, &c., received a subsidy as a condition of slavishly supporting the Administration. Papers like the *Cleveland National Democrat* were established under the patronage of the Government by office-holders for like purposes—the defense of border ruffianism, Lecompton, and sectional strife. The navy-yards, custom-houses, and post offices were degraded into corrupt party machines. Editors of servile sheets, rendering to Government no service, were borne upon their rolls, drawing pay—like Baker, of the *Pennsylvanian*, and the noted Theophilus Fisk, of the *Argus*, at Philadelphia; William M. Browne, of the *Journal of Commerce*, at New York; Harry Scovel, of the *Free Press*, at Detroit, and the Henry J. Alvords in other sections—men like Cummings, at Philadelphia, pocketing pay in the name of subordinates for which no services were rendered; like Clements, at the Philadelphia navy-yard, unable to write, but useful as a politician, appointed and drawing pay as clerks while working as bricklayers; like the infamous Michael C. Murphy, a foreman in the New York yard, and the principal in a \$35,000 jewelry robbery, retained as party strikers. Fealty to party covered all crimes. Swindling contracts, like the notorious live-oak contracts to Swift, were awarded to party favorites in payment of party services. Thousands of dollars were regularly assessed for party purposes, even three times in the same year, upon the Departments at Washington, upon the navy-yards, custom-houses, and post offices throughout the country; even assessments, in the form of contributions, for

the support of the organ, the Constitution. Woe to the unfortunate wight who rebelled; his independence was instantly rewarded by decapitation. Office-holders were organized into mercenary corps for the control of National and State politics; and by wholesale frauds at elections—by frauds upon the registry—by the issue and distribution of fraudulent naturalisation papers—by ballot-box stuffing and frauds in counting votes, enabled corrupt minorities to dominate for years the intelligent majorities of the great States of Pennsylvania and New York. Defaults like Isaac V. Fowler's, the postmaster at New York, for \$75,000, were but bagatelles compared with Thompson's and Floyd's grander system of pillage. The abstraction by Floyd's nephew, Godard Bailey, in 1860, from the Interior Department, under Jacob Thompson, of \$870,000 of Indian trust bonds, and their transfer to Russell, Majors & Waddell, upon Secretary Floyd's fraudulent acceptances, under a contract of that firm with the War Department, and similar fraudulent acceptances by Floyd, as shown by the records of the War Department, to the amount of \$5,339,335, aggregated a fraud of \$6,137,395, to be borne either by the Government or the holder.

THE INDIAN BONDS THEFT.

Under the numerous Indian treaties, up to 1861, with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and others, funds in large amounts (held under the solemn pledges of the nation in trust for those tribes) had accumulated in the hands of the Secretaries of War, Treasury, and Interior. These were invested by Secretaries Woodbury and Thompson in nearly valueless Southern stocks and State bonds. Even the Smithsonian trust fund (\$538,000) was sunk with the rest. By Woodbury \$1,744,166.66 were thus invested, upon which the Government has paid as interest \$1,571,708. Of this fund, under Buchanan, Secretary

ocks and State
in the Govern-
, 575,435, all in
a total loss to

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\$1,000 collected

and disbursed; under Lincoln, but \$0.76; under Grant, only \$0.34. Under Buchanan, five times greater than under Lincoln. Under Buchanan, over eleven times greater than under Grant.

Such is a brief history of Democratic reform—such the character of its public men—not of one period only, but of its every period, from its origin under Jefferson to its close, in 1861, under Buchanan. Maladministration, malfeasance, spoliation, corruption, and fraud—every vile administrative crime—dominated amid executive usurpation and military tyranny, supported by laws outraging every human right.

THE DEMOCRACY OF TO-DAY.

Turning from the past terrible record of the party, the question naturally arises: "Has the Democracy, as a party, improved?" "Is it the author of a single good act in the last quarter of a century?" This question has been asked before, but never answered. Take, for example, the nomination of Samuel J. Tilden for the Presidency: It is fair to conclude that as is the man of their choice so is the party he represents. One illustration of his character for veracity is sufficient.

On December 28, 1863, In his answer to the Mr. Tilden swore to a complaint in the Circuit Court of the United States in the suit

"I hereby certify of the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railroad Company against statement of the gains, himself and others, profits, or income of which answer was filed Samuel J. Tilden, of recently, Mr. Tilden the city of New York, swore under oath as and county of New York, State of New York, whether derived from any kind of property, rents, interests, dividends, salary, or second mortgage bond, from any profession, holders, and the said trade, employment, or vocation, or from any other source whatever, mortgage bondholders, from 1st day of January to the 17th of October, 1862; * * * that the defendant, Tilden, for a days inclusive, and part of his services subject to an income aforesaid, also made a tax under the excise law of the United States. Income from all sources, \$7,118."

rendered to the first mortgage bondholders and the receivers, which was paid to him by the said Azariah C. Flagg; * * * and which payment appears under date of November 7, 1862, in a statement annexed to the first report aforesaid, as having been receipted for by the said Tilden, 'on account of professional services.'"

Is Mr. Tilden a willful perjurer? And if so, is he a fit person to be President of the United States?

DARE THE NATION TRUST SUCH A PARTY?

Dare the nation again trust such a party? In what have Republicans forfeited the confidence of the Republic? Shall Belknap's single crime—his sale of a post-tradership to the Democrat Marsh—the only offense of which it has been convicted—an accident, not the rule of its administration—blot out its record of magnificent achievements—its triumphant restoration of the Union against the murderous efforts of the Democracy to destroy it; its steady development and careful husbandry of the grand resources of the Nation, increasing immensely the wealth and happiness and comforts of the people? Even admitting Belknap's Republicanism—a mooted question—into what lilliputian proportions, in character and degree, does his

single crime dwarf before the greater and more heinous villainy of the Democracy—before those of its highest officials—its truest representatives in office; its Richard M. Johnsons, Vice President of the United States; its Martin Van Burens and John Forsytes, Secretaries of State; its Levi Woodburys, Secretary of the Treasury; its Lewis Casses and John B. Floyds, Secretaries of War; its John Y. Masons, Secretary of the Navy; its Jacob Thompsons, Secretary of the Interior; its William T. Barrys and Amos Kendalls, Postmasters General; its Hoyts, Harrises, and Boyds, whose maladministration and corruption stand without a parallel in history? A single crime—a comparatively petty offense, by which the nation loses nothing, not a penny—against a multitude by which the nation has been pillaged of hundreds of millions—aye, through the rebellion, of thousands of millions!

HISTORY OF THE WHITE LINE ORGANIZATION IN MISSISSIPPI.

In Mississippi the White Line organization is not new. Beginning with the *ante-war* period, it dates from 1865. This policy lay at the foundation of President Johnson's *so-called* reconstruction. When the war closed the constitution of the State was only amended so as to recognize the abolition of slavery. This was absolutely required by the Government. But negroes were not made citizens. As to them the old constitution remained unchanged. In October, 1865, State officers, a legislature, and county officers were elected. B. G. Humphries, an ex-Confederate major general, was chosen Governor. There were no party organizations, but Confederate records were the only recommendation for office. No man need apply who has not been loyal to the rebellion. The new government was installed in October, and the military were withdrawn.

The Legislature began its work by defining the status of the emancipated race. The laws then enacted will speak for themselves, and brief extracts verified by the official acts as published are given below.

In his inaugural of date October 16, 1865,

Governor Humphries said: "The planter cannot venture upon the cultivation of the great staple unless the laborer is *compelled* to comply with his contract, remaining and performing his proper amount of labor, day after day, and week after week, through the year; and if he *attempts* to *escape*, he should be *returned* to his employer, and *forced to work* until the time for which he has contracted has expired." By oversight or otherwise the Governor forgot to say anything about *compensation* for the *forced labor* he proposes, and this remained a minor consideration in the legislation that followed, as will be seen in the laws quoted:

THE BLACK CODE.

AN ACT to confer *Civil Rights* on freedmen, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, That all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded in all the courts of law and equity in this State, and may acquire *personal* property and chuses in action by descent or purchase, and may dispose of the same in the same manner and to the same extent that white persons may: *Provided*, That the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to *allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease*

any land or tenements, except in corporated towns and cities, in which places the corporated authorities shall control the same.

SEC. 2. * * * That it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to intermarry with any white person, nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, and any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life.

SEC. 5. That every freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, (1866,) and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof as follows, to wit: If living in any corporated city, town, or village, a license from the Mayor thereof, and if living outside of any incorporated city, town, or village, from the member of the board of police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work on a written contract, as provided in section six of this act: which license may be revoked, for cause, at any time by the authority granting the same.

SEC. 6. That if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before expiration of his term of service without good cause he shall forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting.

SEC. 7. That every civil officer shall, and every person may arrest and carry back to his legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause, and said officer and person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employe aforesaid the sum of five dollars, and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, and the same shall be paid by the employer, and held as a set-off for so much against the wages of said deserting employe.

SEC. 8. That upon affidavit made by the employer of any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or other credible person, before any justice of the peace or member of the board of police, that any freedman, free negro, or mulatto legally employed by said employer has illegally deserted said employment, such justice of the peace or member of the board of police shall issue his warrant or warrants, returnable before himself or other such officers, directed to any sheriff, constable, or special deputy, commanding him to arrest said deserter and return him or her to said employer, and the like proceedings shall be had as provided in the preceding section; and it shall be lawful for any officer to whom such warrant shall be directed to execute said warrant in any county of

this State, and that said warrant may be transmitted without indorsement to any like officer of another county, to be executed and returned as aforesaid, and the said employer shall pay the cost of warrants and arrest and return, which shall be a set-off for so much against the wages of said deserter.

SEC. 9. That if any person shall persuade, or attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to desert from the legal employment of any person before the expiration of his or her term of service, or shall knowingly employ any such deserting freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or shall knowingly give or sell to any such deserting freedman, free negro, or mulatto any food, raiment, or other thing, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars, and not more than two hundred dollars and the costs, and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding two months' imprisonment in the county jail, and he or she shall moreover be liable to the party injured in damages: Provided, If any person shall, or shall attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to desert from any legal employment of any person with the view to employ said freedman, free negro, or mulatto, such person, on conviction, shall be fined not less than fifty dollars, and not more than five hundred dollars and costs, and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding six months' imprisonment in the county jail.

Approved November 25, 1865. (Pamphlet acts of 1865, page 82.)

AN ACT to amend the Vagrant laws of Mississippi.

* * * * *

SEC. 2. Be it enacted, &c., That all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes in this State over the age of eighteen years found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found UNLAWFULLY ASSEMBLING themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling with freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes or usually ASSOCIATING with freedmen, &c., on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freed woman, free negro, or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof, shall be fined in the sum of not exceeding, in case of a freedman, free negro, or mulatto fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not exceeding six months.

* * * * *

SEC. 5. That all fines and forfeitures col-

lected under this act shall be paid into the county treasury, for general county purposes, and in case any freedman, free negro, or mulatto shall fail for five days after the imposition of any fine or forfeiture upon him or her for violation of any of the provisions of this act to pay the same, that it shall be, and it is hereby, made the duty of the sheriff of the proper county to hire out said freedman, free negro, or mulatto to any person who will, for the shortest period of service, pay said fine or forfeiture, and all costs: *Provided, A preference shall be given to the employer, if there be one, in which case the employer shall be entitled to deduct and retain the amount so paid from the wages of such freedman, free negro, or mulatto then due or to become due, and in case such freedman, free negro, or mulatto cannot be hired out, he or she may be dealt with as a pauper.*

SEC. 6. * * That it is hereby made the duty of the board of county police of each county of this State to levy a poll or capitation tax on each and every freedman, free negro, or mulatto (male and female) between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, not to exceed the sum of one dollar annually to each person so taxed, which tax when collected shall be paid into the county treasurer's hands, and shall constitute a fund to be called the freedmen's pauper fund, which shall be applied by the commissioner of the poor of the freedmen, &c., of this State.

SEC. 7. *Be it enacted,* That if any freedman, or free negro, or mulatto shall fail or refuse to pay any tax levied according to the provisions of the sixth section of this act it shall be *prima facie* evidence of vagrancy, and it shall be the duty of the sheriff to arrest such freedman, &c., or such person refusing or neglecting to pay such tax, and proceed at once to hire for the shortest time such delinquent tax-payer to any one who will pay the said tax, with accruing costs, giving preference to the employer, if there be one.

Approved November 24, 1865.

AN ACT to punish certain offenses therein named and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That no freedman, free negro, or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States Government and not licensed to do so by the board of police of his or her county, shall keep or carry fire-arms of any kind, or any ammunition, dirk, or bowie knife; and on conviction thereof, in the county court, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding ten dollars, and pay the costs of such proceeding, and all such arms or ammunition shall be forfeited to the informer, and it shall be the duty of every civil and military officer to arrest any freedman, free negro, or mulatto found with any such arms or

ammunition, and cause him to be committed for trial in default of bail.

SEC. 2. That any freedman, free negro, or mulatto committing riot, making seditious speeches, insulting gestures, largely, or acts, or assaults on any person, or committing any other misdemeanor, the punishment of which is not specifically provided for by law, shall, upon conviction thereof in the county court, be fined not less than ten dollars, and not more than one hundred dollars, and may be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days.

SEC. 3. That if any white person shall sell, lend, or give to any freedman, &c., &c., any fire-arms, dirk, or bowie knife, or ammunition, or any spirituous or intoxicating liquors, such person or persons so offending, upon conviction thereof in the county court of his or her county, shall be fined not exceeding fifty dollars, and may be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days.

SEC. 4. That all the penal and criminal laws now in force in the State defining offenses and prescribing the mode of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by SLAVES, FREE NEGROES, or MULATTOES be, and the same are hereby, ENACTED AND DECLARED TO BE IN FULL FORCE AND EFFECT against freedmen, negroes, and mulattoes, except so far as the modes and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law.

SEC. 5. That if any freedman, free negro, mulatto, convicted of any of the misdemeanors provided against in this act shall fail or refuse for the space of five days after conviction to pay the fine and costs imposed, such persons shall be hired out by the sheriff or other officers at public outcry to any white person who will pay said fine and costs, and take such convict for the shortest time.

Approved November 29, 1865.

AN ACT to regulate the relation of MASTER and apprentice, as relates to FREEDMEN, FREE NEGROES, and MULATTOES.

Be it enacted, &c., That it shall be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers of the several counties in this State to report to the probate courts of their respective counties semi-annually, at the January and July terms of said court, all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes under the age of eighteen within their respective counties, beats, or districts, who are orphans, or whose parent or parents have not the means, or who refuse to provide for and support said minors, and thereupon it shall be duty of the said court to order the clerk of said probate court to apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person on such terms as the court may direct: *Provided,* That the former owner of said minors shall have the preference. * * *

SEC. 3. That in the management and control of said apprentices said master or mistress shall have power to inflict such MODERATE CORPOREAL CHASTISEMENT as a father or guardian is allowed to inflict on his or her child or ward at common law. * * *

SEC. 4. That if any apprentice shall leave the employment of his or her master or mistress without his or her consent, said master or mistress may pursue and recapture said apprentice and bring him or her before any justice of the peace of the county, whose duty it shall be to remand said apprentice to the service of his or her master or mistress, and in the event of a refusal on the part of said apprentice so to return, then said justice shall commit said apprentice to the jail of said county, on failure to give bond, until the next term of the county court, and it shall be the duty of said court at the first term thereafter to investigate said case, and if the court shall be of the opinion that said apprentice left the employment of his or her master or mistress without good cause to order him or her to be punished, as provided for the punishment of hired freedmen, as may be from time to time provided for by law, for desertion, until he or she shall agree to return to his or her master or mistress.

SEC. 5. That if any person entice away any apprentice from his or her master or mistress, or shall knowingly employ an apprentice, or furnish him or her food, or clothing, without the written consent of his or her master or mistress, or shall sell or give said apprentice ardent spirits without such consent, said person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, before the county court, be punished as provided for the punishment of persons enticing from their employer hired freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

Approved November 22, 1865.

An illustration of the effect of the fifth section of the first act quoted may not be out of place here. It will be seen by section two of the act amending the vagrant laws, that all freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes over the age of eighteen, found without employment on the second Monday of January of each year, were deemed and declared vagrants, and liable to heavy fine and imprisonment. Under the foregoing fifth section no one was permitted to work without first obtaining license. But the absolute necessity to work was also made a privilege, and licenses had to be purchased. The prices ranged from fifty cents to one dollar per month, the city authorities themselves regulating the amount. Poverty was thus made a double crime.

A case of this kind arose in 1866, under the first section of the above act. An order issued by Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, in 1865, permitted soldiers to purchase of the Government the muskets they carried in the service, by paying the regulation price, and take them to their homes as personal property. A number of colored United States soldiers mustered out in Mississippi availed themselves of this privilege, and one of them returned to his home near Canton. He was arrested, tried, and convicted under the first section, and his rifle taken from him by the white informer. Major Williams, of the Freedmen's Bureau, carried the case to the supreme court of the State, which sustained the action of the lower court, Chief Justice Handy delivering an elaborate opinion in the case.

STATE TAXATION.

The Democratic maxim of "no taxation without representation" was utterly unknown to the Democracy when they were in power. They had not only reduced the negro to a condition of oppressive vassalage, with no rights that any one was bound to respect, but weighed down his beggared hands with almost the entire burden of government. *The poor whites and the negroes paid three-fourths of the taxes of the State, as will be seen below.*

The State tax upon lands was only one-tenth of one per cent. of the value given to the assessor by the owner of the land.

Under the same law, (Acts of 1865, page 216,) "all blacksmiths, bakers, butchers, brickmakers, carriagemakers, carpenters, printers, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, painters, milliners," &c., &c., were required to pay *twenty-five cents on every hundred dollars' worth of their GROSS EARNINGS!*

Thus the poorest man in the State, with nothing but the proceeds of his hard, honest daily toil to support his family, was made to pay *two and a half times* as much tax on the small pittance he earned by "the sweat of his brow" as the wealthy planter paid on his fine estate.

ITS PRACTICAL WORKINGS.

The practical workings of this barbarous system was shown by Attorney General Morris, from the tax-rolls of Warren county in 1868:

Col. Joseph E. Davis, total taxes on 3,793 acres of bottom land, which he sold for \$50,000, all told..... \$141 14

Heirs of Gen. John A. Quitman, on 6,810 acres of bottom land, handsomely improved, including a plantation which was rented for \$30,000 per annum. It was assessed the same year. Total taxes, all told..... 188 64

"LOOK ON THIS PICTURE."

Mr. Philip Gilbert, shoemaker, pays annually 75 28

Mr. P. Crecy, on a salary of \$1,200, with no property, pays \$33 00

Mr. Vetch, a barber, and no property but his soap, shears, and razors, pays 107 63

Pompey Higgins, a colored drayman, on his dray and two mules, pays 33 82

Mr. Fred. Lord, a butcher, pays annually 243 70

These figures show briefly how the Democratic party set systematically about to oppress, impoverish, AND ROB THE POOR AND EMPTY THE RICH!

It was a part of the general plan to "keep the negro in his place," and compel him to serve and support the white man.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

was passed over President Johnson's veto on the 9th day of April, 1866. In his special message of October 16, 1866, Governor Humphries said: "The civil-rights bill passed by Congress at its recent session conflicts directly with many of our State laws, and has been a fruitful source of disturbance. Immediately after your adjournment, in December, 1865, I appointed commissioners to visit the city of Washington, lay these laws before the President, and request him to indicate which of them the military authorities would be allowed to nullify. The President gave full assurances that none of them should be nullified except by the civil courts of the land."

As the "civil courts" of Mississippi were in full sympathy with the spirit of the State legislation, it is easy to understand which of the laws were "nullified" by them.

RECONSTRUCTION.

The reconstruction acts were approved March 7, 1867. They required that a majority of the registered voters of the State should vote "for convention," or it would be no election. It was the negro's first vote.

At first many whites "accepted the Congressional plan as a choice of evils," and advocated its adoption, but by the time the election took place—in December, 1867—the fewest possible number voted at all. The following paragraphs from the Vicksburg *Times* of that date will show the *animus* of the opposition:

"STAY AWAY FROM THE POLLS.

"We again urge every decent white man, every honorable gentleman of the Caucasian race, to avoid General Ord's election as he would pestilence and a prison. As this advice does not apply to, and is not intended for, the white sneaks of the Loyal League, we shall expect the last-named despicable vermin out in all their strength.

"THE IMMORTAL FIGHT.

"We are gratified to be able to announce to the readers of the *Times* that at the courthouse yesterday, the only place open to the whole people, there were cast the votes of eight people only. We tried to get the names of the interesting sneaks who voted, but failed, though the *Times* office was and is ready to pay a dollar for the name of each voter. We shall publish the names of those voters if we can get them, and some day we shall; but if we do not, we shall with pride chronicle the fact that in the heroic city of Vicksburg, the gallant Sarragossa of the South, that there were only eight cowards, dogs, and scoundrels of the Mygatt and McKee breed."

But the convention was carried by a small majority, there being almost a solid colored vote cast in its favor. The constitutional convention assembled the first of January, 1868, and proceeded to frame a constitution. It was largely Republican from the fact mainly that Democrats had indignantly refused to touch reconstruction in any way, and were very bitter in denouncing all who did. On the 15th of January a Democratic State convention assembled at Jackson and adopted the following

WHITE-LINE RESOLUTIONS:

"Resolved, That the military bills of Congress for the reconstruction of the so-called rebel States are *unconstitutional*, and oppressive in *all their particulars*, and should be resisted by the unanimous voice of the people at the ballot-box.

"Resolved, That the nefarious design of the Republican party in Congress to place the white men of the Southern States under the governmental control of their late slaves, and degrade the Caucasian race as the inferior of the African negro, is a crime against

the civilization of the age, which need only to be mentioned to be scorned by every intelligent mind, and we therefore call upon the people of Mississippi to vindicate alike the superiority of their race over the negro and their political power to maintain constitutional liberty."

The race issue is thus early declared, and maintained with vigor and ability.

ANOTHER CONVENTION.

On the 19th of February, 1868, another Democratic State convention met at Jackson. It represented fully the revolutionary and desperate spirit of the January gathering. A long series of resolutions were adopted, of which the following is a specimen:

"*Resolved*, That by the constitution and laws of Mississippi white males of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, and citizens of the United States, are *alone* qualified electors and office-holders, and that no others have a right to vote within the limits of said State, or to hold office therein, and that therefore the acts of Congress prescribing rules whereby negroes are claimed to be authorized to vote or hold office in said State are utterly *null and void and of no effect whatever*."

Yet in spite of these repeated declarations of the Democratic party of Mississippi, Congressman Lamar had the hardihood to declare, in a speech at Jackson, Mississippi, on the 4th of August, 1875, that "the Government first drew the color line, distinct and deep, by the passage of the reconstruction acts."

The Democratic press teemed with nothing but the most scurrilous and mendacious slanders against all Republicans, and appealed to their readers to treat "all who advocated reconstruction as *enemies and outlaws*."

"A GOOD RESOLUTION."

To show what the spirit was at this time, a portion of an editorial from the *Vicksburg Times*, under the above caption, is given:

"The Democratic Club, of Marion, Alabama, recently adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the members of this club, in their social intercourse, will not recognize any man as a gentleman, or a friend to his country, who may accept any appointment to office under the reconstruction acts of the Congress of the United States."

"This resolution is good, but it does not go far enough. * * * Between the

white men of the South and the advocates of negro suffrage there should be a deep ditch—a high wall—and these obstacles should be as fixed as fate, and as impassable as the gulf which separated Dives from Lazarus when the former was in hell. They should be made to feel that they are despised outcasts, cut off from all human fellowship and sympathy. * * * Between them and us there can be nothing but hostility, eternal and undying, and there is not a murderer or a thief in the world for whom we have not more respect than we have for the vagabonds who seek to impose negro rule upon the people of the South."

Such was the common sentiment of the press and the stump-speakers at that time. Governor Humphries was the nominee for Governor, and Colonel Charles E. Hooker, at present a member of Congress from the Jackson district, candidate for Attorney General. Both indorsed the White-Line platform, and went far beyond it in their hostile and incendiary declarations.

The election on the new constitution and for State officers occurred on the 22d of June, and for violence, intimidation, and outrage has only been equaled by the high-handed and bloody revolution of 1875. The constitution was voted down by a forced majority of 7,000.

The manner in which that election was carried is thus stated in an address issued by a State convention of Republicans, November 18, 1868:

"Loyal and peaceable citizens were driven from their homes and threatened with violence and death. Public speakers, by threats and intimidations, were prevented from meeting their appointments, or were driven from the stands by lawless mobs. An organization of armed and disguised men, calling itself a Ku-Klux Klan, perambulated the country by night, committing outrages and murders, defying detection. The poor dependent classes of our loyal fellow-citizens were threatened with starvation, discharge from service, and violence and death, if they failed to vote with their disloyal employers. In many counties the state of affairs herein enumerated prevailed to such an extent that there existed, not even the semblance of a fair election."

THE ELECTION OF 1869.

Another election on the constitution and for State officers was held in December, 1869. Hon. J. L. Alcorn was the Republican candidate for Governor, and Judge Louis

Dent, a brother-in-law of the President, was the candidate of the Liberals and Democrats. Dent was imported from Washington for the canvass, the Democracy thereby hoping to catch the support of General Grant, but as soon as the trick was discovered the President used all his influence against the attempted fraud, and supported the regular ticket. In like manner, and for the same purpose, the Democracy of Mississippi supported Horace Greeley in 1872. They hoped to accomplish by this means what they had failed to by regular organization under a White-Line banner.

THE KU-KLUX KLAN.

In 1871 a general election occurred in Mississippi for legislative and county officers. The Ku-Klux Klan reorganized early in the spring and began their depredations in that year. Meridian was made the opening theatre of the campaign, and a terrible massacre of colored people ensued. Over thirty school-houses for colored people were burned or destroyed in two months, and a reign of terror, accompanied by murders and outrages, pervaded the State. The enforcement law of Congress was thereupon passed, and over *one thousand* convictions of Ku-Klux took place in the Federal courts at Oxford and Jackson. Comparative peace was thereby restored, and the general elections of 1871, 1872, and 1873 were peaceably and quietly held. The result of those elections was as follows :

	<i>Rep. maj.</i>
1869	38,041
1871	31,000
1872	35,103
1873	20,031

Inasmuch as both candidates for Governor in 1873—Ames and Alcorn—were Republicans, the Republican vote was somewhat divided, the body of the party, however, voting for Ames.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1875.

The memorable election of 1875 was the next trial of strength. The canvass opened early, and it soon became evident that the struggle would be fierce and desperate. The time was well chosen by the Democracy. The courts had decided the enforcement law to be unconstitutional, and as they had

no fear of prosecutions under State law, being fully able to intimidate and defy the local officers, they could carry on a campaign of *force* with impunity. The character and result of that campaign is known to the country and need not be repeated here. Since 1873 it is estimated that the colored vote of the State has increased fully 10,000 by immigration from Georgia, Alabama, and other Democratic States, which they left to escape Democratic oppression. At a *fair* election the Republican majority in 1875 would not have been less than 45,000. Yet what was the result? The vote for State treasurer was as follows :

Hemmingway, Democrat	99,211
Buchanan, Republican	68,225
	<hr/>
Democratic majority	30,986

MACHINE POLITICIANS.—The taunt of machine politician, applied to Republican leaders who do not happen to be chosen for us by the Confederate Democracy, has little point and no fitness. Applied to men like Chandler, Morton, and Conkling it is conspicuously senseless. These men have long been prominent in public life. Standing in the open light of the United States Senate for twelve and eighteen years, they have made records which mark the high-water line of American statesmanship, public honor, and personal integrity. No stain smirches the character of either of them. Even Democratic vituperation, that most unclean thing which to-day impeaches Christian civilization, has failed to note the first speck upon their political garments. But they propose to “hold the fort.” They decline to strike the flag of Republican principles, of the equal rights of all citizens and equal protection to all; they refuse to throw open the gates of the citadel to the marauding bands without; they are not ready to welcome the blood-stained banditti of the South nor the Tammany thieves of the North to a control of the nation achieved by violence and outrage, or purchased by corruption and fraud. On the contrary, they do not intend that innocent people shall be murdered nor honest voters cheated if they can help it. Hence these tears.

FREE SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH.

The article in the September number of *THE REPUBLIC* under the above title included the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In pursuance of the line of thought therein presented, and to show what progress, if any, the cause of popular education has made in the reconstructed States since the war, the difficulties encountered in the establishing of free-school systems, and the united and relentless hostility of the Democratic party met in this work, the subject is continued in this number. Attention is next invited to the State of

TEXAS.

Texas was readmitted into the Union by the enabling act of Congress approved February, 1870. The Government then inaugurated was Republican, and the establishment of a system of public instruction was among the first acts passed by the Legislature. October 28, 1871, State Superintendent J. C. De Gress writes that "the system promises to be a success, notwithstanding the prejudice and strong opposition of a large portion of the people." Among the obstacles encountered in the work he enumerates the following:

"At Millican a teacher of a public school cast his vote for the candidate of his choice, and his school was broken up in consequence." * * * * *

"Not long since a teacher of a colored school in Bastrop county was taken from his home at night, tied to a tree, and whipped nearly to death. His school-house was also burned." * * * * *

"It is with great difficulty that houses can be procured for the colored schools in the State, on account of the great opposition to the education of the blacks; and it has been even more difficult to find persons willing to teach such schools, as they have in all cases been ostracised from society."

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funds were from time to time, during the existence of the rebellion, withdrawn from the school fund and expended; the most of it under the direction of the Military Board." * * * * *

"Out of the thirty-seven States, Texas yet ranks seventh in the possession of a large permanent school fund; this now amounts to \$2,670,798.12."

In 1871 the Legislature of Texas enacted a compulsory school law. It required that all children of suitable age should attend some school for four months in the year.

The sixth report of the agent of the Peabody Fund, made in 1871, contains the following:

"The school fund of Texas, after being sadly plundered, is still larger than that of any Southern State, being \$2,585,297. The whole expenditure for schools in 1871-'72 amounted to \$1,217,101.48."

In his annual report for 1874 the State Superintendent reports that "about 75 per cent. of the scholastic population received four months' tuition in the public schools."

The State of Texas became Democratic by a large and permanent majority in the winter of 1873. The educational condition of the State since that time is shown below in reply to the following letter addressed to the editor of the *Waco Register*, as reproduced, with the editor's reply, in the columns of his paper:

ANSWER TO INQUIRIES.

UNION REPUBLICAN

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1876.

W. R. Chase, Esq., Waco, Texas:

DEAR SIR: Will you please inform me what is the exact status of your free-school system under Democratic management?

What does the present law provide for?

What amount of money or taxes is appropriated, and what is the educational condition at this time?

I see you have, or are to have, a new law on this subject.

Did not the Democrats abolish free schools when they came into power?

What is the character of the school-trust fund, and what have they done with it?

I should also like to know what your rate of taxation is and the condition of your finances. Truly, yours, — — —

Editorial.

We have concluded to publish our reply to the above :

1. There are no free schools in the State ; at least we are aware of none, either in this section or elsewhere in the State.

2. "The present law" provides for nothing which supports schools. The present law sets apart alternate sections of State public lands to schools, but money is not realized from these, nor expected to be realized, sufficient to support a system of public schools.

3. No money derived from taxation is set apart for schools under the present Democratic administration.

4. Yes, the Democrats abolished free schools when they came into power. We had a good free-school system, and in excellent operation, under our Republican administration, under which the children of the State were being educated. Under our constitution (Republican) all the public lands and one-fourth of the revenues of the State derived from taxation were set apart to schools, and the constitution made it obligatory upon the Legislature to provide free schools for not less than four months in the year.

When the Democrats came in they abolished this constitution, and have put one in its place which sets apart only one-half the public lands to schools, and does not make it obligatory upon the State government to set apart a cent of the money derived from taxes to schools. Under this (Democratic) constitution the public schools have gone down.

5. The school-trust funds were in United States bonds ; but the Democratic Legislature has just ordered these bonds to be sold for the money ; with which money they will pay themselves for their services, and issue their own (State) depreciated bonds to be put in the place of the United States bonds. The transaction constitutes simply a robbery from the school fund.

6. Taxes have been heavier every year under Democratic administration than they were any year under Republican administration, and have increased from year to year. The rate may be no higher, but more things are taxed.

7. The condition of our State finances is that the legislative finance committee has just reported a deficiency of the rise of \$300,000 of taxes to meet current expenses of the State government. The Comptroller asserts this deficiency to be \$500,000.

The State has been steadily run in debt at the rate of about a million dollars since the present administration came into power.

In May, 1873, the State Legislature (Democratic) abolished the school law which had

been in operation since 1871, and passed another of which the Governor of the State (Republican) says, in declining to approve the act, page 383 :

"The constitution (art. 9, sec. 4) directs the Legislature to establish a uniform system of free schools throughout the State ; but this act, though in its title it proposes to establish such a system, in reality does away with all systems."

It, however, became a law notwithstanding the opposition of the Governor. And William Alexander, Attorney General of the State, says, (page 384 :) :

"After a careful study of the school law of May 22, 1873, I am forced to conclude that so many of its provisions are unconstitutional, while others are impracticable, that it cannot be put into operation."

And of its practical effect the State Superintendent says :

"The last Legislature enacted a new school law, repealing the old one, and in effect abolishing our rapidly growing system of common schools. Under this law no uniform system of public free schools, as required by the State constitution, can be established ; in fact, the poor, to whom alone the free schools are to be opened, can never under it be educated. * * * In short, the old pauper law of the State is being substantially re-enacted. The school fund is hence likely to be given away to private institutions of learning, while those who are unable to pay for the tuition of their children and are too proud to acknowledge themselves paupers will be deprived of an education solemnly guaranteed to them by the constitution of the State and indorsed by the Congress of the United States.

"The public domain (of the State) on the 31st day of August, 1872, consisted of 88,842,704½ acres of land, the proceeds of which were, by section 6, article 9, of the State constitution, to become a part of the common school fund ; but the last Legislature gave away over half of such lands to corporations."

And the Attorney General further says in his official opinion :

"Besides, the Constitution enacts that no law shall ever be made appropriating such (school) fund for any other use or purpose whatever, and the Congress of the United States guaranteed this enactment by providing that the constitution of Texas shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the constitution of said State."

Thirty millions of acres of the large public domain referred to by the State Superintendent above have been donated to Tom Scott's Texas and Pacific railroad. Speaking of this enormous grant the Austin *Statesman* (Democratic) says:

"Scott has gotten all; the Legislature holds its session to suit his ends, and he has been protected in his great land grab, out of which he may, in time, carve States even more pliable than Pennsylvania or Texas. Until the sequel shows it we can hardly believe it, and would ask the public not to foster the idea that Tom Scott is to govern Texas absolutely. That the people can thus be sold out through agencies selected by themselves we will not believe, until a vote is given for President *pro tem.* of the Senate, drawing a distinct line between the friends and opponents of the Texas and Pacific. It is a pitiable spectacle to contemplate, that of Tom Scott wholly controlling the destinies of Texas—making Governors, directing legislation, and even placing a delegation in Congress from Texas purely subservient to his schemes of plunder. It is time for us to ask, in the most serious of moods, *are we free?*"

A late number of the San Antonio *Herald* (Democratic) says:

"In our Legislature the characteristic feature is waste and extravagance. Offices are multiplied, salaries increased, and the people's domain squandered in the most reckless manner; but the sacred trust—the school fund, amounting to \$800,000—committed to their fiduciary care, is also seized and appropriated to the payment of the mileage and per diem and other expenses of this session of the Legislature, and to make good the deficit in the State treasury, caused in part by the expenses incurred for the constitutional convention."

Again, in another issue:

"They are rendering our public free schools a tragic farce; they are sapping its only reliable sources of support by abstracting the United States bonds and squandering the proceeds of their sale. They have robbed you of your princely domain secured by the life-blood of very many and the severest privations of all Texas heroes and veterans. The pittance of a school fund we looked upon as secure as long as we had United States bonds in the treasury for the basis of that fund; but now your fifteenth Legislature, with sacrilegious hands, have torn down the only pillars which could give support to your free-school system. And, in doing so, they have realized that, as Alaric and Attila could invade and devastate the proud and

classic city of Rome, so in this day of boasted refinement and advocacy of universal education a set of Vandals, calling themselves Democrats, of Texas, have violently taken from the childhood and youth of Texas that which is vastly more important to them than bread itself."

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The State of South Carolina has been particularly favored with an advanced and efficient free-school system under continuous Republican rule during the past seven years. Probably no State South has made equal progress, unless it was Mississippi in the four years of effective management by State Superintendent Pease. In South Carolina the organization and development of a free-school system has been steady, progressive, and successful.

In his annual report for 1875 the State superintendent furnishes the following figures:

Educable children, (white,).....	80,461
" " (colored,).....	139,395
Total.....	219,856

School attendance, (white,).....	47,001
" " (colored,).....	63,415
Total.....	110,416

Average monthly wages of teachers, \$30.

Average number of school months, 4½.

Increase of free schools over 1874, 227.

Total amount of school revenue for the fiscal year ending October 18, 1875.....	\$489,542
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School expenditures for 1868.....	\$25,000
" " " 1869.....	112,475
" " " 1870.....	100,735
" " " 1871.....	208,618
" " " 1872.....	420,918
" " " 1873.....	455,317
" " " 1874.....	470,249
" " " 1875.....	434,164

The State superintendent, Mr. Jillson, reports that—

"Four main causes check the efficiency and success of our free common schools, and they are—

"1. Want of qualified and efficient teachers.

"2. Inefficiency and unfitness of school officers.

"3. Lack of sufficient interest of the right kind on the part of the people in general.

"4. Inadequacy of means."

Under the third head he says :

"A large and influential class of the community manifest little or no interest in our free schools." * * *

In contrast with the expenditures in the State of South Carolina for free school purposes he reports :

"The State of Rhode Island, with a school population of 43,800, expended \$668,724 for the support of her common schools during the year 1874. The city of Baltimore expends more money annually for public schools than does the entire State of South Carolina."

NORTH CAROLINA.

The free-school system of North Carolina is very imperfect. The constitution of the State, adopted in 1868 by the Republicans, provides as follows :

"The General Assembly, at its first session under this constitution, shall provide by taxation and otherwise for a general and uniform system of public schools, wherein tuition shall be free of charges to all the children of the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years.

"Each county of the State shall be divided into a convenient number of districts, in which one or more public schools shall be taught at least four months in every year ; and if the county commissioners of any county shall fail to comply with the aforesaid requirements of this section they shall be liable to indictment."

A general system was established as the outgrowth of these provisions, but little progress was made in its organization before the hostile legislation of 1871. In his annual report for 1872 Dr. Sears, agent of the Peabody Fund, reports as follows : "The public mind does not seem to be so well settled here in regard to free schools as in most of the other States. The General Assembly levied no tax for schools for the present year, and the poll-taxes were in many cases applied to other than school purposes."

According to the State superintendent's report for 1874 the sum of \$216,684 was expended for schools in that year.

The number of educable children in the State is 123,088.

The condition of the permanent educational fund is reported as follows by the State Treasurer, under date of August 25, 1876 :

Educational Fund.

This fund had, before the war, stock as follows, the proceeds of land grants by the General Government :

Bank of North Carolina.....	\$502,700
Bank of Cape Fear	544,400
Wilmington and Weldon Railroad Company.....	400,000
Wilmington and Manchester Railroad Company.....	200,000
Cape Fear Navigation Company.....	32,500
	<hr/> 1,679,600

The bank stock was lost by the results of the war.

The stock in the two railroads was sold by the Board of Education in April, 1869—that in the Wilmington and Weldon railroad for \$148,000, and that in Wilmington and Manchester railroad for \$10,000. The stock in the Navigation Company was sold for \$3,250 in May, 1869.

Of the amount realized from the sale of the stocks as above stated \$150,000 was invested in \$450,000 of special tax bonds, when that class of bonds was regarded as good. The balance was loaned on good collaterals by order of the Board of Education.

At the close of the war this fund had \$250,000 old bonds which were preserved from the wreck of the war. They were converted into interest-bearing certificates under act of Assembly February 26, 1867, which certificates are now counted among the assets of the fund. Interest was paid to 1868, when it was suspended for want of funds.

The statement (J) on page 43 of the report of Treasurer, 1874, gives a complete record of assets of the Board of Education, to which are to be added \$31,000 to United States bonds, making United States bonds now in possession of board \$76,000.

The Literary Fund had at the close of the war a large amount of Confederate bonds and State war bonds, which were bought with funds accumulating during the war. These funds were of the currency of the country, as then existing.

[SEAL]

D. A. JENKINS,
State Treasurer.

The relation of Republicanism and popular education is not alone ascertained by comparing Republican with Democratic States, but it is apparent also by comparisons between counties in any given State South, if not as well throughout the country. Take, for example, the Republican counties of Wake, Pasquotank, and Granville, and the Democratic counties of Orange, Johnston, and Currituck. Their population and school attendance is as follows :

	Population.	Attendance.
Wake.	35,617	2,956
Orange.	17,507	783
Granville.	24,831	1,345
Johnston.	16,897	747
Pasquotank.	8,131	1,088
Currituck.	5,131	121

The ratio of attendance in the Republican counties, it will be seen, is much greater than in the Democratic counties. A comparison of all the counties in North Carolina will show that free schools flourish where Republicans rule and languish where Democrats rule.

General Observations.

The following fourteen States are, under ordinary circumstances, conceded to the Republican party: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin. The following are conceded, generally, to the Democrats: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia. The remainder are claimed by both parties. They can easily be compared in the light of the last census report:

I. The fourteen Republican States have a population of 16,037,419. The fifteen Democratic States have a population of 12,149,512. In the former the number of public schools is 74,584; in the latter, 22,291. In the former the pupils in public schools are estimated at 1,022,716.

Public schools to population in the Republican States is as 1 to 15.6; in the Democratic States it is as 1 to 54.6 and a half times as much. The ratio of attendance upon public schools in the Republican States is as 1 to 15.6; in the Democratic States it is as 1 to 54.6 and a half times as great. This fact cannot be the ground of difference in results; nor on the other side. The States are contiguous. The results in 1818 and the results in 1868.

Population of 2,539,891.

MISSOURI.

Missouri has a population of 1,721,295.

The public schools in Illinois number 11,050; pupils, 677,623. The public schools of Missouri number 5,996; pupils, 320,313. In the former the ratio of public schools to population is as 1 to 229; in the latter as 1 to 287. In the former there are in attendance on these schools one pupil to every 3.45 persons; in the latter one to every 5.13.

OHIO AND KENTUCKY.

These States are contiguous. The former was admitted as a State in 1802, the latter ten years earlier.

Ohio has a population of 2,665,260; Kentucky, 1,321,011. The number of public schools in Ohio, 11,458; pupils in schools, 737,693. The number of public schools in Kentucky, 4,727; pupils in schools, 218,240. In the former the ratio of public schools to the population is 1 to 232; in the latter, 1 to 279. In Ohio there are in attendance upon these schools one pupil to every 3.35 persons; in Kentucky, 1 to every 6.

Like results will be obtained by comparing Kansas or Nebraska with Colorado or any other, except, possibly, West Virginia, where the prosperity of the public schools is attributable to other causes than Democratic power.

REFORM CATECHISM.

Q. Who originated the Credit Mobilier swindle?

A. Samuel J. Tilden.

Q. What lawyer takes fees from both sides?

A. Samuel J. Tilden.

Q. Who swears to false income returns?

A. Samuel J. Tilden.

Q. Who cries "stop thief!" when his confederates are exposed?

A. Samuel J. Tilden.

Q. Who is the fit and proper candidate of the Confederate Democracy?

A. Samuel J. Tilden.

Q. Who is not a fit and proper candidate for the support of the American people?

A. Samuel J. Tilden.

The property-holders of the District of Columbia will rue the day when Democracy rules the nation.

TILDEN AND HENDRICKS—A FEW FACTS ABOUT THEIR WAR RECORDS.

Doughface is no misnomer for Northern Democracy. Nor has the appropriateness of the appellation ever been more fully and forcibly demonstrated than is now being done to prove that Samuel J. Tilden was a patriot during the late war. From 1861 to 1865 the Democratic party, as a party, of which Mr. Tilden was a prominent leader, was in open sympathy with the rebels, and the Democratic press teemed with disloyal sentiments, and Democratic conventions, even as late as 1864, adopted resolutions declaring the war a failure. It will be remembered that prominent Democrats of the North met rebel emissaries in Canada, and numerous consultations were there held, in which the heartfelt sympathy of those gentlemen who are now crying "reform" was poured out for their Southern allies and their cause. Their sympathy for the rebels was no secret. Their conventions resolved that such was the fact, their press proclaimed it, far and wide, and their opposition to Mr. Lincoln's administration was most bitter, and finally culminated in his assassination. In some of the States, in localities where the Democracy had undisputed control, meetings were held and men enlisted and armed to resist the Government draft to fill our depleted ranks. To such an extent did this opposition prevail that it became necessary to recall troops from the front to take care of the rebel-reform Democracy at home. This is no fiction, but stubborn facts that have already passed into history.

This is the attitude the Democratic party assumed toward the Government at a time when every citizen's aid and sympathy were necessary to preserve the nation's life. It was in 1864, when the fate of the nation was trembling in the balance—the crisis had arrived and every loyal heart was palpitating with anxiety and fear; the Government needed both men and money for the common defense. The old flag was in danger and the dismemberment of the Union seemed almost inevitable. The Government, through her Executive, appealed to her patriotic sons for

aid. It was a time when every loyal citizen was expected to do his duty.

Did the Democracy respond to the appeal? Did they come forth ready "to do and die" for the old flag and the land of their nativity? Be it said to their eternal shame they opposed it—with honorable individual exceptions—to the bitter end; and in the very darkest hours of our nation's peril Samuel J. Tilden, from the Committee on Resolutions in a Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1864, brought forth the infamous resolution declaring the war a failure, thus inspiring new hopes and raising new expectations of an ultimate victory in the hearts of the rebels in the South and their cowardly Democratic allies in the North.

Mr. Tilden has a war record which is now, as it always has been, eminently satisfactory to Jeff. Davis and the whole rebel horde, including the Democratic party of the North, whatever other people may think about it. It began in a public way on Saturday, April 20, 1861. On that day the largest mass meeting ever held on this continent was convened in Union square, New York city, to give encouragement to Abraham Lincoln in the opening of the battle for the Union. John A. Dix was the presiding officer, but among the Vice Presidents or speakers were such Democrats as Daniel S. Dickinson, John T. Hoffman, Fernando Wood, Abram S. Hewitt, Erastus Brooks, Augustus Schell, and many others, all whose names were used with their consent. That Samuel J. Tilden did not give any aid to this initial movement in favor of the Union was the fault of no one but himself. He was waited upon by Mr. Samuel Sloan, and asked to allow the use of his name as a Vice President, and curtly refused. Mr. Sloan begged and still Tilden refused to do anything to aid and abet an "abolition war." Mr. Sloan at last lost patience with this obdurate disloyalty and exclaimed, "Mr. Tilden, you will live to regret that you did not do as I asked." Tilden, who already saw Toombs calling the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill, said, "I think

not," and there the interview ended. The speakers at the meeting which Tilden thus refused to attend were Rev. Dr. Spring, John A. Dix, Daniel S. Dickinson, Senator Baker, of Oregon, Robert J. Walker, Fernando Wood, ex-Governor Hunt, William M. Evarts, Henry J. Raymond, Richard O'Gorman, Hamilton Fish, John Cochrane, David Dudley Field, Royal Phelps, and others. A letter was read from Archbishop Hughes, in which that now deceased and greatly lamented prelate uttered brave, manly, earnest words for the Union, ending by saying: "We know no party now." To the meeting to which the good archbishop wrote, and to which all these patriots spoke, Samuel J. Tilden said, "I have no sympathy with its object."

Mr. Tilden always bore the reputation of being a sly, crafty politician, and his public expressions as to the war were carefully guarded, while his secret heart went out in full sympathy with the rebels. When in private consultation with his Democratic friends he sometimes expressed his sentiments more fully, as will appear from the following extract from a letter of Dr. Russell, correspondent of the *London Times*, concerning a dinner party in New York, in March, 1861. Dr. Russell, (afterward known as Bull Run Russell,) writes to the *Times* as follows:

"In the evening, dining again with my friend, the banker, I had a favorable opportunity of hearing more of the special pleading which is brought to bear on the solution of the gravest political questions. It would seem as if a council of physicians were wrangling with each other over abstract dogmas respecting life and health while their patient was struggling in the agonies of death before them. There is not the smallest evidence of uneasiness on account of circumstances which betokened an awful crisis, if not the impending dissolution of society itself. Stranger still, the acts which are bringing about such a calamity were not regarded with disfavor, or at least were not considered unjustifiable. Among the guests were Hon. Horatio Seymour, a former Governor of the State of New York; Mr. Tilden, an acute lawyer, and Mr. Bancroft. The result left on my mind by their conversation and argument, was, that, according to the Constitution, the Government could not employ force to prevent secession, or compel

States which had seceded by the voice of the people to acknowledge the Federal power. In fact, according to them, the Federal Government was the mere machine put forward by a society of sovereign States as a common instrument for certain ministerial acts, more particularly those which affected the external relations of the confederation. * * * There was not a man who maintained that the Government had any power to force the people of a State or to force a State to remain in the Union. Although they admitted the Southern leaders had meditated this treason against the Union, they could not bring themselves to allow their old opponents, the Republicans, now in power, to dispose of the armed force of the Union against their brother Democrats in the Southern States. Although secession will produce rebellion, it was, nevertheless, 'a right' founded on abstract principles, which could scarcely be abrogated consistently with due regard to the original compact. The Democrats behold with silent satisfaction the troubles into which the Republican triumph has plunged the country and are not disposed to extricate them."

It will thus be seen that Mr. Tilden had no sympathy with the North in its efforts to put down the rebellion and preserve the Union, but was actually so thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of States' rights, including the right of secession, that he could not find it in his heart to oppose and resist a dissolution of the Union. Surely the rebels of the South can find no fault with their candidate on that score, and his war record is highly acceptable to them as a matter of course.

It seems Mr. Tilden has "lived to regret" the course he pursued in 1861, or, if not to regret it, to absolutely deny it through his tools in Congress. The effort of Mr. Hewitt to prove Mr. Tilden's loyalty on the floor of the House falls flat when compared with the truth of history, as appears by the following from a highly reliable and authenticated source:

"The statement of Abram S. Hewitt that Samuel J. Tilden subscribed toward the organization of the Tammany regiment during the war is a fabrication out of whole cloth, and Mr. Hewitt should have known that it had no foundation in fact. The documents of the 'Union Defense Committee,' which was started in New York city at the outbreak of the war for the purpose of equipping regiments for active service, show

that the *entire cost* of sending the Tammany and three other New York regiments to the front was defrayed *wholly* by the committee. It was, therefore, unfortunate for Mr. Hewitt to have selected the Tammany regiment as the one to which, as he stated, without the slightest foundation, Mr. Tilden gave a subscription, when the records show that he never gave even one cent to the organization. These facts do not admit of dispute. They have passed into history. The Union Defense Committee of New York, and its action in regard to regiments from that city, are matters of record in the Government offices at Washington. On page 54 of the report of this committee, issued in 1862, we find that they paid out the following sums, being the *whole cost* of equipping the regiments :

Tammany Regiment.....	\$47,146 65
Mozart Regiment.....	67,099 83
Garibaldi Guards.. . . .	47,517 56
De Kalb Regiment.....	43,891 50

"The average cost of equipping each of these regiments was \$52,997.88. The committee then say :

"These were the only regiments of which the ENTIRE cost was defrayed by the Union Defense Committee. Every article of clothing and equipment was furnished by the committee, together with rations for almost a thousand men each for a period of two months."

"Irrespective of these facts, it was rather unfortunate for Mr. Hewitt to open the 'war record' of Tilden in the House of Representatives. Of the millions of official and other documents published during the war, not one has yet been found showing that Tilden had given counsel or money or a word of encouragement in favor of perpetuating the Union. There is one, however, to be found—one under his own signature—in which he actually proposed to let the South establish an independent nation before a shot was fired—in the hope that she could make a treaty of peace with the North for common defense. Samuel J. Tilden was never known to do anything to help on the war, either by assisting the soldiers themselves or by ministering to their families during their absence or after their deaths. On the contrary, he is known to have refused assistance on many occasions. For the sake of example the following well authenticated case may be stated: Early in the war a young man of excellent family and superior character and attainments was desirous of raising a company. He waited upon Mr. Tilden, with whom he had an acquaintance, and asked him to give him a letter of recommendation to certain State officials.

"Mr. Tilden's reply was in substance as follows: 'Young man, you need not come to

me for any such letter of recommendation; this war is an outrage, and I will lend no assistance whatever to its prosecution.' "

With these facts before us, and they are facts, and we defy refutation, it is left for the intelligent voter to decide for whom he will cast his ballot in November. Every household throughout the length and breadth of this great country have felt the effects of an unholy rebellion with which the Democratic party was in full sympathy, and for which it is alone responsible. Southern soil covers the bones of many, very many, of our noblest and bravest patriots, and the country is filled with limbless and maimed men, whose sacrifices were made that the nation might live. The crutch and the empty sleeve greet us everywhere, and are sad reminders of Democratic rule and of the treasonable purposes of that party, and the part that Samuel J. Tilden took in that war must, when the true historian shall have written the *whole* history of that gigantic rebellion, consign his name to everlasting infamy. The man with the crutch or empty sleeve, as well as the father whose son's remains repose in a Southern grave, either killed in battle or starved in Southern prison-pen, can point to Samuel J. Tilden with unerring certainty and say, as Nathan said to David, "*Thou art the man.*"

It is unnecessary to occupy much space in ventilating the war record of Thomas A. Hendricks. It is a generally admitted fact that he was a major general in the infamous order of Knights of the Golden Circle, an organization which had for its object the promoting of the cause of the rebels and an organized opposition to the war policy of the Federal Government. Mr. Hendricks, like Mr. Tilden, is now endeavoring to prove his loyalty to his country during the rebellion, but, in the light of established facts, finds it extremely difficult to satisfy the people upon this important question. It is indeed a sad commentary upon the Democracy of this country that it becomes necessary for men who aspire to the highest offices in the gift of the people to be obliged to attempt to prove their loyalty to the Government which they aspire to rule. It is in striking con-

trast with that of the Republican candidates, Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler, to whose war records every loyal person can point with pride. They cannot be assailed—their reputations are above suspicion.

We cannot better illustrate Mr. Hendricks' position on the war question than by quoting from his speech at Shelbyville, Indiana, delivered February 5, 1863, in which he declared he had never advised any one to enlist in the Union army because he did not intend to enlist himself. In discussing the authority of the General Government to arrest deserters he said :

"If any young men have left their companies to come home without authority they have done an unfortunate thing, because they have not acted in accordance with law. So that you cannot fight the battle at issue in your neighborhoods. You must act in accordance with law. *If anybody, however, comes into your neighborhoods without law, and propose to take anybody away by force, that is a matter without law, and you had best attend to that, gentlemen, at once.*" [Shouts of "We'll attend to them, old fellow!"]

In the same speech he announced his readiness to compromise with the rebels in the following language :

"What the next two years will bring about I do not know. There is one course for us to pursue, and that is to do our duty. I have hopes that this war will not last very much longer, and that there will be some adjustment consistent with the honor of the Government and the Union of the States. *I am ready to compromise at any time.* I am ready to say to the people of the South, 'Come in again and we will secure to you your constitutional rights, and, if you desire them, additional guarantees.' If there is any man who desires to continue fighting and spending the people's money and lives I do not sympathize with him. I should like to see these States brought together in convention again, and settle upon a mode of adjustment. I do not know whether we have a Government that will do it or not."

As late as September 14, 1864, less than a year before the close of the war, but at the very darkest period of the rebellion, Mr. Hendricks was announced to address a Democratic mass-meeting at Seymour, Indiana. The following is a literal copy of the handbill circulated to call the "faithful" together :

DEMOCRATIC MASS-MEETING.

HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS
Will Address the People of Jackson and Adjoining Counties at
SEYMOUR, IND.,
ON WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 14, 1864, AT 10 O'CLOCK.

Let all who FAVOR PEACE, all who desire to be FREE from the death-grip of this infamously wicked, imbecile, and tyrannical Administration, its arbitrary and illegal arrests, and its drafts and conscription laws, by which peaceful citizens are dragged from their homes and all the endearments of domestic life, to butcher and be butchered, COME OUT and hear this advocate of peace and reunion. Come in wagons, come on horseback, come by railroad and on foot. Bring your neighbors, and especially your Republican neighbors, who are seeking for the truth. Bring your baskets well filled with something to eat. Other able speakers will be in attendance. Ladies especially invited. If possible, arrangements will be made with railroads to carry at HALF FARE.
AUGUST 29, 1864.

These extracts might be multiplied indefinitely, but the foregoing is enough of the sickening records of Tilden and Hendricks. They are, however, representative men of the party that placed them in nomination, and should they be elected the rebels could ask no greater boon.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—If "civil service reform" means a school-boy catechism for men it is a practical absurdity.

If it means giving the control of the administration of public affairs to the enemies of the Government on their pretense of "non-partisanship," it is a public crime.

If it means appointments at the will of the Executive without consultation with or recommendation by the chosen representatives of the people, it is contrary to a republican theory of government.

If it means defalcations, contract swindles, and public peculations of all kinds, the Democratic Administrations which preceded and which fomented the late war have given the country enough of it to last the remainder of the century.

If it means competent men in public position, fidelity to public trusts, a steady improvement in administrative methods, and a wise and prudent economy in public disbursements, the Republican Administrations since 1861 may proudly challenge a comparison with the very best of earlier or later periods.

SOUTHERN STATE GOVERNMENTS—THEIR FINANCIAL CONDITION CONSIDERED.

Much has been said and written about the corruption and profligacy of what are derisively termed the "carpet-bag governments" of the South.' It is the design of this article to show their actual financial condition at this time, and the extent to which financial embarrassment and distress, if it does exist, is attributable to Republican administration.

The following table shows the number of miles of railroad constructed in the United States each year, as follows :

1865	1,177
1866.....	1,742
1867	2,449
1868.....	2,979
1869.....	5,118
1870.....	5,528
1871.....	7,779
1872.....	6,427
1873.....	3,948
1874.....	1,960
1875.....	2,008

In the flush times following the war, when money was plenty and the railroad fever very generally pervaded the country, the Southern States shared in the spirit of mingled speculation and enterprise. Vast areas of territory, comprising fertile and productive lands, lay many miles from rail or river communication, and were inaccessible to ready and easy markets. All their industries were prostrate and a general feeling of gloom and despondency had settled over the country.

Reconstruction under Republican auspices was generally regarded as the inauguration of a new era, in which the hope of returning prosperity, accompanied with the spirit and enterprise that characterized the North and the West, was to be speedily realized. The States of Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska were extending liberal aid to internal improvements, and why could not the South do the same? Her needs were equally great, and her ability equally good. Republicans and Democrats alike shared this prevailing sentiment, and the person who declared against it was denounced as a "fogy" and ignored in the counsels of the people.

This rage for railroad building, supported by State, county, and municipal authority,

possessed every State in the South for several years before the crisis of 1873, and may be said to have been universally popular. But the panic brought a total change of sentiment, and suddenly, in the collapse that followed, the very liberal donations that had been extended to these enterprises by the concurrence of both parties were charged back upon the Republicans as extravagant and corrupt schemes that deserved to be repudiated and denounced by every good citizen. This, too, notwithstanding the well known fact that Democrats had been most urgent and officious in asking for such aid, invariably voted for it in the legislature, and were almost the sole beneficiaries, as is shown in the State of North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA.

<i>Ante and post war debt of North Carolina, as reported by the Public Treasurer, October 1, 1866</i>		<i>\$13,033,000 00</i>
<i>Interest on said debt at 6 per cent. to July 1, 1868, at which date the new State government, under the reconstruction acts, was organized</i>		<i>1,368,465 00</i>
Total legal debt at the period of reconstruction.....		<u>14,401,465 00</u>
<i>Amount of State debt as stated by Governor Holden in his message to the Legislature, dated November 17, 1868, the debt dating October 1, 1868.....</i>		<i>19,209,945 00</i>
<i>Amount of State debt on October 1, 1869, as stated in Governor Holden's message to the Legislature, dated November 18, 1869....</i>		<i>29,815,045 00</i>
<i>Total recognized debt, as reported by Public Treasurer under date of November 21, 1870, debt dating to October 1, 1870, including interest due and unpaid.....</i>		<i>31,640,771 75</i>
<i>Total debt, as stated by Governor Caldwell in message, under date November 20, 1871, debt running to October 1, 1871.....</i>		<i>34,887,464 45</i>
<i>Total debt, as stated by Governor Caldwell in message, under date of November 18, 1872, as "nearly thirty-seven millions".....</i>		<i>37,000,000 00</i>
<i>Total debt, as stated by Governor Caldwell in message, under date November 17, 1873, as over "thirty-eight millions".....</i>		<i>38,000,000 00</i>
<i>Total debt, as stated by Governor Brogden in message of November 16, 1874, debt dating to October 1, 1874.....</i>		<i>38,921,848 05</i>
<i>The interest on the aforesaid debt at 6 per cent. from October 1, 1874, to October 1, 1876, amounts to....</i>		<i>4,670,621 76</i>
<i>Which added to debt as stated by Governor Brogden in his message of November 16, 1874.....</i>		<i>38,921,848 05</i>
Leaves the total debt, October 1, 1876.....		<u>43,592,469 81</u>

COMMENTS.

It will be seen that a large portion of the present legal debt is the accumulative interest since 1869. The additions to the ante-war debt were made—

1. During the war for internal improvements.

2. Between 1865 and 1867, by the convention and the Provisional Legislature, under Johnson's reconstruction.

3. By the convention of 1867-'68, held under the reconstruction acts, and the legislation of 1868-'69.

Of course it will be seen that the debt reported October 1, 1866, was created by the Democrats before, during, and after the war, and hence the Republicans found on the 1st of July, 1868, on assuming control of the government, an old debt, in which they had no responsibility in creating, of \$14,401,465. The additions made to these State obligations by the constitutional convention of 1867 and 1868, and the Legislature of 1868-'69, were as follows:

Railroad Indorsements.

Chatham railroad.....	\$3 200,000
Williamstown and Tarboro' railroad.....	500,000
W. C. and R. railroad.....	3,000,000
Western North Carolina railroad.....	6 666,000
Atlantic and T. railroad.....	2,000,000
Western railroad.....	1,500,000
N. W. N. C. railroad.....	1,440,000
Total.....	18,356,000

Not all these bonds were issued, some having been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, others having been retained for interest, and others voluntarily returned. But the increase of the debt arose from those issues. It is a fact well known, and not disputed in North Carolina, that *in every case where bonds were asked for it was by Democrats in every instance, with the exception of two; the bonds were issued to Democrats who were presidents of railroads.*

The Democrats voted for them uniformly in the Legislature. The Legislature was constantly surrounded by Democratic lawyers, (attorneys for these roads,) such as Bragg, Vance, Davis, Merrimon, Ransom, and most of the leading Democratic lawyers of the State.

The issues authorized to be delivered to Democrats were as follows:

R. H. Cowan, president W. C. and R. railroad.....	\$2,000,000
W. Y. Hawkins, president R. and G. railroad.....	3,200,000
G. W. Swyson, president W. N. C. railroad.....	6,666,000
William Johnson, president A. and T. railroad.....	2,000,000
E. Belt, president N. W. N. C. railroad.....	1,440,000
J. R. Stubbs, president W. and Y. railroad.....	550,000
A. J. Jones, president W. R. railroad.....	1,500,000
W. Sloam, president W. C. and R. railroad.....	2,000,000
Total.....	19,356,000

The Democrats were most strenuous in advocating the issue of bonds. They received all but \$3,500,000. If there was any mismanagement of the liberal aid thus extended by the State *the Democracy is the responsible party.*

EFFECT OF THE CONFEDERATE POLICY.

Confederate State debt, as reported by State Treasurer October 1, 1866. (this debt was contracted by the State during the rebellion)..... \$18,117,836 25

Interest at 8 per cent. on above from October 1, 1866, to October 1, 1876, would be 14,494,269 00

Total Confederate debt to October 1, 1876..... 32,612,105 25

Add the *ante* and *post* war debt, as reported above, October 1, 1866, and interest to October 1, 1876, and the total would be..... 20,852,800 00

If the Confederate or Democratic policy had obtained the debt would be, therefore, on October 1, 1876..... 53,464,905 25

Or nearly ten millions in excess of the present debt of the State.

COMMENTS.

It will be remembered that the Confederate State debt was annulled by a vote of the constitutional convention of 1865. But that body had persistently refused to pass this act until President Johnson sent a telegram to the president of the convention to the effect that the State government could not be recognized unless the debt was repudiated. The telegram created the utmost indignation in the convention and among the people. Mr. Moore, an old and eminent lawyer, held the floor when the message from the President was received. He was proceeding to denounce it, when the flag upon the dome of the Capitol fell with a crash which startled everybody. Mr. Moore, with great vehemence, exclaimed, "Well may that flag drop from the dome of this Capitol when we are insulted by this exhibition of tyranny!"

This may be taken as an index of public opinion on the question of repudiating the Confederate debt. There is not a shadow of doubt that if the old ruling population—the Democrats—had been left to themselves that debt would have been to-day incorporated with the State debt. And the best possible evidence that they would have increased these new obligations is, that, without exception, they were instigated by them, voted for by them, and in a large measure appropriated to their use. So that we may conclude that if the Democratic policy had obtained throughout the State would have been encumbered with all the *ante* war and *post* war debt. Also with the Confederate war debt, amounting to the enormous sum of \$76,204,574.96, which is the sum of the present State debt and the Confederate debt included.

It is the common clamor of ex-Confederate or Democratic orators and newspaper editors that the people are oppressed by enormous taxes. The taxes in North Carolina are not heavy. Why should they be? The State is paying nothing but the current expenses of its government. On the credits which have been issued the Commonwealth has realized not less than \$25,000,000 in current funds. They have paid no interest, and have taken no steps toward making a sinking fund for the principal. How have they lost anything as a body politic? They are continually enjoying the benefits of the \$25,000,000 realized on the sale of their bonds, and of course the treasury is richer to that amount.

It must be remembered also that in North Carolina the Governor has no veto power, and as the Legislature has been overwhelmingly Democratic since 1871 the Democratic party must be held responsible for the accumulating indebtedness as well as for the large increase during the few years of Republican rule.

ARKANSAS.

In 1837, 1838, and 1840, when the State was under Democratic rule, its bonds were issued for a large amount, and the interest on these bonds was never paid. In 1868, when the Republicans took control, they knew that to establish the credit of the State it was ne-

cessary that it should be honest, and it added the unpaid interest to these bonds, took them up and issued new ones, amounting altogether to \$3,910,000. This sum is clearly chargeable to the *ante-bellum* Democrats. The States never received any benefit from the money, for the officials who had it in charge stole it. It was borrowed for the State and the Real Estate Bank, and was given to Democratic politicians who pretended to give mortgages on their fine plantations, but instead of doing so gave them on worthless land. On this debt the Republicans paid the interest until the Democrats came into power; since that time \$2,045,000 of interest has accrued and is unpaid. This is also chargeable to the Democrats, and makes this item \$5,955,000.

The Republican Legislature provided for a loan of the State's credit to assist in building railroads. They guarded the State's interest by inserting a clause in the law that any railroad, in default of the interest on the bonds loaned it by the State, should be seized by the State treasurer, placed in the hands of a receiver, and all the moneys accruing should be used to pay the interest on the bonds. Under this law bonds to the amount of \$5,350,000 were issued to five railroads. The interest on these bonds was paid by the roads until 1872, when, failing to pay, they were all seized by the Republican State treasurer and put in the hands of receivers. The first Democratic Legislature repealed that section of the "railroad aid law" by which the State treasurer could sequester the roads, they were all released from the receivers, and the bonds which were issued as a loan, the State being amply secured by the Republicans, were made a gift by the Democrats to the railroads. The unpaid interest on these bonds amounts to \$1,418,000. This sum added to the principal makes \$6,768,000, also chargeable to the Democrats. In 1874, during the Brooks-Baxter war, bonds bearing ten per cent. interest were issued by the Democrats, and these now amount to \$303,000. The Democratic Legislature of 1875 authorized the issue of \$2,500,000 worth of bonds, and of these \$256,000 have been issued. This makes a total of \$13,282,000 of the bonds of the State. It includes every dollar of its bonded indebtedness, and

the Democrats before and since the war are responsible for every dollar of it.

There were three million dollars of levee bonds issued by the State under Republican rule, but they were not a State bond, were secured on the swamp lands, were receivable for swamp lands, and more than one-third of them have been paid in these lands, and all will be.

The floating debt of the State when it passed under Democratic rule was about \$1,500,000 in State scrip bearing five per cent. interest. This debt was made in 1868 and 1869. In those years the Ku-Klux undertook to rule the State. Senator Powell Clayton was then Governor, and he called out the militia and *put them down*. The calling out of the State forces made this expenditure, and so it may be fairly charged to the Democrats, for had it not been for their action the militia would not have been needed.

Arkansas was four and a half years under Republican rule, Clayton and Hadley being Governors. It has been four years under Democratic rule, Baxter and Garland being Governors, for though Baxter was elected as a Republican he went over to the Democrats immediately after getting into power. A comparison of expenses during these periods would not be amiss, and will show clearly what the people of the State lost by the transfer. Under Clayton and Hadley, for four and a half years, the Governor's office cost \$80,089.63. Under Baxter and Garland for four years it cost \$146,746. The office of Secretary of State cost under Clayton and Hadley \$28,719.04; under Baxter and Garland \$49,125.83. The Treasurer's office under Clayton and Hadley cost \$63,593.09; under Baxter and Garland it cost \$101,178.79. Under Clayton and Hadley the Auditor's office cost \$90,975.90; under Baxter and Garland it cost \$223,395.83. The office of Internal Improvement Commissioner cost under Clayton and Hadley \$35,045.14; under Baxter \$28,102.90, and was abolished under Garland. The office of State Land Commissioner under the Republicans cost \$44,525.09; under the Democrats it cost \$78,888.66. The office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction cost under Clayton and Hadley \$155,860.07. In the first few months of Baxter's adminis-

tration it cost \$35,000, and was then abolished, county superintendents being substituted. Under Garland it cost \$1,800 per annum, and the schools show even a less per centage under him than the expenditures.

Under the Republicans the courts cost \$316,648.80; under the Democrats \$340,203.24, and there are fewer judges. The Legislatures under the Republicans cost \$457,815.27; under the Democrats they cost \$630,102.27. These figures are given for four and a half years of Republican rule and four years of Democratic rule, and they add up for the Republicans \$1,273,273.00, and for the Democrats \$1,636,343.52. Such is the saving effected in Arkansas by Democratic rule, and this sum does not include \$58,000 of the school fund for which the first Democratic treasurer, now a prominent candidate for Congress, was a defaulter.

MISSISSIPPI.

The State of Mississippi has been singularly fortunate in her financial management since Congressional reconstruction. The constitutional convention of 1868 inserted a clause in the constitution prohibiting the Legislature from "loaning the credit of the State to any individual or corporation." Under the proclamation of the President, in 1869, when the second election on the adoption of the constitution occurred, this clause was set apart with others for a separate vote. The Republicans voted unanimously to retain it in the constitution, and about half the Democrats voted to strike it out.

The effect of this Republican restriction has been to entirely prevent the Legislature from indorsing railroad bonds, or otherwise pledging the credit of the State to private or public enterprises, so that not a dollar of indebtedness has been incurred in this way. The State has had no "jobs," such as have characterized some of the other States North and South.

The financial condition of Mississippi can be ascertained by the following table, compiled from the official records, comparing twenty years of Democratic rule, before and since the war, with six years of Republican rule:

EXPENDITURES.			
1850.....	\$295,9 3 48	1860.....	\$663,536 55
1851.....	226,407 41	1861.....	1,824 161 75
1852.....	802 679 76	1862.....	6,819,894 54
1853.....	229,288 45	1863.....	2,210,794 23
1854.....	584,296 84	1864.....	5,446,732 06
1855.....	311,578 19	1865.....	1 410,250 13
1856.....	784,896 79	1866.....	1,860,809 88
1857.....	1,067,080 57	1867.....	625,817 29
1858.....	614 659 00	1868.....	525,78 80
1859.....	707,015 00	1869.....	463,219 71
	5,623,741 49		20,208 891 95
			5,623,741 49

Total expenditures for twenty years,..... 25,832,643 44

Now take the Republican administration for six years. Expenditures for—

1870.....	\$1,061,249 98	1873.....	\$953,030 00
1871.....	1,319 626 19	1874.....	908,330 00
1872.....	1,098,031 69	1875.....	618,259 00
	3,478,906 78		2,479,619 00
			3,478,906 78
			5,957,525 76

The total expenditures for six years, \$5,957,525.78.

The twenty years of Democratic administration show an annual average of \$1,291,-632.32. The six years of Republican administration show an annual average of \$992,-920.96.

This may be claimed to be unfair, as it embraces four years of the war; but, for the sake of fairness, let us strike out the four years of the war, or the amount expended during those four years, 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864, and add in lieu thereof the amount expended in 1860, \$663,536.55, and we have an expenditure of \$12,184,019.06, or an annual average of \$699,200.95, as against \$992,-920.96. From this it would appear that the Republican administration has been more expensive than the Democratic administration; but there are several reasons for this: Before the war the taxes were paid in gold and silver, and everything much cheaper than since the war; and in January, 1870, when the Republicans came into power, the State warrants were worth about sixty or sixty-five cents on the dollar; the capitol and mansion were dilapidated; the penitentiary and lunatic asylum were too small, and had to be extended and repaired, and all the improvements cost nearly two prices, because payments were made in *warrants* at their reduced value. And the judiciary system was rendered more expensive to the State by dispensing with the probate

court, the expenses of which had been formerly paid by the counties; this jurisdiction was given to the chancery court, and the number of citizens had more than doubled, and all departments of State government rendered necessarily more expensive. And again, the *school system* has been carried on at an expense very large, a thing that had never existed before the war. The expenditures for school purposes in the six years have been about \$320,000 per annum. Let us add a few items which have been necessary since the war, and for which no expenditures were ever made by the Democracy, by way of annual averages, and it will be seen at a glance why it is that the expenditures have been larger than formerly:

EXTRAORDINARY EXPENDITURES.

For school purposes, (as above).....	\$320,000
Probate court business by the chancery court, (probate salaries by the counties,) Code, 1857, (p. 423).....	36,700
Average annual improvements on public buildings, about.....	100,000
County records, &c., furnished, destroyed during the war, and exhausted, &c.....	12,500
Making an average per annum of.....	469,200

Taking this from the average, \$992,920.96, leaves \$523,720.96. These were necessary expenses, never incurred by a Democratic administration. The only common-school system in the State before the war seemed to be a well-organized system to squander the school fund of the State as rapidly as the same was donated by the Government, as the history of the fund will show. Take these items from the annual expenditures of the six years of Republican administration, and the average is reduced per year to \$523,-720.96; thus showing the average annual expense of the Republican administration to be, on the old basis of State expenses, actually \$75,480 less than the average expenses under the Democratic rule of twenty years, with less than one-half of the citizens to be governed, and at a time when expenditures everywhere were largely in advance of former years. Many other items of extraordinary expenses have been incurred since January, 1870, not included in these statements.

REPUBLICAN TAXATION.

The taxes have been increased and decreased for the various State purposes, for the

six years alluded to, as follows: 1870, 5 mills on the dollar; 1871, it was 4 mills; in 1872, 8½ mills; in 1873, it was 12½; in 1874, it was 14 mills; in 1875, it was 9¼ mills. In the last three years there was a school tax as follows: 1873 and 1874, a school tax of 4 mills, and for 1875, 2 mills. This is included in the above estimate, and the counties were restricted in their levies for county purposes as follows: By act of 1872 the counties were prohibited from levying a tax which, with the State and school tax added, shall not exceed 25 mills on the dollar, and in 1875 they were restricted to 20 mills on the dollar.

DEMOCRATIC TAXATION.

The recent Democratic Legislature fixed the limit of taxation, State and county, (no township taxes are assessed in Mississippi,) at 16½ mills, but it cut off the two mills State tax for schools, and has so reduced the limit that in nearly every instance county taxes for schools will also be omitted, the assessments being devoted entirely to general purposes. Thus, the only effect of Democratic "retrenchment and reform" in Mississippi is the virtual destruction of the free school system.

STATE DEBT.

According to the annual message of Governor Ames, delivered the 3d of January, 1876, the entire State indebtedness of Mississippi, bonded and floating, was only five hundred thousand dollars.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

The receipts over disbursements for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1875, were \$496,000.

A SOUND CONDITION.

Never before in the history of Mississippi were the State finances in a more healthy condition than during the last year of Governor Ames' administration. Warrants on the treasury were near par for the first time in twenty years; the interest on the small bonded debt was promptly paid, and the debt itself discharged at maturity.

TAXATION COMPARED WITH OTHER STATES.

To show that there was no ground for complaint on the score of heavy taxes in Mississippi, the following table is presented as compiled from the census of 1870:

New York:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$1,967,001,185
Total taxes.....	48,550,308
Rate of taxation, 2.46-10 per cent on the dollar.	
Ohio:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$1,167,731,697
Total taxes.....	23,526,548
Rate of taxation, 2.01 per cent. on the dollar.	
Illinois:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$492,890,575
Total taxes.....	21,825,008
Rate of taxation, 4.5 per cent. on the dollar.	
Indiana:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$663,455,014
Total taxes.....	10,791,121
Rate of taxation, 1.62-10 per cent. on the dollar.	
Massachusetts:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$1,501,983,112
Total taxes.....	24,922,900
Rate of taxation, 1.59-10 per cent. on the dollar.	
Missouri:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$556,129,969
Total taxes.....	13,008,498
Rate of taxation, 2.5 per cent. on the dollar.	
Michigan:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$272,242,917
Total taxes.....	5,412,957
Rate of taxation, 1.9 per cent. on the dollar.	
Pennsylvania:	
Assessed value of property.....	\$1,313,238,042
Total taxes.....	24,531,397
Rate of taxation 1.88-10 per cent. on the dollar.	
The average rate of the above States is 2.15-10 per cent. on the dollar.	

TEXAS.

The State of Texas passed under complete Democratic rule in January, 1874, although for two years previous the Legislature had been overwhelmingly Democratic. Practically the Democrats have controlled the State since January, 1872.

STATE DEBT.

On the 10th of February, 1874, the State Auditor reported the State debt to be \$1,748,831.75. On the 1st of last February he reported the debt at \$4,792,804.84, showing an increase under Democratic administration of \$3,044,023.09.

Auditor Darden further reports that the debt of the State increased during the fiscal year ending January 31, 1876, the sum of \$780,473.63.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

The receipts from taxes in the last fiscal year were \$2,127,495.23; yet at the expiration of that year, notwithstanding the heavy receipts, there were outstanding \$543,137.84 in warrants on the treasury, with no money to pay the same, showing the actual expenditures of the State to have been \$2,770,633.07.

A CONTRAST.

Under the administration of Governor Davis, Republican, who was forced out of

office by the Democrats in January, 1874, a year before his time really expired, when the public schools were liberally supported and the State police were organized to preserve the peace, the total receipts were but \$625,600.41, a fraction over one-fourth expended by Governor Coke, his immediate successor.

Mr. W. R. Chase, editor of the *Waco Register*, of date July 17th, writes as follows:

"Taxes have been heavier every year under Democratic administration than they were any year under Republican administration, and have increased from year to year. The rate may be no higher but more things are taxed.

"The condition of our State finances is that the legislative finance committee has just reported a deficiency of the rise of \$300,000 of taxes to meet current expenses of the State government. The Comptroller asserts this deficiency to be \$500,000. The State has been steadily run in debt at the rate of about a million of dollars a year since the present administration came into power."

EXTRAVAGANCE AND BANKRUPTCY.

The *San Antonio Herald*, an outspoken Democratic paper, says:

"We are cursed with a Legislature, one of a series, which, by its majorities, in spite of the beneficence of Providence, ground us down with the iron heel of oppression, have piled taxes Ossa upon Pelion high, and but partially and imperfectly executed the very laws they themselves enacted. They have run the expenditures of the State from a couple of hundred thousand dollars a year into millions; they, in their expenditures, have exceeded the revenues of the State, and instead of reforming this condition of affairs to a healthy condition by retrenching all expenses to the actual income of the State, they are to-day issuing bonds to make good the deficiencies in the treasury, which, when sold for what they may bring in the market, with all the tawdry appendages of commissioners to sell, and commissions and other expenses, running into the hundred thousands of dollars, will be met by the project to issue other batches of bonds to provide for the emergency to pay the principal and interest of the bonds now issued. In the meantime they place their sacrilegious hands upon every actual dollar and cash assets in the treasury, as the special school fund, which should be a secure fund, and this they squander to bridge over what the Legislature deems an emergency."

BROKEN PROMISES.

The *San Marcos Free Press*, another Dem-

ocratic paper, calls on Governor Coke to resign, and sums up his broken promises in this style:

"You promised you would have the finances of the State on a specie basis in one hundred days; we all know how truthful that has been. You promised to suppress crime in the country, and you have vetoed every bill of the Legislature that tended in that way. You recommended the new constitution to the people as the best we ever had, and in your first message you recommended amendments enough to make a constitution within themselves. You were elected because of your opposition to railroad monopolies, and you have been aiding and abetting a party in the Legislature to steal land and territory enough to make a State as large as Tennessee."

Says the *Austin Statesman* (Democratic) of August 18, 1876:

"Comptroller Darden makes the open assertion, and he has published it in his official reports, that the present revenues are insufficient to meet the expenses of government, and, according to his theory, and it is a correct one, taxes must either be raised or bonds sold to prevent evidences of State indebtedness from being hawked at disgraceful figures. The matter of selling bonds, or making an interest-bearing debt to pay a non-interest bearing debt, is, to use a vulgarism, 'too thin.' Within the last few years a large amount of debt has been paid in this way, and the work still goes on. Nearly five millions of dollars is now the measure of the State's bonded indebtedness, and if the Executive and law-makers do not meet the issue bravely, in five years more it will be twice that amount."

A DISGRACEFUL EXPEDIENT.

The climax of Democratic imbecility was reached on the 25th of August last, when they passed a bill through the Legislature compelling the poor men of the State to make good their delinquencies by paying a capitation tax. Of this act the *Austin State Gazette* (Democratic) says:

"The Legislature adjourned yesterday at 12 m., and without passing an act for imposing an additional tax of fifteen cents, recommended by the finance committees to meet the deficit exhibited in the current expenses of the government. In lieu of this a tax of one dollar per capita was imposed on every suffragan of the State, in the vain expectation of realizing a sufficient amount to answer the purposes of government.

"But the subterfuge of a per capita tax will not answer the purpose. It is doubtful whether one hundred thousand dollars can

be raised from this source; and if it could, it only amounts to one-fourth of what is needed to honor the floating debt of the State. It is, besides, predicated on a false principle, practically taxing the poor for the benefit of the rich. As matters now stand treasury warrants will depreciate to such an extent as to force the resignation of some of the best county and district officers. Meantime the honest creditors of the State will suffer heavy losses from depreciated State paper, and brokers will coin their gains from false legislation."

PROFLIGACY AND PLUNDER.

Of all the States in the South Texas has become most notorious for reckless and extravagant legislation. Its record for corrupt jobbery cannot be surpassed. The first Democratic assembly after reconstruction, in a single act, donated over *thirty millions of acres of public lands* to Tom Scott's railroad, and robbed the school fund of the State of that amount.

GEORGIA.

1860—State debt.....	\$3,170,750
1865—State debt, (old).....	\$5,706,500
Rebel debt.....	15,104,726

Total	20,811,226
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1868—State debt.....	\$6,544,500
1872—State debt.....	8,618,750
1875—State debt, January 1.....	8,105,500

In 1868, when the reconstructed government was inaugurated, the rebel debt had been repudiated, and the recognized debt was \$6,544,500.

RAILROAD DEBT.

The contingent liabilities for railroads for bonds indorsed are stated by Governor Conley in his message of January 11, 1872, at \$7,083,400. The Governor further states that on December 2, 1871, railroads had complied with and were entitled to indorsement, and loans on bonds amounting, when the roads are completed, to \$7,029,500. In conclusion, he adds: "If all roads building under the law of December 2, 1871, be completed, the entire indorsement will be \$9,533,900."

The State reserves the first lien, with power to seize and sell the road on failure to pay the interest or principal.

HOW AID WAS GRANTED.

The aid is granted at an average rate of \$13,000 per mile on completed sections of

twenty miles, but in no case to exceed one-half the actual cost of the road invested by the company. Governor Conley, in his letter of December 2, 1871, says:

"The contingent liability of the State is as indorser of the bonds of certain railroads. This liability has been contracted since 1868, and the State, by her legislation, may be said to have adopted a general system of internal improvements by granting the loan of her indorsement to railroads in the course of construction, and after they had built and equipped a certain number of miles. This indorsement of railroad bonds is restricted by article 3, section 6, of the constitution of the State, viz: 'The General Assembly shall pass no law making the State a stockholder in a corporate company without a provision that the whole property of the company shall be bound for the security of the State prior to any other debt or lien, except to laborers, nor to any company in which there is not already an equal amount invested by private persons; nor for any other object than a work of public improvement.' In all indorsements of bonds of railroads by the State the roads seeking the indorsement have first placed themselves within this provision of the constitution, and in no case has the indorsement of the State been granted for a greater amount than one-half the estimated cost per mile of the road when completed and equipped."

BOTH PARTIES RESPONSIBLE.

The acts conferring this aid were passed by the votes of members of both political parties, as the records show, and the State is considered secure against any loss or expense on this account if the law be properly enforced.

TAXABLE PROPERTY INCREASED.

Upon the other hand, it is conceded that the value of taxable property has been greatly enhanced in the vicinity of these roads. The Georgia Air-line may be given as an example. It is shown by the Superintendent of Public Works in 1871 that the aggregate value of property through which this road passes, in a single year, increased \$2,582,980, and since the road was begun the increase had been \$4,742,821.

The three counties through which the Marietta and Western road passes show an increase of value in a single year of \$400,000. The three counties along the South Georgia and Florida road an increase from 1868 to 1870 of \$1,265,472. Equal or greater advantage to property has been realized along

other new lines subsidized by the State. It is further shown that the total increase along the ten lines thus aided, from 1868 to 1871, was \$14,000,000, exclusive of the value of the roads, which is four millions more than the whole indorsement made or promised to railroads which were commenced and entitled to aid on December 2, 1871. It is evident from the low valuation of property at that time that the benefits had but begun, and that a correct statement at this time would show still more marked advantages.

RAILROAD PROPERTY VALUABLE.

To show that railroads are not dead property in Georgia it may be stated that the State owns the Western Atlantic road, which was valued before the war at \$7,000,000, and paid an annual net income to the State of \$450,000. It is now leased for twenty years at the rate of \$25,000 per month, or an aggregate of \$300,000 a year.

GOVERNOR BULLOCK'S ADMINISTRATION.

Governor Conley, in his message of January 11, 1872, says of Governor Bullock's administration:

"Your honorable body will see that the only kind of bonds issued by him that are now outstanding, and that are a claim against the State, are the \$3,000,000 of gold bonds issued under authority of the act of September 15, 1870, and \$1,800,000 of gold bonds issued to the Brunswick and Albany Railroad Company in accordance with the act of October 17, 1870. The actual liability of the State, therefore, incurred during his administration is represented by the sum of \$4,800,000. It should not be forgotten that a large portion of this sum has been devoted to the redemption of bonds falling due in 1870 and 1871, and in years previous thereto, and to the payment of interest on them and others still to fall due. The debt of the State is not, therefore, actually increased by that amount. The contingent liability by the indorsement of railroad bonds during the administration of Governor Bullock amounted to \$6,683,400.

"The above statement covers the whole period that my predecessor was in office, and is a complete and accurate summary of his official action in the matter of which it treats."

The rate of general tax for State purposes under Republican rule was forty cents on \$100. The average cost of the State Government for 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1871, was \$1,334,915 84, including payments on public

debt. The actual public debt of the State was not increased a single dollar under Republican government.

DEMOCRATIC DEFALCATION.

The largest defalcation of a public officer in the South since the war occurred in Georgia in 1875, when it was discovered that the Democratic State Treasurer was a defaulter to upwards of three hundred thousand dollars.

VIRGINIA.

The "Old Dominion" has enjoyed uninterrupted Democratic control since the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Whatever her financial condition the Democratic party alone is responsible for it. No "carpet-bagger" has been there to be charged with plundering her people and running the State into debt.

The official reports show the financial condition to be as follows:

1860—State debt.....	\$31,938,144
1865—Old State debt.....	41,061,316
Rebel debt.....	7,505,724
Total	48,567,040
Increase of old debt...	9,123,172
Total increase..	16,628,896
1870—Old debt.....	45,872,778
(Rebel debt repudiated.)	
Increase of old debt since	
1865.....	4,811,462
Increase from 1860.....	13,934,634
1875—Old debt....	44,735,796

The debt of Virginia was contracted before the war in aid of internal improvement, and the increase is from interest accruing during and since the war, which has been funded in six per cent. bonds.

The literary fund, amounting to \$1,833,420, which the State held in trust, and \$12,452,326 in bank, and other productive stock, was squandered in the rebellion.

The expenditures of the State for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1875, were \$2,814,614.32.

TAXATION.

Taxes are assessed as follows:

Capitation tax, (\$1.00 each)....	\$264,206
Tax on personal property.....	357,301
Tax on income.....	44,014
Tax on real estate.....	1,281,106
Tax on licenses.....	519,302

Total tax..... 2,465,930

The tax on real and personal property is at the rate of 50 cents on the \$100 value.

The county and township taxes, assessed for the same period as above, amounted to \$1,778,602, which, added to the State tax, gives an aggregate of \$4,244,532.

UNDER WHICH KING, BEZONIAN? SPEAK, OR DIE!

For a moment as it were, after the guns of Sumter awoke the echoes, the nation stood silent, as if appalled by the magnitude of the crime. But for an instant; that moment past, such a tidal wave of wrath and indignation swept from the Atlantic to the Pacific as the world had never seen! Each State poured forth its bravest and best. From the plowshare and the counting house, the study, the surgery, and the court-room, they came, at the call of their country's need.

There was a young lawyer in Cincinnati at that time who had just made a name for himself in the profession he had chosen, winning golden opinions from all sorts of people. He was of Scottish blood, and it is said came of a race of fighting men; for one of his remote ancestors at Lancarty, in Perthshire, drove back the English in a narrow pass, unaided save by his valorous sons. "Pull your plow and harrow to pieces and fight," he cried, and they obeyed him. So at his country's call away went briefs and law-books, and with Rosecrans and Scammon, Lytle and Garfield, Pope and Force, and all the thousand others whom Ohio dedicated to her country's cause—Rutherford B. Hayes rode forth to war. As W. H. Lytle, one of Ohio's most brilliant sons, sung, and proved that his words were more than poet's rhyming—so did Hayes indorse him:

'Tis not the time for dalliance soft
In gentle ladies' bowers,
While treason flaunts her flag aloft
And dares to tread on ours;
And now the swords our fathers wore,
Must in their scabbards rattle,
And we will sing the songs of yore
When marching forth to battle.

Through all the trying campaign in West Virginia, while Rosecrans fought like Napoleon, and McClellan wrote like him, Major Hayes served well and bravely. With his poet brother in-arms, Lytle, he was wounded at South Mountain, (and again in almost every engagement,) but though wounded still struggled to encourage his men, and fell twice from loss of blood before he was carried from the field. He was made Judge Advocate by Rosecrans, and while yet a colonel, again like Lytle, assigned to a brigade command. His commission as brigadier general was not announced until October, 1864, after he had borne the burden and heat of the day, and the war was almost over. In March, 1865, the brevet of major general followed.

Not once through the war did he falter; Lytle was dead at Chickamauga, and Rosecrans relieved ere he could justify himself, and Force wounded almost unto death, and Pope fighting against traitors in front and rear

at the gates of the capital, and Grant just beginning to show what manner of man he was; the days looked very dark, and some wiseacres away up in Chicago voted the war a failure; and the people began to weary—it took so long to make the rebels understand that they *should not* succeed, and lukewarm friends abroad, or those who openly sympathized with the South, predicted that the North would yield, and altogether even the bravest heart quailed under the sombre dread and threatening of evil. But Hayes fought on, and when his friends sent him word that he was nominated for Congress, and had better come home and use his personal efforts toward the election, his reply was, "Your suggestion about getting a furlough to take the stump was certainly made without reflection. AN OFFICER FIT FOR DUTY WHO AT THIS CRISIS WOULD ABANDON HIS POST TO ELECTIONEER FOR A SEAT IN CONGRESS OUGHT TO BE SCALPED." So he was elected without any personal efforts, save his record in the field, and the next year, when the war was over, took his seat in Congress. While a member of that body his acts were in full harmony with the principles which led him to draw his sword. Uncompromisingly loyal, he gave in to no measure which would allow a loophole of help or comfort to the rebels. His one idea there in the halls of the Nation's Capitol was the same as on the fields of that Nation's battles—to save the country.

And now that country, after rewarding one brave soldier with its civic crown, offers it to this one of whom we write. Rutherford B. Hayes is the nominee of the loyal people for the Presidency. Does he deserve the prize? Is there one who fought with him or under the same flag will say "No?" Is there a spot upon his shield? Did he ever turn his back upon the foe in war or upon his principles in peace? Proudly can we answer, Never!

Thrice has his own State, the third in the Union, awarded him with the highest gift within its power, and three times has he proved himself most worthy of the trust implied by the choice. He took no advantage of his high office for self aggrandisement; and when his uncle, a wealthy man, was dying, it was by Major Hayes' own advice and desire, that instead of leaving him his whole fortune he should endow the town of Fremont with \$75,000 for a public park and free library. Wealthy, yet living a quiet, unostentatious, domestic, homely life, he has come forth from his retirement only at the call of duty and at the urgent solicitations of his friends; and when the enthusiasm of the country seemed to point to James G.

Blaine as their standard bearer, and the votes at the convention ran so high for him, few dreamed that the quiet gentleman and student would be the final choice.

So, after the study of his life, we must say the choice was a wise one; although at first there was a feeling of disappointment, because the nominee had not, it seemed, the personal magnetism of James G. Blaine; he had not his flowing and ready eloquence, though when necessary to speak his words were to the point; he had not served so long in Congress; in a word, he had not Blaine's *prestige*; and many thought that, while Blaine would have carried everything before him, Hayes would win, *if he did win*, only by hard fighting. But such sentiments were owing to the first shock of surprise; they have passed away, and for many reasons the people are becoming more and more satisfied with their candidate. His record is unspotted. As a student he stands high, as a lawyer his rank was first, and as a soldier he was brave and intrepid. Four times his horse was shot under him; four times was he wounded; and yet he fought when down until carried from the field. Could a courage more lofty be found among men? There is not a crack in his armor; there is not a spot upon his shield. So far in the canvass there has not been a word about his personal or moral status that would bring a blush to the cheek of his wife or children. The Democratic papers are taking credit to themselves for this abstaining, and calling upon the Republicans to do likewise with their candidate. They should be honest at least once, and acknowledge that they do not abuse or expose Governor Hayes—simply because they can't!

The man stands so gloriously above the touch of malice that they know they cannot harm him! But, poor Tilden! ah! "Look upon that picture and then upon this!" What do we see here?

When every loyal heart was glowing with patriotic fire at the cry that came up from Sumter what did Samuel J. Tilden do? Did he, too, throw away his law books and briefs and go forth with the gallant sons of the Empire State to fight for honor and the right? Did he freely offer his own life that his country might live? No! alas, no! There was no responsive fire in his heart. All was cold, calculating, false!

On April 20, 1861, in reply to President Lincoln's proclamation calling for 75,000 troops, a grand meeting of the citizens of New York was held in Union Square to indorse that action and to pledge themselves to the maintenance of the laws and the Constitution of the United States. General Dix was chosen president, and among the vice presidents or speakers were the names of such Democrats as Daniel S. Dickinson, J. T.

Hoffman, Fernando Wood, A. S. Hewitt, Erastus Brooks, Augustus Schell, and others. Was that of Tilden included? No. One of his friends called upon him and begged him to come, but Tilden refused decidedly to have anything to do with this "abolition war." And when his friend expressed a fear that he would live to regret this refusal, Tilden, having faith that Robert Toombs would yet call his slave-roll at the foot of Bunker Hill, replied: "I think not," and remained firm in his refusal. Nor did he confine himself to negative support of the rebellion; he gave it in words when among his friends. But even before the war broke out, in 1860, he wrote as follows, speaking of the Republican party:

"It is an organized agitation on the general question of slavery, mainly irrespective of the practical application of its conclusions to any proposed measure of legislation or administration of the Federal Government. It is not easy to define the exact limit where the liberty of philosophical speculation or abstract discussion ends and an offense against good neighborhood, whether of individual families or States, begins. But it is very clear that the Republican party has passed that boundary; for an organized agitation by a majority of one community, including its government, against the social or industrial system of a neighboring and friendly community is an offense which leads to alienation and hostility, if not actual war.

* * * * *

"Elect Lincoln and we invite those perils which we cannot measure. We attempt in vain to conquer the submission of the South to an impracticable and intolerable policy. Our only hope must be that as President he will abandon the creed, the principles, and pledges in which he will have been elected. *Defeat Lincoln and all our great interests and hopes are equally safe.*"

The italics are our own. After those words it is useless for Tilden to say he never was a secessionist, and it would be worse than folly to trust such a man with the helm of state.

Mr. Tilden refused to honor with his presence the ratification meeting of loyal men in Union Square, but when a choice coterie of rebel sympathizers and peace Democrats issued a call for a meeting at Delmonico's for the specious purpose of "obtaining a better diffusion of political knowledge," Mr. Tilden's name was appended to the paper without hesitation. At this meeting Mr. Tilden was on the committee on finance. They proposed to raise \$10,000 to carry the election in New Hampshire, and *those present contributed largely to that object.*

The *Evening Post*, when the report of the meeting was published, had an excellent article upon it. "The conspirators," it said,

"mean to do anything and everything," so one of their speakers said, "to break down the loyal party of the nation, and to hand the Government over to the malignant slaveholding oligarchs who for nearly two years have been slaughtering our sons, disturbing our peace, arresting our prosperity, and threatening the very security of our homes." This brought an answer from Mr. Tilden denying that the meeting at Delmonico's was a "revolutionary intrigue." But, put as bold a face upon the matter as they could, the publication of the doings of the conclave fell like a bombshell among the conspirators. They had been so careful in admitting only such newspaper men as they thought would give a proper coloring to their reports. Mr. Tilden never dreamed that his treason would be given to the world, and he hastened, in a letter, specious in its arguments and covert treason, insulting in its contemptuous allusions to Mr. Lincoln, to cover over the mistake.

Satisfied with what he had done, or fearful of going further while the North was so antagonistic to his peculiar ideas, Mr. Tilden made no further public effort to aid and abet the rebellion until 1864, when, at the great Chicago Convention, he was responsible for the infamous resolutions which voted the war a failure. He made the motion for the forming of the resolutions, and was chairman of the committee which formed them. The second one was as follows:

"Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for the cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union."

This is the sum of his war record: In 1860 Mr. Tilden had been quoted as up too
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his present position. There would have been no United States, and, consequently, no Presidency for ex rebels and traitors to aspire to. Never by word or act did he encourage a Union soldier or advise a man to serve his country in that capacity. Need we go on? Or is the picture not black enough, confined as it is to an epoch of four years, without painting in the record of the next ten? For that record will show this man in league with thieves and all dishonor. "'Tis true; 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true."

Yes, although like his rival, clothed with the executive of his native State, we find him using that power only to abuse it; and he comes down from the gubernatorial chair with hands so soiled no honest man would care to touch them!

These are the two men between which the country must choose its leader. Which will it be? One comes to us with the record of bravery undoubted, patriotism of the staunchest, honesty the noblest. His good name is a mirror upon which there is not the shadow of a breath to dim its lustre. The other, while there are some "so poor as to do him honor," they are only among those of his own kind, men who strove to destroy the country, or to plunder their fellow-beings in the most barefaced robbery ever known since the days of highwaymen, whose challenge was, "your money or your life!"

One accepts the offered honor in a manly letter, a good exponent of his character, written by himself, and prompted only by his own probity. The other, with a flourish of trumpets about "retrenchment" and "reform," foists upon the people a tirade dictated by the bitterest enemies of the country's interests, and worded carefully to dovetail into the principles of the dastardly party which would have destroyed that country in the past, and will destroy it in the future if it gain away.

People of the United States, choose ye between them!

VERMONT has spoken! Already her voice, renewing her pledge to the Union and its defenders, has been heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. Its emphatic tones will reassure freemen everywhere that human rights are not to be betrayed nor the cause for which so many died surrendered to the enemies of liberty. Thirty thousand majority for the Republican ticket in Vermont means a united North in November. Now let the ranks close up for other work to be done. Two months of active labor is still before us. Let the example set by the Green Mountain boys inspire the nation to labor for a victory whose meaning shall be the extinction of Democracy.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

DECEASED.

...August 18. Hon. M. C. Kerr, Speaker of the House of Representatives, died at Rock Alum Springs, Va. Mr. Kerr was born at Titusville, Pennsylvania, March 15, 1827. In 1851 he graduated at the Titusville University, since which time he resided at New Albany, Indiana, where he began the practice of law in 1852. Subsequently he was elected to several offices in the State, and from 1864 to 1876 he was continuously a Representative in Congress, except during the years 1873 and 1874. In politics Mr. Kerr was a Democrat, but of such pure, unselfish, and patriotic character as always to deserve the esteem and confidence of his political opponents. He was elected Speaker of the Forty-fourth Congress. His remains were conveyed to New Albany to be buried in the city cemetery.

POLITICAL.

...August 23. The Republican convention of the State of New York assembled at Albany for the purpose of nominating a State ticket. Ex-Governor E. D. Morgan, well known as the great war Governor of the Empire State, and compatriot of Lincoln, Morton, and Andrews, was chosen for Governor with the cordial unanimity of the convention. Hon. William M. Evarts was the next strongest candidate and received 126 votes on the first ballot, to 242 for Morgan.

...August 24. The Republicans of Colorado placed the following ticket in nomination: For Governor, John L. Routt; for Lieutenant Governor, Lafayette Head; for Judges of the Supreme Court, H. C. Thatcher, E. T. Wells, and S. H. Elbert; for Secretary of State, Wm. L. Clark; for Treasurer, Geo. C. Corning; for Auditor, D. C. Crawford; for Attorney General, A. J. Sampson; for Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. C. Halleck.

...August 24. The Democrats of Kansas assembled at Topeka, and nominated a State ticket as follows: For Governor, John Marlin; Lieutenant Governor, B. Rogers; Treasurer, M. C. South. A compromise was effected with the greenback party whereby three of its candidates for State officers were adopted by the Democrats.

August 30. The Republican State convention of Connecticut nominated the following electoral ticket at large: Ex-President Theo. D. Woolsey, of Yale College, and Hon. Marshall Jewell. The old ticket was renominated as follows: Governor, Henry C. Robinson, Hartford; Lieutenant Governor, F. J. Kingsbury, Waterbury; Secretary of State, General F. A. Walker, New Haven; Treas-

urer, Jeremiah Olney, Thompson; Comptroller, Eli Curtis, Watertown.

GOVERNOR SEYMOUR NOMINATED.

...August 39. The Democratic State convention of New York met at Saratoga and nominated Hon. Horatio Seymour for Governor by acclamation, notwithstanding his repeated protests against becoming a candidate. Strong efforts followed to induce Mr. Seymour to accept the nomination, but he positively refused the proffered honor, and on the 4th of September wrote a lengthy letter of unqualified declination. His chief reason for this course he states as follows: "My own opinion, confirmed by the judgment of my physicians, convince me that I am unable at this time to perform the duties devolving upon the Governor of New York. I could cheerfully sacrifice my own purposes and feelings to meet the wishes of my friends. I would not hesitate to peril my health to uphold those principles in which I believe, or to promote the public welfare, but I feel that I should sacrifice the interests of the party which placed me in nomination if I accept its action. Even the superior strength of the party with which I act could not elect a ticket with the known fact that its nominee for Governor was unequal to the performance of the labors of that office. I could not conscientiously enter upon them. I cannot do my friends the wrong of placing them in false positions by trying to do so. I therefore feel compelled to decline the nomination."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S CIRCULAR.

...September 4. The official instructions this day issued by Attorney-General Taft to United States marshals in the late insurrectionary States constitute a most important and significant State paper. The absolute necessity of inaugurating active measures to protect the lives and the rights of citizens at home happily is at last receiving the earnest attention of the Government. The fact has been notorious for several years past that Republican citizens in the South have been repeatedly outraged in their most sacred rights by enemies of the Government, and so frequent and alarming has this practice become within the past twelve months that it threatens to overthrow republican institutions in that lawless section unless some effective measures be employed to put a check to the growing evil. Already there is utter disregard of the rights of the majority, which is Republican, in the States of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Were there a fair and free canvass and election the first two States would cast their electoral votes for the Republican nominee for the

Presidency by at least *forty thousand* majority each, while Louisiana would give a Republican majority of not less than twenty thousand. But, owing to the high-handed and revolutionary policy of the enemies of Republicanism and the nation, and the success with which they have met in past elections by the non action of the Government, they now boldly threaten to sweep these States into the Democratic ranks by sheer force, if necessary, and, notwithstanding their well known Republican majorities, count their electoral votes for the Democratic nominees.

It is to defeat this daring and wicked crusade against the political rights of unprotected and helpless citizens that the Attorney General has issued the instructions referred to, and he deserves to be approved and applauded by every well-meaning citizen for the timely and patriotic act. The issue as made up by the enemy is easily defined. They mean the total destruction and obliteration of every semblance of Republicanism in the South. This design being openly and defiantly avowed, the Government would be recreant to its most sacred trust if it did not adopt resolute means to defend its character protect its citizens in their guaranteed rights, and to suppress this new rebellion against its principles and authority.

...September 4. The Republican State convention of Massachusetts assembled, and re-nominated Hon. Alexander H. Rice for Governor, and Horatio G. Knight for Lieutenant Governor.

...September 4. An election for State officers was held in Arkansas, and the Democratic ticket prevailed by a majority estimated at 30,000. The State is overwhelmingly Democratic.

...September 5. An election occurred in the State of Vermont, and was carried by the Republicans by a majority of about 26,000, the largest majority given at a State election in many years. The following ticket was elected: Governor, Horace Fairbanks; Lieutenant Governor, Redfield Proctor; Treasurer, John A. Page. Also three Republican Congressmen were chosen, as follows: First district, Charles H. Joyce; Second district, Dudley C. Dennison; Third district, George W. Hendee.

A summary of the vote of the State in past years is given below:

	Rep.	Dem.	Rep. maj
1868.. President.....	44,167	12,015	32,122
1870.. Governor.....	33,367	12,058	21,309
1870.. Congress.....	30,071	11,478	18,593
1872.. President.....	41,481	11,490	30,001
1872.. Governor.....	41,948	16,813	25,333
1872.. Congress.....	37,604	12,672	24,932
1874.. Governor.....	33,492	13,257	20,225
1874.. Congress.....	34,437	16,220	8,217

...September 6. The Democratic State convention of Massachusetts met and nominated Hon. Charles Francis Adams for Governor, and William P. Plunkett for Lieutenant Governor.

...September 6. Hon. Paren England was chosen for Governor of Nebraska by the Democrats.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

REDEMPTION OF FIVE TWENTY BONDS.

The thirty-second call for the redemption of five-twenty bonds of 1865 - May and November—has just been issued by Acting Secretary Conant, who gives notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein below designated, known as "five-twenty bonds," will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in this city, on and after the first day of December, 1876, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day. That is to say, coupon bonds, net of March 3, 1865, dated November 1, 1865, as follows: Coupon bonds—\$500, No. 501 to No. 3350, both inclusive; \$1,000, No. 2801 to No. 14550, both inclusive—\$7,000,000. Registered bonds—\$100, No. 1 to No. 200, both inclusive; \$500, No. 1 to No. 800, both inclusive; \$1,000, No. 1 to No. 500, both inclusive; \$5,000, No. 642 to No. 1100, both inclusive; \$10,000, No. 1 to No. 1150, both inclusive. Total, \$10,000,000.

ANOTHER CALL.

By virtue of the authority given by the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, the Acting Secretary of the Treasury gives notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein below designated, known as "five-twenty bonds," of the act of March 3, 1865, dated November 1, 1865, will be paid at the Treasury on and after the 6th day of December, 1876, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day: Coupon bonds—\$50, No. 551 to No. 600, both inclusive; \$100, No. 851 to No. 2500, both inclusive; \$500, No. 3351, to No. 9700, both inclusive; \$1,000, No. 14551 to No. 26000, both inclusive—total coupon, \$7,000,000. Registered bonds—\$100 No. 201 to No. 650, both inclusive; \$500, No. 801 to No. 1050, both inclusive; \$1,000, No. 501 to No. 1800, both inclusive; \$5,000, No. 1101 to No. 1550, both inclusive; \$10,000, No. 1151 to No. 2100, both inclusive—total registered, \$3,000,000. Aggregate, \$10,000,000.

COINAGE AT THE MINT.

The following is the statement of the coinage executed at the United States mint in Philadelphia for the month of August:

Denomination.	No. of pieces.	Value.
Double eagles.....	18 489	\$369,600
Trade dollars.....	84,200	84,200
Half dollars.....	1,404,200	702,100
Quarter dollars.....	1,292,200	323,050
Twenty cents.....	200	40
Dimes.....	910,200	91,020
Total silver.....	3,691,000	1 200,410
Five cents.....	310,000	15,500
Cents.....	220,000	2 200
Total base.....	530,000	17,700
Total for month.....	4,239,480	1,587,710

PUBLIC DEBT STATEMENT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States for the month of August, 1876, just issued, is as follows:

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.

Bonds at 6 per cent.	\$984,999,650 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	712,320,450 00
	1,697,320,100 00

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.

Navy pension fund at three per cent.....	14,000,000 00
Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity.....	3,021,210 26

DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.

Old demand and legal-tender notes.....	369,401,335 50
Certificates of deposit.....	31,880,000 00
Fractional currency.....	31,355,311 45
Coin certificates.....	29,969 800 00
	462,605,44 95

Total debt.....	2,176,947,758 21
Interest.....	24,292,915 93
Total debt, principal and interest.....	2,501,240,775 17

CASH IN THE TREASURY.

Coin.....	62,511,956 17
Currency.....	11,665,805 86
Special deposit held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law.....	31,880,000 00
Total.....	105,058,762 03

Debt, less cash in the Treasury September 1, 1876.....	2,095,181,941 14
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, August 1, 1876.....	2,098,301,311 06

Decrease of debt during the month.....	3,109,369 92
Decrease of debt since June 30, 1876.....	4,257,403 85

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway companies, interest payable in lawful money:

Principal outstanding.....	\$64,623,512 00
Interest accrued and not yet paid.....	644,235 12

Interest paid by the United States.....	32,680,218 42
Interest repaid by transportation of mails, &c.....	6,924,552 38

Balance of interest paid by the United States.....	\$25,155,666 04
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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

CIRCULAR OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

On September 4th the Attorney General issued the following circular instructing marshals as to their duties in connection with the protection of voters:

SIR: The laws of the United States having made it my duty to exercise general direction over marshals in the manner of discharging their offices, I have prepared for their use this circular letter of instructions as to the coming elections—intending the same also as a reply once for all to numerous applications, in like connection, from private citizens in various States.

In the present condition of legislation the United States occupy a position toward voters and voting which varies according as the election is for State and other local officers only, or for members of Congress and Presidential electors.

In elections at which members of the House of Representatives are chosen, which by law include also elections at which the electors for President and Vice President are appointed, the United States secure voters against whatever in general hinders or prevents them from a free exercise of the elective franchise—extending that care alike to the registration lists, the act of voting, and the personal freedom and security of the voter at all times, as well against violence on account of any vote that he may intend to give, as against conspiracy because of any that he may already have given.

The peace of the United States, therefore, which you are to preserve, and whose violation you are to suppress, protects (among others) the rights specified in the last paragraph, and any person who by force violates those rights breaks that peace and renders it your duty to arrest him, and to suppress any riots incident, or that threaten the integrity of the registration or election, to the end that the will of the people in such election may be ascertained and take effect, and that offenders may be brought before the court for punishment.

Notorious events in several States, which recently and in an unusual manner have been publicly reprobated, render it a grave duty of all marshals who have cause to apprehend a violation of the peace of the United States connected as above with the elec-

tions to be held upon the Tuesday after the first Monday in November next to be prepared to preserve and to restore such peace.

As the chief executive officer of the United States in your district you will be held responsible for all breaches of the peace of the United States which diligence on your part might have prevented, and for the arrest and securing of all persons who violate that peace in any of the points above enumerated.

Diligence in these matters requires, of course, that you be, and continue, present, in person or by deputy, at all places of registration or election at which you have reason to suspect that the peace is threatened; and that whenever an embodiment of the *posse comitatus* is required to enforce the law such embodiment be effected.

You will observe that the "special" deputies mentioned in section 2021 of the Revised Statutes have peculiar duties assigned to them, duties which otherwise do not belong to deputy marshals. Such "special" deputies can be appointed only in cities of twenty thousand inhabitants or upward.

But the duties assigned to marshals and their deputies by section 2022, or other like statutes, belong to all duly appointed deputies, whether they be general or be "special," within the meaning of that and the preceding section. Deputies to discharge this latter class of duties may be appointed to any number whatever, according to the discretion of the marshal, in all States in which sheriffs have a similar power. Section 2030 has no practical bearing upon this point in States where no limit is imposed upon the appointment of deputies by sheriffs, because in such States the laws of the United States "prior to the 10th of June, 1872," left marshals also unlimited as to the number of their deputies.

In discharging the duties above mentioned you will doubtless receive the countenance and support of all the good citizens of the United States in your respective districts. It is not necessary that it is upon such countenance and support that the United States mainly rely in their endeavor to enforce the right to vote which they have given or have secured. The present instructions are intended only to counteract that partial malice, wrong-headedness, or inconsideration which sometimes triumphs at critical moments over the conservative and in general prevailing forces of society, and to which the present and passing condition of the country gives more than ordinary strength, and, therefore, requires the Government to particularly to observe and provide against.

In this connection I advise that you and each of your deputies, general and "special," have a right to summon to your assistance, in preventing and quelling disorder, "every person in the district above fifteen years of

age, whatever may be their occupation, whether civilians or not, and including the military of all denominations—militia, soldiers, marines—all of whom are alike bound to obey you. The fact that they are organized as military bodies—whether of the State or the United States—under the immediate command of their own officers, does not in any wise affect their legal character. They are the *posse comitatus*." I prefer to quote the above statement of the law upon this point from an opinion by my predecessor, Attorney General Cushing, because it thus appears to have been well settled for many years.—(6, Opinions, 466, May 27, 1854.)

I need hardly add that there can be no State law or State official in this country who has jurisdiction to oppose you in discharging your official duties under the laws of the United States. If such interference shall take place—a thing not anticipated—you are to disregard it entirely. The laws of the United States are supreme, and so, consequently, is the action of officials of the United States in enforcing them. There is, as virtually you have already been told, no officer of a State whom you may not by summons embody into your own *posse* and any State *posse* already embodied by a sheriff will, with such sheriff, be obliged, upon your summons, to become a part of a United States *posse*, and obey you or your deputy acting *virtute officii*.

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State, County, District, or other Republican committees or clubs supplied. Retail dealers also supplied on most liberal terms.

Other series will issue as soon as the best material can be collected. *This is a rare opportunity.*

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Apply to said Committee, 1001 F Street, Washington, D. C.

PROTECT YOUR BUILDINGS,

Which may be done with one-fourth the usual expense, by using our

PATENT SLATE PAINT

MIXED READY FOR USE.

Fire-proof, Water-proof, Durable, Economical, and Ornamental.

A roof may be covered with a very cheap shingle, and by application of this slate be made to last from 20 to 25 years. Old roofs can be patched and coated, looking much better, and lasting longer than new shingles without the slate, for

One-Third the Cost of Reshingling.

The expense of slating new shingles is only about the cost of simply laying them. The paint is FIRE-PROOF against sparks or flying embers, as may be easily tested by any one.

IT STOPS EVERY LEAK,

and for tin or iron has no equal, as it expands by heat, contracts by cold, and NEVER CRACKS nor scales. Roofs covered with Tar Sheathing Felt can be made water-tight at a small expense, and preserved for many years.

This Slate Paint is

EXTREMELY CHEAP.

Two gallons will cover a hundred square feet of shingle roof, while on tin, iron, felt, matched boards, or any smooth surface, from two quarts to one gallon are required to 100 square feet of surface, and although the Paint has a heavy body it is easily applied with a brush.

No Tar is used in this Composition, therefore it neither cracks in Winter, nor runs in Summer.

On decayed shingles it fills up the holes and pores, and gives a new substantial roof that will last for years. CRACKED OR WARPED shingles it brings to their places and keeps them there. It fills up all holes in felt roofs, stops the leaks—and although a slow dryer, rain does not affect it a few hours after applying. As nearly all paints that are black contain TAR, be sure you obtain our GENUINE article, which (for shingle roofs) is

CHOCOLATE COLOR,

when first applied, changing in about a month to a uniform slate color, and is to all intents and purposes SLATE. On

TIN ROOFS

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BRICK WALLS

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These paints are also largely used on out-houses and fences, or as a priming coat on new buildings.

Our only colors are CHOCOLATE, RED, BRIGHT RED, and ORANGE.

NEW YORK CASH PRICE LIST.

5 Gallons, can and box	\$3 50
10 " " " "	6 50
20 " " half barrel	12 00
40 " " one barrel	23 00

We have in stock, of our own manufacture, roofing materials, etc., at the following low prices:

1000 rolls extra Rubber Roofing at 3 cents per square foot. Or we will furnish Rubber Roofing, Nails, Caps, and Slate Paint for an entire new roof, at 4½ cents per square foot.

2000 rolls 2-ply Tarred Roofing Felt, at 13 cents per square foot.

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N. Y. SLATE PAINT COMPANY,

102 & 104 Maiden Lane, New York

tions to be held upon the Tuesday after the first Monday in November next to be prepared to preserve and to restore such peace.

As the chief executive officer of the United States in your district you will be held responsible for all breaches of the peace of the United States which diligence on your part might have prevented, and for the arrest and securing of all persons who violate that peace in any of the points above enumerated.

Diligence in these matters requires, of course, that you be, and continue, present, in person or by deputy, at all places of registration or election at which you have reason to suspect that the peace is threatened; and that whenever an embodiment of the *posse comitatus* is required to enforce the law such embodiment be effected.

You will observe that the "special" deputies mentioned in section 2021 of the Revised Statutes have peculiar duties assigned to them, duties which otherwise do not belong to deputy marshals. Such "special" deputies can be appointed only in cities of twenty thousand inhabitants or upward.

But the duties assigned to marshals and their deputies by section 2022, or other like statutes, belong to all duly appointed deputies, whether they be general or be "special," within the meaning of that and the preceding section. Deputies to discharge this latter class of duties may be appointed to any number whatever, according to the discretion of the marshal, in all States in which sheriffs have a similar power. Section 2030 has no practical bearing upon this point in States where no limit is imposed upon the appointment of deputies by sheriffs, because in such States the laws of the United States "prior to the 10th of June, 1872," left marshals also unlimited as to the number of their deputies.

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Apply to said Committee, 1005 F Street, Washington, D. C.

Vol. 7. Republic Magazine. Vol. 7.

CAMPAIGN PREMIUMS.

MARSHALL'S LIFE-SIZE PORTRAITS

OR

HAYES AND WHEELER.

Any one sending a new subscriber and \$2.00 will receive the **REPUBLIC MAGAZINE** one year and choice of a life-size portrait of

GOV. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES or HON. WM. A. WHEELER,

Engraved in pure Line by **WM. E. MARSHALL.** *Autograph printed on each Engraving.*

For two subscribers and \$4.00 the proprietors will send the Magazine one year and a portrait of each of the candidates, (Hayes and Wheeler.)

The Magazine and premiums are in all cases sent with the postage prepaid.

A thorough circulation of these Portraits of Governor R. B. HAYES and Hon. WM. A. WHEELER being recommended by our most prominent working Republicans, and also by the National Executive Committee, as of great importance to insure the success of the Republican cause, the publishers, to enable Republican clubs, committees, and organizations to distribute them thoroughly and at no expenses, make this offer—we will fill all orders at the following rates:

Orders for	1 proof or more at 35 cts. each.			
25	25	25	25	25
100	25	25	25	25
1,000	23	23	23	23
2,000	21	21	21	21
5,000	17½	17½	17½	17½

Autograph printed on each Proof.

These engravings are full life size, and are companion pictures. They are engraved in pure line by Wm. E. Marshall, and are fully equal to his celebrated and well-known portraits of Washington, Lincoln, and General Grant. They are printed on fine paper of good quality, and are thoroughly indorsed as excellent and faithful portraits and elegant works of art.

They are just the works to sell through audiences, especially at political meetings: and we therefore urge upon you to have every meeting in your neighborhood thoroughly canvassed by boys or men taking them through the audience.

Being very life-like, strong, and telling portraits, and truly portraying the characters of the nominees, they are—what a prominent member of the National Executive Committee says—"speeches to those who cannot read. Most powerful campaign documents."

Subscriptions for Magazine and premiums should be sent to **REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,** Washington, D. C.

Those desiring the Engravings without the Magazine will please address

OSCAR MARSHALL, Publisher,

697 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

COMMENDATIONS AND OPINIONS.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

DEAR SIR: At the meeting of this Committee held on the second instant, a resolution of thanks was passed to you for the engraved portraits of Messrs. Hayes and Wheeler. In the opinion of the members of the Committee, these are the best portraits of the Republican candidates prepared; and it is thought that their general distribution throughout the country will be of service in the impending campaign. No fair observer can hesitate to admit that the faces are those of men kind yet firm in disposition, and with a thorough honesty of purpose. This Committee will be pleased to have State, County, and District clubs aid in the general introduction of these portraits. Yours truly, **R. C. McCORMICK, Secretary**

HON. ZACH CHANDLER, CHAIRMAN NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

I have seen Marshall's life-size line-engraved portraits of Governor R. B. Hayes and Hon. Wm. A. Wheeler, and I consider them excellent as likenesses and as works of art; and I am of the opinion that, if widely circulated during the present campaign, they would be of great service to the Republican party.

CONGRESSIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Committee directs me to acknowledge the receipt of Marshall's life-size portraits of Gov. R. B. Hayes and Hon. Wm. A. Wheeler, and to return thanks for the same, and to express the hope that these splendid representations may make the acquaintance of every voter in the land.

J. M. EDMUNDS, Secretary.

UNION VETERANS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

They are admirable, and I can cordially recommend them to all Republican organizations and clubs.

JNO. A. DIX, Chairman.

R419

THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VIII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL, 1877.

No. 4.

PRESIDENT HAYES' NEW POLICY.

The policy of the new Administration is not yet fully developed. Enough, however, has been made known to indicate its general character.

Certain Republicans fear that it is to be an abandonment of the Republican party in the South, and the virtual throwing overboard of all that has been done in the line of reconstruction since the close of the war.

Certain Democrats hope and believe that it means the acceptance of Democracy, the elevation of its old leaders, the abandonment of universal suffrage, and the abnegation of all right on the part of the Federal Government to protect citizenship in the Southern States.

Both Republicans and Democrats holding these views will be disappointed in the new policy. It neither means the desertion of Republicanism nor the acceptance of Democracy. It means the blending together of a large and influential element in both parties, and the breaking down of the color line in the politics of the South. If it fails of success, the fault will be with those who have complained of abuses which have grown out of the color line, and who are now to have an opportunity to correct them by an honest effort on the part of the President to afford a policy that will, if accepted in good faith, secure local self-government, and the ultimate removal of those irritating causes which, since the close of the war, have tended to disturb the peace and retard the prosperity of many of the Southern States.

The policy is on trial, and it should have

the earnest support of every true friend of the Government, irrespective of old party lines. Its complete success calls for no abandonment of the right of suffrage on the part of any class. The humblest citizen is to be protected in his rights, and it is hoped that under its friendly influences this protection, wherever needed, will come promptly and willingly from the States affected. If this should prove to be the case, the military arm of the Federal Government will not be invoked to do what the States ought to do themselves, and the withdrawal of United States troops from Southern localities will follow as a matter of course.

The new policy looks to the elevation of the best men to offices of trust and authority, and if the Republican party in the South cannot produce men to come up to the requirements they will be sought after in the Democratic party. In other words, good men are not to be ignored because they are Democrats, nor bad men preferred because they claim to be Republicans. Republicans are to have the preference, all things being equal, but merit is to be the test, and whoever fills an office must come up to this test.

It has been claimed, and the truth of the claim will be tested by the new policy, that there is a large and influential party in the Southern States who do not countenance the violence and outrages perpetrated upon the colored voters, but are forced to look on with indifference because they have been ignored by the Administration. It has

been set forth, from time to time, that the political crimes committed have been by a lawless class that could be controlled and suppressed by the better element, if that element was invited to advise and co-operate with the General Government.

The appointment of a Democratic Cabinet officer and the general invitation extended to the Southern people by this act means that an honest endeavor is to be made to bring to the front this better element of the South, that has thus far stood with folded arms, unwilling to help in the preservation of order, on the plea that such help was not invited. President Hayes has extended the invitation, and time alone can tell whether the invitation is to be followed by those good results which are earnestly hoped for.

If the new policy has no other effect than to bring the best men of both parties closer together and thus dull the edge of partisanship it will not have been tried in vain. Party spirit, of late years, has become excessively bitter. The natural tendency of its continuation in the same line would be to invite to blows, and this would involve a civil war, the most disastrous of modern times. If the new policy begets more justice and charity than were found in the old one it must lead to the pacification of all sections and to the speedy restoration of public confidence, and, thus, to prosperity.

The new policy also means a healthy reform in the civil service. Perfect independence of political influences is to be infused in the offices of the Government. Merit is to be the door of admission, and merit is to be the basis of promotion. We have claimed, and still claim, that the civil service of the past eight years has been, in point of honesty and efficiency, equal to any in our history. But there is room for improvement, and it lies in the direction indicated by the new policy of President Hayes. Government officials should feel, at all times, that their positions depend upon their merit, and that faithful service to the Government is a surer road to advancement than service to any man or party. If the President succeeds in bringing about this feeling of independence among the Federal officials of the land,

the reform will be hailed as genuine and substantial.

On the whole the outlook is a cheering one, and the new policy promises good results. While we may entertain opinions at variance with some of its features, we cannot deny the honesty of the efforts put forth. The President is in earnest and will do his best to bring about peace and good will without sacrificing any one's rights or betraying a principle. If his policy fails he will be among the first to change it. While he hopes for success, he is not so wedded to a policy as to pursue it after it has proven a failure.

Let American citizens, of both parties, stand by him in his work and render him that support which is necessary for success. If the results do not come at once to justify the promise let all be patient and exercise the charity which encourages well-doing. A fair trial is all that the President asks, and a fair trial is the least that can be accorded his policy.

THE New York *Bulletin* publishes the comparative statistics of the debts of New York city and the United States, the former at the present time and the latter in 1860. The debt of New York city is \$160,000,000. The taxes are \$33,000,000 a year. The population is 1,200,000. The debt, \$133 for every man, woman, and child of population, and the taxation, \$27.50 per capita. In 1860 the debt of the United States was \$65,000,000, or \$95,000,000 less than the present debt of the city of New York. The taxes upon the United States were at that time \$3,000,000 a year, or only \$21,000,000 more than the present taxation of the city of New York.

Is it any wonder that New York feels the pressure of hard times; that her great stores stand empty, and that there is an irresistible call on landlords for a reduction of rents?

OF the thirty-eight States of the Union, twenty-four will be represented in the next House by a Republican majority. Even the great bull-dozed State, New York, will have a majority of its Representatives on the Republican side of the House.

VIEWS ON THE SOLUTION OF THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

BY A CORRESPONDENT.

In June, 1875, at the date of the meeting of the Republican nominating convention at Cincinnati, the unfortunate condition for years of Southern affairs, with its fruits—revolts, massacre, and outrage; the unyielding hostility of the property-holding and educated whites of the section to the rule of the colored majority; the unceasing demand of the latter for military assistance from the Government, and the consequent use of the bayonet in organizing and supporting their local Legislatures and governments; the deaf ear with which Congress had nevertheless met all the representations of the President respecting the condition of the South; the refusal of the Republicans to seat some of its colored representatives in the Senate, and its refusal or neglect to adopt the legislation recommended by the President as demanded by an adjustment of Southern affairs—all these and other similar causes had combined, with the excitement throughout the country attendant upon the ruin of business and the scandal of never-ending brawls and outrages, in making reconstruction odious even to the loyal mind. It had been emphatically condemned at the recent elections. The Republican majority in the Senate had been greatly reduced. The heavy Republican majority in the House had been sponged out, and an overwhelming Confederate majority had been returned in its place. The nation was manifestly disgusted—evidently surfeited with the long and apparently endless wrangle, so profitless even to the Southern Unionist, and so injurious to all the material interests of the nation. It had commanded a halt, had ordered the bloody farce to cease, and the Republicans, weakened by the successive loss of State after State, were in danger of permanent overthrow.

Under these circumstances the Republican nominating convention met at Cincinnati. In its platform it adopted as its third plank:

Third. *The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights*, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and *we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights.* To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

Upon this plank it nominated as its candidates for President and Vice President, Hayes and Wheeler. General Hayes, in his letter of acceptance, dated July 8th, 1876, says:

“The resolution of the convention on the subject of the permanent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of *all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights*, is timely and of great importance. The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union in their progressive recovery from the effects of the war. Their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of government which will protect all classes of citizens in all their political and private rights. *What the South most needs is peace, and peace depends upon the supremacy of law.*”

“There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. *A division of political parties, resting merely upon distinctions of race or upon sectional lines, is always unfortunate and may be disastrous.* The welfare of the South, alike with that of every other part of this country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor and immigration, and to capital. But laborers will not go, and capital will not be ventured where the Con-

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stitution and laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehension, and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life. All parts of the Constitution are sacred, and must be sacredly observed—the parts that are new, no less than the parts that are old. The moral and material prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectively advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all by all, a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded, it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the General Government, the effort of the people of these States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire to labor for the attainment of this end. Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that, if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, *it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests, the interests of the white and the colored people, both and equally, and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between the North and South in our common country.*"

Mr. Wheeler, in his letter, adds :

"We compelled these [Southern] people to remain in the Union, and now duty and interest demand that we leave no just means untried to make them good, loyal citizens. *How to diminish the friction, how to stimulate the elevation of this portion of our country, are problems addressing themselves to our best and wisest statesmanship.* The foundation for these efforts must be had in satisfying the Southern people that they are *to have equal, exact justice accorded to them.* Give them to the fullest extent every blessing which the Government confers upon the most favored. Give them no just cause for complaint, and then hold them by every necessary means to an exact, rigid observance of all their duties and obligations under the Constitution and its amendments, to secure to all within their borders manhood and citizenship, with every right thereto belonging."

In the campaign which followed, in Congress and upon the stump, it was urged by Republican leaders :

"The North looks with hope to the old Whig element in the South, which did not originally advocate secession doctrines or accept the resolutions of '98, to return to its prominence in political affairs as an or-

ganization for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, and with a view to the securing of all voters who ask their constitutional rights only. I venture further to say that when that old Union-loving Government shall declare itself the promoter of the rights of all men, white and black, under the amended Constitution, *it will be recognized in its relations with the Federal Government as fully as it ever was before the war ; for that is all Republicanism demands. It is to secure such a recognition and the restoration of an era of good government that we earnestly advocate the election of Governor Hayes.*"—Kasson, of Iowa, U. S. H. R., Aug. 14, 1876.

Upon these "sacred pledges" solemnly reiterated in every form, and guaranteed by the "the permanent pacification," the "the peace of the South ; " "a recognition without reserve or exception"—"a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all," "the complete protection of all its citizens," of "every American citizen," "the free enjoyment" of "all their political and private rights ;" "the removal of any just causes of discontent on the part of any class ;" the obliteration of the "unfortunate" and possibly "disastrous" "division of political parties resting merely upon sectional lines ;" "by an intelligent and honest administration," by "the influence of all the legitimate agencies of the General Government" "to promote" "the efforts of the people of those States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government."

Upon these pledges Hayes and Wheeler carried the country. Hence, the efforts of the South to perpetuate, by military force, the local so-called "carpet-bag" governments, were condemned at the late Presidential election by the universal American voice—by the Republicans as by the Democrats. The judgment of all parties in the contest was : that in all the grand purposes or ends of government reconstruction by the military power is a failure. And is not history full of similar failures? Have similar agencies anywhere ever succeeded? After centuries of carnage, crime, and blood, in Ireland, exhausting every expedient of the most frightful military tyranny, the only fruit of which was one unbroken series of rebellions against the im-

perial authority, England was compelled to yield to Irishmen the rights of Englishmen. But it robbed them of their home government. It substituted for its military, in support of the imperial authority, an armed constabulary, drilled and disciplined as cavalry and infantry. Hence, to-day, as seventy years ago, Irishmen still clamor and war for local independence—for home rule—for "Ireland for Irishmen," and to-day, as a hundred years ago, the Pole is ripe for rebellion. After centuries of military violence by the Turk, in sanguinary efforts to maintain over his provinces alien governments, the Slave, to-day, for the hundredth time, is in arms for independence—for local home rule! All mankind, German, Slave and Celt, instinctively rebel against all such agencies—against alien governments supported by the bayonet; and rebellion, bloody resistance, is their only fruit, even where maintained in the name of the majority for the purposes of freedom! Can we hope for better success in the South—for acquiescence in a rule, in local governments, which in themselves are inimical to the will of the dominant classes, and which utterly fail, even with the support of the army, to maintain peace, to enforce justice, to protect the citizen, colored or white, in his liberties or life, or to secure him in the unmolested possession of his property? The colored man, the Southern Unionist, under them, is a victim of bloody persecution. Suffrage, which should have been his protection, the fortress of his independence and power, has, by its management, by its enforcement in blood by the military, been made his curse—the justification and cause of his massacre and murder, and positively threatens him with extermination.

Shall that continue forever, to the great injury of all the interests of the country—to the great scandal of the nation? Does justice demand such sacrifices? Does liberty or peace? The voice of the Republic, the judgment of all parties emphatically pronounced at the ballot-box, has decided that they do not—that the injurious and scandalous brawl shall cease.

What, then, is the remedy? What the statesman's remedy? *How to untangle this*

frightful melange of blood and fraud—to command the peace—without relinquishing or jeopardizing the liberties and rights guaranteed the Southern Unionist by the organic law? Is it not obvious? So long as the color line in the South shall be preserved, so long as the "unfortunate" and "disastrous" "division of political parties upon sectional lines" shall continue, just so long will the colored man be a "nigger"—a pariah—hated, hunted, and murdered. With the division of his own and the white vote a new era will open out to him—an era of fraternity and peace. With a new division of parties obliterating the color line, all parties will have the highest motives to secure him in the unmolested exercise of the franchise—in obtaining at the polls the largest number of colored votes, and the inducements to secure his vote will establish him, permanently and in peace, in all the enjoyments of life, liberty, and property.

To accomplish that is one of the grand purposes of the administration—to secure to the Southern Unionist the rights guaranteed "every American citizen" by the Constitution and the laws, while removing from the States the odium of military rule; and, in its righteous efforts, it will be sustained and applauded by the patriotic of all parties!

DEWINTON.

[While the REPUBLIC will always afford to correspondents an opportunity for a free expression of opinion on all national subjects, it must not be supposed that their views are always indorsed by the editors of the Magazine. While the necessity for a military police in the South must always be regretted, it is not clear that a better course could have been adopted in the past. Its withdrawal or retention now will depend wholly upon the future deportment of the people in the localities where its presence in the past has been deemed necessary for the preservation of peace, property, and life.—ED. REPUBLIC.]

No government ever saved a dollar by repudiation, which involves always the loss of credit.

WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS.

Those who listened to Mr. Evarts, in his argument before the Arbitration Commission in the Louisiana case, were of the opinion that he completely cleared the case of the fog and mist in which the opposing counsel had invested it. By this great effort he has again placed himself prominently before the people.

Mr. Evarts' father was a native of Vermont. He was a man of high character; engaged in religious and educational enterprises. Like his son he was a graduate of Yale College. He died in Charleston, S. C., in 1831, at the early age of fifty.

William Maxwell Evarts was born in Boston, February 6th, 1818, and is now 59 years of age. He graduated from Yale in 1837, when only 19 years old. He at once devoted himself assiduously to the profession of law. He attained considerable eminence as a lawyer before he was known in politics. Our first personal knowledge of him in the latter sphere was as one of the chief participants in the famous "Castle Garden meeting," in 1850. That meeting was composed of the most conservative and respectable citizens of New York, and was designed to sustain the "Compromise" administration of Mr. Fillmore and to resist the spread of what was then called *Secedism*. The city of New York was the head of this influence, and the leading men of that metropolis, Whigs and Democrats, were swept into the current. It is not strange that Mr. Evarts was one of them. A few years afterward a Virginian named Lemmon, traveling from Virginia to Texas with eight slaves, sailed from Norfolk to New York, intending there to tranship his family and property to Texas. His slaves were, on their arrival in New York, restored to freedom by the laws of the State. The indignation of the slaveholders throughout the country was thoroughly aroused. An expensive and protracted litigation ensued. The State of Virginia became the plaintiff and the State of New York the defendant. The two most eminent men of the New York bar were employ-

O'Connor for Virginia and William M. Evarts for New York; the former, as always, the advocate of slavery, and the latter the champion of freedom. Probably a more able and elaborate argument in behalf of the rights of slavery, under the Constitution, was never made than Mr. O'Connor's in this case. It was without compromise or equivocation, entirely divested of any sentiment of humanity. Mr. Evarts, however, completely overthrew the ingenious fabric of his antagonist and vindicated the Constitution and the cause of human nature. For two days Mr. Evarts addressed the Court of Appeals of the State of New York; a court composed of some of the ablest jurists of that great State. Mr. O'Connor occupied about the same time in his argument. Mr. Evarts carried the Court with him.

The judges who decided in favor of freedom were Hiram Denio, William B. Wright, Henry Welles, William J. Bacon, and Henry E. Davies. Those who dissented were Samuel L. Selden, Thomas W. Clerke, and George F. Comstock. Of the former, Mr. Denio was a Democrat, but a man of commanding intellect and a jurist of great integrity and ability. The dissentients were two Democrats and one "American," (Judge Comstock.) The importance of this decision is manifest when it is remembered that the slave power was then seeking to establish the principle that the Constitution made slavery lawful throughout the United States; as well in the so-called "Free States" as in the "Slave States" and Territories. It was intended that the Supreme Court of the United States (to which tribunal this case was appealed) should decide in favor of that interpretation of the Constitution as it had done in the "Dred Scott" decision.

Both counsel in this great trial displayed a deep study of the subject, and showed evidences of great research made in all the available sources of knowledge, ancient and modern. The court having decided the case in favor of New York and of freedom, Mr. Evarts became one of the cham-

The two
York
Charles

pions of Republican principles. His argument produced a profound impression among jurists, statesmen, and thoughtful people. Mr. O'Connor, the recognized head of the bar, was vanquished.

The war of rebellion soon followed, and the public interest in discussions of slavery was drowned. The irrepressible conflict was transferred from the forum to the field. Mr. Evarts, now regarded as a leader in the Republican party, was extensively looked upon as a candidate for the United States Senate. In the election of Senator in 1861, he divided the votes of the caucus with Horace Greeley. After a protracted and unsuccessful ballot, Ira Harris was taken up as a compromise candidate, nominated by the caucus, and elected by the Legislature. Two years later Mr. Evarts was again widely spoken of for the same office. E. D. Morgan, however, was chosen.

In 1863 Mr. Seward sent Mr. Evarts to England as counsel for the United States in the matters of difference between the two countries.

Mr. Adams thus announced the arrival of Mr. Evarts in London :

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, May 8, 1863.

SIR : Since the departure of the steamer of last week I have had the pleasure of receiving Mr. Evarts at the legation. I have placed him at once into communication with all the parties hitherto engaged on this side of the water in the preparation of evidence or in giving advice in the matter of vessels fitting out here for the use of the rebels.

In the case of the *Alexandra*, I am informed, though not from any official source, that her Majesty's Government have concluded to proceed in the first instance against the ship, and not the persons. The case has been removed to the Court of Exchequer, at Westminster, and is to be tried by a special jury at some period not yet fixed. In a brief conversation I had last evening with the Solicitor General on the subject, I found him far from sanguine of success in the undertaking. I presume he will not act. The Attorney General may. The enlistment law never was a popular act here. And there are so many strong interests combined to annul its provisions that we shall have to esteem ourselves very fortunate if we can obtain a jury fully disposed to do justice.

the rebels continues to an extraordinary extent. I have reason to believe that they still contemplate a possibility of some concerted operations of an aggressive character to break the blockade, and possibly to recover their foothold at New Orleans or at the mouth of the Chesapeake. But the great effort is unquestionably to forward supplies of provisions and clothing.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, &c.

Mr. Evarts remained industriously engaged in behalf of his Government until July, when, for reasons given in the following letter from Mr. Adams, he returned to Washington :

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, July 3, 1863.

SIR : Mr. Evarts has shown to me your note to him, recommending a longer stay in this country if I should deem it expedient. At the same time he expressed a desire to go home and attend to his affairs, which require his presence, if it should appear that he was not absolutely needed here. He stated very truly that after the close of this month little remains to be done in London. All people of influence leave it for the summer and autumn. The courts are adjourned over, so that, in point of fact, were he to stay, he would have no occupation. The argument against the *Alexandra* is adjourned over until November. In view of these considerations, I suggested the possibility of his going home for the season, and making his arrangements to come here again in time for the assignment of the *Alexandra* case. This, he said, had also occurred to himself.

I am very happy to have the pleasure of Mr. Evarts' society, as well as the relief which he has furnished me from the direction of the legal operations against the outfits of vessels in this kingdom. But these are now so much simplified that I cannot see any occasion for detaining him here at the expense of the Government and to his own inconvenience merely on that account.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, &c.

Mr. Evarts was one of the counsel for President Johnson in the famous impeachment trial. His argument in this case may justly take rank with the greatest speeches

in his profession. His eulogiums on Seward, Webster, and Chase are among the finest specimens of American oratory. His services to his Government and to the country, in bringing to a successful issue

over-estimated. Mr. Evarts having been appointed Secretary of State by President Hayes, the whole country recognizes his eminent fitness to be the *Premier* of the new Administration.

THE WHIGS OF ALABAMA.

The *Montgomery State Journal* has a judicious and timely article in reference to the severance of the Whig element in Alabama with the Democracy. It says that "sensible men in Alabama now admit that had the generous and broad statesmanlike policy of the Whig party prevailed in the councils of the nation, there would have been no secession nor civil war among the States of the Union. That policy which was so ably and so eloquently maintained by Clay and Webster and their cotemporaries, embraced all the means and ends of peace and good will among the people of the whole country. There was nothing narrow or sectional in that policy, as contradistinguished from the Democratic policy of hate and sectionalism."

The *Journal* further calls attention to the well-known and important fact in political history that only a few years since in the South "the Whig party constituted the wealth, intelligence, and statesmanship of the people, just as the Republican party, at the present day, constitutes the wealth, intelligence, and moral worth of the North, East, and West. Every old Whig citizen of Alabama knows that the so-called Democratic party here was composed of all the commoner elements of citizenship; that it constantly aggressed upon the peace and welfare of the State by its unscrupulous methods of carrying elections, and of defrauding Whig citizens of their just rights. The secession convention of 1861, which deprived several Whig-Union delegates of the seats to which they had been elected, was the last desperate assault of the Democratic-Secession leaders upon the Whig-Union sentiment of the State,

which was struggling to avert war and ruin."

It is a fact also that the Whig party in the South was never argued down; it was simply bullied down by Democracy on the single ground that the latter was the better pro-slavery party, and that the Whigs were not to be trusted on this paramount question. Thus the national Whigs were literally yelled and hooted down by a Democratic mob. The result was mortifying and humiliating to the Whigs. The *Journal* adds that ever "since 1861, the Whigs of Alabama have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Democratic party; they fought its battles during the war, and since the war; they have furnished it all the brains and statesmanship it has possessed since the war, and but for the abject submission to which the Democratic leaders drove the Whig citizens of the State, the government of Alabama would to-day be prosperous and great under the benign influences of Whig administrations."

Slavery is dead; and why should the political slave overseer continue to crack his whip about the ears of Southern Whigs, who are firm believers in the doctrines of national currency, national improvements, and home development, held by President Hayes?

FORTUNE is for those who by diligence, honesty, and frugality place themselves in a position to grasp hold of fortune when it appears in view. The best evidence of frugality is the five hundred dollars or more standing in your name at the savings bank. The best evidence of honesty is both diligence and frugality.

PROGRESS OF THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PROF. F. V. HAYDEN, UNITED STATES GEOLOGIST.

In 1867, when Nebraska was admitted as a State, Congress set apart the unexpended balance of the appropriation for legislative expenses of the Territory for a geological survey of the new State. This sum amounted to \$5,000, and its expenditure marked the beginning of the geological survey. In 1868, \$5,000 more were appropriated, and the work was carried westward into Wyoming Territory. The reports for 1867 and 1868 were made to the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

The Report for 1867 consists of a letter of 64 pages to the Commissioner, in which the geology of the following counties of Nebraska is detailed, viz: Lancaster, Cass, Otoe, Nemaha, Richardson, Pawnee, Gage, Jefferson, and Johnson. The geology of Nebraska north of the Platte river is treated of, and space is devoted to the Salt Basins of Lancaster county, and to the forest and fruit trees of the State. The Cretaceous and Tertiary formations are also described in detail.

The Report for 1868 contains three letters addressed to the Commissioner. The first is devoted to the geography of the Missouri valley, and the other three are reports of geological explorations in Wyoming Territory. The entire report consists of 36 pages.

In 1869 the survey received its present form, and was placed under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior, and an increased appropriation was made for a reconnaissance along the eastern edge of the Rocky mountains from Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, to Santa Fé, New Mexico. Reports were made on the geology and mining and agricultural resources of the country passed over. The Report has 158 pages.

In 1870 the appropriation was again increased, and the area explored comprised a belt of country in Wyoming Territory along the line of the Union Pacific railroad. The report for the year is made up of papers on the geology, natural history, meteorology, agricultural, and material re-

sources of the Territory, besides special reports on its fossil plants, fish, and reptiles. It contains 511 pages and 20 wood-cut illustrations.

In 1871 a portion of the region at the sources of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers was explored. The party organized at Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, and proceeded by rail to Ogden, Utah. Thence, a wagon train was taken to Boteler's Ranch, on the Yellowstone river, 35 miles from Fort Ellis. A belt of country along the line of travel was explored. From Boteler's Ranch a trip with a pack-train of six weeks' duration was made to Yellowstone lake, and the geysers and hot springs of the Fire Hole or Upper Madison river. The results of that trip have become known throughout the civilized world. Descriptions of the wonders of that region have been published in American and English journals, and translated into several foreign languages. Such was the interest excited among our people by the results of the survey, that during the subsequent winter a portion of the region explored was set apart by Congress as a "National Park" for the benefit and enjoyment of the people.

The Report for 1871 contains 538 pages, and is abundantly illustrated, with 2 plates, 5 maps, and 64 figures, many of them reproduced from photographs. The general divisions of the report are geology, agricultural resources, palæontology, zoology and botany, and meteorology.

In 1872 the corps for field-work was divided into two parties, each provided with a geologist, topographer, meteorologist, naturalists, assistants, collectors, and laborers. One division started from Fort Ellis, in Montana Territory, and explored the headwaters of the Yellowstone, Gallatin, and Madison rivers, in more detail than during the previous year. The second division visited the Snake river or Lewis' Fork of the Columbia, in Idaho and Wyoming Territories, a region which before was

only partially known. The Teton mountains, a prominent range, were discovered to be thirty miles out of place on all pre-existing maps of the region. From the work of 1872 two geological maps were prepared, which, although somewhat imperfect from the fact that the whole area could not be visited, are a great advance on the previous maps of the country then explored. The report for 1872 has 844 octavo pages, and contains papers on geology, mineralogy, and physical geography, and special reports on geology and palæontology, zoology and botany, astronomy and hypsometry. It is illustrated with maps, sections, diagrams, and plates numbering nearly ninety in all.

From the experience of previous years, it was found that the topographical maps of the West were not accurate enough for the delineation of the geology, so in 1872 the method of work was made more systematic. Previously the work had been somewhat disconnected, being confined mainly to routes of travel.

In 1872, when it was expected that the field of labor would, during the following year, be transferred to Colorado, a plan was devised by which geological work could be carried on in connection with the topographical, and the entire country covered. Next to entering the field with a finished topographical map of the region to be examined—a thing as yet impossible in the West—the union of topography and geology, in one and the same party, best furnishes the data for the realization of the full value of the otherwise more or less disconnected observations of the geologist, and equal benefits accrue to the topographer, for mannerism and inexpressive effects are inevitable results when a topographer sees but the surface of a country, and does not understand its internal structure. Association of topographer and geologist thus leads to benefits to each, and is certainly a great advantage to the system of field-work now followed by the survey. The work in Colorado began in 1873, with the eastern front of the Rocky mountains, and has been steadily carried westward, being completed in 1876. In addition to the regu-

lar parties combining topographer and geologist, a meander topographical party has followed, locating more accurately the roads and streams of the districts surveyed by the regular field parties.

In the latter the geologist makes detailed and special studies and sections along the lines of travel, or on special trips for the purpose, and the detail thus acquired he generalizes from the higher topographical stations, whence he obtains extensive views, and can trace the foundations across the country. The directions and locations furnished by the topographer enable him to secure the data from which he can readily color a general geological map on his report from the field.

The report for 1873 contains 718 octavo pages, with over a hundred illustrations, including maps and sections, and the report for 1874, 515 pages, with 88 illustrations, maps, plates, &c., devoted to the geology, palæontology, natural history and geography of Colorado. The reports for 1875 and 1876 are in preparation. The following is a sketch of the topographical progress of the survey:

In 1871, Dr. Hayden finding that the existing maps of the country in which he was working were not sufficiently accurate or detailed for the representation of the geology, decided to carry on geographical work in connection with the geological work. The system of topographical work pursued that year was rather crude, being the time-honored one still in use in reconnoissances by the army, *i. e.*, the survey of the immediate line of march, with the country in sight from it, controlled by courses and distances, the former of which are measured by compass, the latter by odometer, while the whole is checked in latitude by the sextant. That year a survey was made of the principal routes from Ogden, Utah, to the settlements in Montana and a portion of the Yellowstone National Park. The Yellowstone river, from the lake to the Crow Agency, parts of the Gallatin, Madison, and Jefferson rivers were surveyed in much detail. The work has the character of being correct in detail, but not correct as a whole, owing to the

want of an accurate system for controlling it.

In 1872 two well-equipped parties were put in the field, each fitted with topographers. This year the system of control was improved by the addition of a running system of triangulation, which, in conjunction with the observations for latitude, were used in correcting the work. The work done in the Snake river division was, topographically, of a high degree of excellence, and needed only a more accurate system of control to make it rank as high as any work yet done in the West.

The country surveyed this year included the heads of the Snake river, nearly all of the Yellowstone Park, with the county drained by the upper Yellowstone, the Madison, and the Gallatin rivers.

The area surveyed in these two years was about 18,000 square miles, including portions of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana.

In 1873, when the field of work was changed to Colorado, a new departure was made in geographical work. Systematic work, covering uniformly the whole country, controlled by an accurate, complete system of triangulation, took the place of route reconnoissances. At the commencement of the work in 1873 a base line was carefully measured near Denver, and a system of triangulation was carefully expanded by well-conditioned, closed triangles, and extended over about 12,000 square miles.

The system was located, by connection with stations, at Denver, Colorado Springs, and Trinidad, whose latitude and longitude were determined by the United States Coast Survey with their proverbial accuracy.

In 1874 a second base was measured in San Luis valley; an equally good expansion was made, and connection was established with work founded on the first base. The area covered by closed triangles this year was about 10,000 square miles.

In 1875 work was resumed and the area extended about 10,000 square miles, and in 1876 it was further extended, so as to cover all of Colorado west of the 105th meridian, besides small portions of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, in all about

70,000 square miles. In the mountainous region, which includes about one-half of this area, natural stations could be selected which would answer all the requirements. These triangles are all well-conditioned, and the points are sharp and well defined, except in one or two instances. The sides of the triangles (aside from the expansion) range from fifteen to seventy miles, while most of them are from twenty-five to forty miles in length. In the plateau country, farther west, points are scarce, but the few that exist are admirably grouped for making well-conditioned, large triangles. Here the sides range from forty to ninety miles, being much larger than in the mountains.

The angles have been measured with theodolites of eight-inch circles, reading to ten seconds of arc. Generally, six readings on each point have been made on different parts of the circle. The mean error of closure of the triangles measured in 1873 is $10' 3''$.

When the work founded on the San Luis base was joined to that from the Denver base, the discrepancy was found to be less than one foot per mile. The area covered by the primary triangulation includes only that inclosed by closed triangles, and has no reference to the open triangles which extend to a long distance north, west, and south, and which require only the measurement of the third angle to extend this area immensely.

The secondary triangulation has been carried on by the topographers, coincidently with the topographical work. The angles were measured with a theodolite having a four-inch horizontal circle, reading to minutes. The mean error of closure is about two minutes.

In the mountainous portion of the State a connected system was kept up, by which stations were located at a mean interval of about seven miles. In the plateau country a connected system became impossible, and while it was carried out as far as practicable, locations by three points have perforce been used to some extent.

The topographical work has been done from commanding points, mainly from the stations in the secondary triangulation. It

is thorough and uniformly good everywhere. The sketches, map, and perspective have been made by eye and hand.

The plane table was tried, but its advantages were found to be more than counterbalanced by its want of portability and by the additional time requisite for its employment.

All points susceptible of location, as junctions of streams, mountain peaks, plateau points and corners, buttes, &c., have been fixed in position by the intersection of sight-lines. In this manner several thousands of points have been located in Colorado. All important streams have been meandered. Heights have been measured by the cistern barometer, one or more of which have been sent with each party; by the aneroid, which has been trusted only for sub-important work, and by the vertical circle of the theodolite, which reads to minutes.

The system which was used for the determination of heights in the high mountain region was carefully planned, and has, undoubtedly, given by far the best results yet attained in this class of work.

The base barometric stations were so distributed, horizontally and in height, that any hypsometric work could be referred to a base in no case more than fifty miles off, or differing more than 2,000 feet in height. All the high mountain peaks were connected by careful systems of vertical angles, by which their relative heights were accurately determined. All barometric readings taken on them were reduced to a common point and then referred to the observations taken on the summit of Mount Lincoln or Pike's Peak as a base. As the difference in height between these and the peaks, whose heights were to be determined, is very slight, in few cases exceeding 500 feet, the main source of error in barometric work was avoided.

In the history of the survey as just sketched there are three periods:

The first comprehends the years 1867 and 1868. In these years the work consisted in the collection of geological facts, and specimens to illustrate those facts.

The second period extends from 1869 to

1872 inclusive. In these years not only was the geology of the country investigated, but also its material resources and its natural history. It was found, also, that to correctly delineate the geological features, topographical work would have to be introduced.

In the third period, extending from 1873 to the present, inclusive, the whole corps was thoroughly organized. The important relations of topography and geology were recognized, and the work so arranged that each received its proper share of attention. At the same time the physical geography, the natural history, and industrial capabilities of the country are not neglected.

MAPS ISSUED OR IN PROCESS OF COMPLETION.

In 1871 there was issued a general map in hachures, on a scale of ten miles to one inch, of portions of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. It was based on the topographical work of that year, but included in addition compilations from the best sources. Maps of Yellowstone lake and the Geyser basins, on a large scale, were also made.

In 1872, besides several maps of special areas, on large scales, there were issued a map of the country about the head-waters of Snake river, in Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana, on a scale of five miles to one inch, in brush-work, and one of the country drained by the Madison, Gallatin, and Upper Yellowstone rivers, on a scale of four miles to one inch, in sketchy contours of approximately 100 feet. Both these maps have also been colored and issued as geological maps.

During the progress of the survey of Colorado several preliminary maps, on small scales, have been published in the reports. Of these it is necessary to specify but a few.

In the report of the field-work of 1873, there is a drainage map of the area surveyed—18,000 square miles—on a scale of eight miles to one inch.

The report for 1874 contains a preliminary map in hachures, on a scale of ten miles to one inch, of all the work done in the State up to that time; a map of the Elk mountains, topographical and geologi-

cal, on a scale of two miles to one inch; and a preliminary map of the eastern front of the Rocky mountains, on a scale of four miles to one inch.

Owing to the need of the settlers a drainage map of the San Juan country, on a scale of four miles to the inch, was also issued, and afterward incorporated in the report. Besides these there are many small geological maps of special areas.

The atlas of Colorado, now nearly ready, will contain :

First. Title page, legend sheet and map of the Primary Triangulation.

Second. A general drainage map of the State, on a scale of twelve miles to one inch.

Third. An economic map, colored to represent areas of arable, pasture, timberland, &c.

Fourth. The final map of the State, (including small parts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah,) in six sheets, on a scale of four miles to one inch, in contours 200 feet apart in vertical distance. The area embraced in these maps is about 70,000 square miles.

Fifth. The final geological map of Colorado, in six sheets.

Sixth. A general geologic map of the State on a scale of twelve miles to an inch.

Seventh. Two sheets containing the general sections across the State, illustrating the geological map.

Eighth. Two sheets of panoramic views.

When finished, Colorado will have a better map than any other State in the Union, and the work will be of such a character that it will never need to be done again. Colorado will never support so dense a population that a more detailed survey will be required. Accurately located points on which the local surveyors can base their work are abundant in all parts of the State. The work of the geological survey should always precede that of the land survey, as the former indicates what portions of the country are suited for settlement and should be sectionized.

PUBLICATIONS.

The publications of the survey are divided into four classes :

First. The annual reports, which give the general and geological description of the region surveyed each year, together with special reports on its palæontology, natural history, &c., and catalogues of the specimens. These reports are profusely illustrated with maps, sections, &c., and are popular as well as scientific, giving information on all points in regard to the country explored.

Second. Bulletins have issued from time to time as valuable material accumulates, or whenever it becomes necessary that facts should be placed rapidly before the public. Archæology is given a place in these bulletins as well as special branches of natural history and geology. The bulletins of a year make a separate volume.

Third. Miscellaneous publications are edited, designed to give information on various subjects of interest connected with the West. They comprise lists of elevation, meteorology, botany, and catalogues.

Fourth. This class comprehends the more technical results of the work of the survey. Monographs upon palæontology and zoology are issued in quarto form. Up to the present time six of these volumes have been issued.

In order that every branch of scientific study and investigation may have proper attention, Prof. Hayden attached to each division of the geological survey under his charge a competent mineralogist, as he deemed mines and mining features of the highest scientific and economic importance.

During the prosecution of the work of the survey attention has always been paid to the development of the natural resources of the country traversed. Mineral and agricultural wealth has been the subject of especial study, furnishing, as it does, an indication of the future prospects—commercially and financially—of the territory that at the time may be explored. With a view to increase the scientific knowledge with reference to horizontal and vertical distribution of minerals, all occurrences have been carefully noted and summarized in published catalogues. Since 1873, Colorado, one of the richest mining States of the United States, has been the subject of

exploration. In accordance with the predominating industrial features of the country, particular attention was given to the investigation of its mineral riches. The mines of all the principal mining districts were examined by experts, and reports thereupon were published. Although the character of these reports was necessarily such that no direct benefit could therefrom accrue to any individual mine, it is certain that the discussion of such districts has furnished general data, the correctness and impartiality of which will go far toward assuring mine-owners and workmen of eventual success and remuneration in the work they have undertaken. It has been a prominent feature of this survey to explore (immediately after discovery) any new district that may have been announced, and to give, as speedily as possible, to the public the benefit of such explorations. Thus, the first authentic reports relative to the famous San Juan mines are to be found in the publications of the survey. Owing to the organization of the parties in the field, examinations of such nature can readily be made, without the loss of too much time, and at the same time with the co-operation of civil engineers, which may at times be desired by the geologist or mining expert. In consequence of this arrangement, it is possible for each party to obtain, in a by far shorter period of time than would otherwise be required, information that ranks high with regard to accuracy and completeness.

In connection partly with the examination of mines, special attention was given to the occurrence of minerals at various localities throughout the State. The result derived has been embodied in a catalogue of Colorado minerals. As was expected, it has been gratifying, and the publications of the survey are thus able to present a list of minerals from Colorado, exceeding in number 200 species. Attention has been directed more particularly—for obvious reasons—to those that there rank as “ores,” and their horizontal distribution affords important information as to the character and location of the mining districts. At the same time their chemical constitution furnishes a hint as to the relative value of the mines in

which they occur as ores. Apart from this more practical consideration, the data collected are an addition to mineralogical science. Comparatively but little is known thus far regarding the distribution of minerals throughout the earth, and every additional catalogue, if conscientiously prepared, giving sufficient details, is a contribution to science—a contribution which from its character may, when the collection of facts is complete enough, lead to important and valuable generalizations.

Every attentive reader must have noticed that there is, and has been of late years, considerable difference of opinion among geologists and palæontologists, each eminent in his own department, as to the true geological age of several of the formations hitherto studied in the Western Territories. This difference of opinion does not arise from any failure of each to understand his own facts correctly, but because American scientists have heretofore been content to use a foreign standard, believing that it was inflexibly applicable to the whole world. Accumulated experience has shown that the various evolutionary tides of organic life have not advanced at the same *rate* in all parts of the world. Thus, while we find that a certain grade of vertebrates, invertebrates and plants are associated together in the strata of, and collectively characterize, a certain geological period in Europe, in America we find that the same grade of plant-life was evidently reached much earlier, and the same grade of vertebrate-life was continued much later, &c. In short, using the European standard, we find in America an actual mingling in the same strata of Cretaceous and Tertiary types of organic remains. From the fact that all fossiliferous strata are sedimentary accumulations in seas or other bodies of water, the remains of invertebrate animals are far more abundant than any other, because they lived in and upon the sediment while it was accumulating; while the remains of land animals and plants could have reached the places of their entombment only from the shores. Thus, invertebrate fossils have always been regarded as more reliable and valuable than any other in determining the geological age of the

strata containing them. Indeed, they have generally been regarded as they often are, the only available evidence, and entirely sufficient. It was with this generally accepted invertebrate standard in mind, that all the early explorers of the geology of the Western Territories referred the various groups of strata they found to the different geological periods, and the differences of opinion have arisen through subsequent investigations of the fossil plants and vertebrates of the same groups. The result of all this is not confusion but beautiful harmony. It shows that we have in Western North America an unbroken series of strata, ranging from early and unmistakable cretaceous to late and equally unmistakable tertiary. There are consequently several groups of strata, transitional in their character, that different specialists, viewing their fossil contents from different standpoints, are disposed to place a little higher or lower in the geological scale, as the case may be. This is a perfectly natural condition of things, for where the geological series is complete, no man can say where one formation ends and another begins.

In 1870 a photographer was attached to the survey, and the results arising therefrom have fully proven the wisdom of thus adding a most useful art to the organization. An unthinking public might imagine that the employment of photography in connection with the work of the survey is more ornamental than useful, and that the sole business of the photographer is to secure in the field a number of pictures merely to please the eye and not for practical and scientific use. This idea is so at variance with those believed to be popularly entertained as to practical economy that it seems worth while to enumerate some of the many useful applications photography may be put to. Although in its infancy, it has been so successfully applied to many branches of Government work that it is now considered a necessity of any well-organized expedition, or in any office where there is any considerable amount of illustrating or designing, notably so with the English and Continental Governments, where large

schools of instruction are supported for the sole purpose of turning out skilled employees.

In our own country photography was first used to any extent by the Government during the war in securing series of illustrations for the Surgeon General and Engineer bureaus, and since then for the reproduction of the drawings of the Supervising Architect and other work of like nature for the United States Treasurer's office. This establishment is the nearest approach to those maintained at Woolwich, Berlin, Paris, and Vienna, but is insignificant in comparison with them.

After the close of the war the previous good services of photography in the field recommended it to the exploring and surveying expeditions, and it was extensively employed by them. Its use was popularized, however, by the geological survey, under Dr. F. V. Hayden, who attached a photographic corps to the expedition of 1870, and has continued its use ever since. Besides the constant and important use made of these illustrations in the preparation of the geological and topographical reports, copies of them are now used by professors in all the principal colleges of the land to illustrate their geological teachings.

The photographic work has been under the direction of Mr. W. H. Jackson, an experienced landscape photographer, who has made an average of 400 negatives each year, ranging in size from the stereoscopic up to plates 20 by 24 inches square. The first year the work lay entirely within Wyoming and Utah Territories. In 1871 and 1872 the expeditions to the Yellowstone region afforded opportunities that were not lost, and the splendid series of photographs then secured have retained their popularity to this day. In 1873, 1874, and 1875 the work was transferred to Colorado, and the operations of the first season were confined to the mountain ranges bordering the Middle and South parks and the Elk mountains beyond. It was on the trip of 1873 that Mr. Jackson made one of his greatest successes, in securing a fine view of the Mountain of the Holy Cross. In 1874 the views covered a much greater range

of subjects, taking in the parks, the San Juan mountains, and the remarkable ancient ruins south of the La Plata mountains. These ruins were first brought to the notice of the world through the photographs made of them by Mr. Jackson. The interesting results secured the previous year justified the sending of Mr. Jackson to the same region again in 1875, but extending his journey down the hitherto unexplored San Juan to the mouth of the De Chelly, and then to the Moquis Pueblos in Arizona. Many interesting ruins were discovered, which were fully described and illustrated in the bulletin, and also the annual report for that year. Returning from Moqui *via* the De Chelly, the plateau country between the Sierra Abajo and La Plata was found to contain many interesting ruins, and was thoroughly photographed. An interesting feature in connection with this season's work was the success attending the production of a series of 24 by 20 negatives of the most prominent points in the San Juan mountains, the very first plate of this size ever made among the Rocky mountains.

From the two thousand or more negatives made during these preceding six years we must ascertain what return they have made for the time and money expended upon their production—and entirely aside, too, from their æsthetic qualities, and the pleasure which lovers of the beautiful and picturesque may derive from them. They have done very much in the first place to secure truthfulness in the representation of mountain and other scenery. Twenty years ago hardly more than caricatures existed, as a general rule, of the leading features of overland exploration. Mountains were represented with angles of sixty degrees inclination, covered with great glaciers, and modeled upon the type of any other than the Rocky mountains; the angular lines of a sandstone mesa represented with all the peculiarities of volcanic upheaval or of massive granite, or an ancient ruin with clean cut, perfectly squared and jointed masonry, that would be creditable in modern times. The truthful representations of photography render such careless work so apparent that it would not be tolerated at the present day.

One of their most evident practical uses is in securing faithful views of the many unique and remarkable features of newly-explored territory that are subsequently to be reproduced by engraving in the reports. Especially to be noted in this line are the views of the remarkable Hot Spring deposits of the Yellowstone National Park, where the exceedingly intricate and delicate tracery of the incrustations, that would defy the most expert pencil, are readily secured in all their varied forms. So it is also with the great cañons, grand waterfalls, impressive mountain masses, the craters of old volcanoes, and beds of ancient lakes, the faulting and folding of the strata, and many other features, of which the geologist finds it necessary to have accurate representations for the illustration of his subjects. To the topographer, also, it is of great assistance in enabling him to correctly represent the surface of the country upon his map, panoramic views for that purpose being made from the summits of the highest peaks.

In ethnography it gives us faithful portraits of the varied families of our great Indian population, representing with unquestioned accuracy the peculiar types of each; their manners of living, dressing, occupations, and mythical inscriptions. In archaeology how important it is that the uncompromising lens portrays the at present almost inaccessible ancient ruins of the Southwestern Territories! These photographs can be sent all over the world, and practically answer the purpose of a personal inspection. The photographs of the ancient ruins have been of great assistance in the construction of the models of the remarkable cliff-houses that have been prepared by some of the members of the "survey." In the office the uses of photography are manifold: copying the maps of the topographers to a given scale for the engraver or photo-lithographer, and also rare documents or pictures, the production of views for the stereopticon for lectures, and for enlarged transparent photographs on glass from small originals, whereby the minutest feature of rock structure, the varied details of an old ruin, or the grand and imposing mountain mass,

are brought so vividly before the eye that they can be studied to much better advantage than in nature, the mind being in rest, and far from the perplexities of the surroundings.

The total number of negatives in the possession of the survey now number nearly four thousand. Of these, upward of twelve hundred are of Indians photographed from life, representing the most prominent individuals from seventy-four different tribes. The great Sioux family is in this manner well represented, and among them are Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, and Sitting Bull; the Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes, Utes, Navajos, &c., are also well represented by excellent negatives, showing not only their *personnel*, but many of their customs.

The occasion of the display at the International Exhibition at Philadelphia led to a desire to represent as forcibly as possible some of the recent discoveries of the survey of remarkable ancient ruins in Southwestern Colorado, and the success of Mr. Holmes with the Elk mountain models suggested the same means for effecting this purpose. There are six now completed of archaeological subjects, as follows:

The Mancos Cliff House, by Mr. Holmes, represents a ruin in an exceedingly well-preserved condition, perched upon a little shelf or niche in the face of a bluff, 800 feet vertically above the valley below. The model is 30 by 40 inches in dimensions, and the scale four feet to one inch.

An Ancient Cave Town in the lower cañon of the De Chelly, near the San Juan river, represents a very interesting and extensive ruin, built along a narrow shelf or bench, seventy-five feet above the valley, and overhung by the bluff. The whole ruin is nearly six hundred feet in length, with originally about one hundred or more apartments. The model as constructed by Mr. Jackson is forty inches in length, and shows one-third of the ruin; the scale is six feet to one inch.

A restoration of the above, also by Mr. Jackson, is the subject of the third of the series. In this, the buildings are built up to the condition in which they were originally supposed to have been before their

desertion. They show many points of resemblance to the present Moquis eastern Arizona, noticeably so in the ladder to reach their houses of miniature people have been about the model, representing gaged in various occupations, pottery and other domestic utensils.

The Great Triple Walled Tower, McElmo, by Mr. Holmes, is a model thirty inches square, rep on a scale of four feet to one ruins of an exceedingly interesting stone tower in Southwestern Colorado.

The fifth of the series is a model of the House, in the bluff of the lower Rio De Chelly, in Arizona, on a scale of three feet to one inch, and of the same character as the Mancos model. This is intended to show the manner in which former occupants passed up and down the steep face of the bluff in which they lived, by steps hewn in the rock.

A model of the Pueblo of Northeastern Arizona, representing a village on a scale of eight feet to one inch, most picturesque and interesting of the Moqui Indians. It is situated upon the summit of a narrow, bare rock, 600 feet in height, the upper 100 feet of which are included in the model, showing the pathways up the solid rock, affording the only means of access, and up which is carried wood, water, and provisions of the inhabitants. This last forms a fitting complement to the preceding, as the latter is supposed to be the descendants, or, at least, of the same people whose houses and towers are represented by the models of the foregoing series.

The last two have been completed in time for the closing of the International Exhibition. The production of model representations for distribution among colleges and schools of learning will be continued as subjects are obtained.

Zoology has always been recognized as one of the most important departments of the Geological Survey, not only a legitimate and proper, but a very important and practically collateral department of scientific study, the relations of which to geology

ography are natural and intimate. In his earlier experiences as an explorer, before the present survey was established, Dr. Hayden was for years one of the largest and most important contributors of zoological data and material: with the assistance of Mr. James Stevenson, he sent in to the National Museum from time to time collections of specimens in almost all branches of natural history, enormous in extent, and seldom exceeded in interest. In conducting the survey, from the very beginning, Dr. Hayden has engaged the services of zoologists, both in the practical work of the field and in the technical researches of the museum and the library. Among the collaborators in this department are included not a few of the most eminent zoologists of America, his constant aim being to secure the services of the most accomplished specialists in each particular branch of zoology. The results of this liberal and enlightened policy are witnessed, not only in the yearly accessions of fresh material in the way of specimens, but in the numerous zoological publications of the survey.

The Annual Reports contain various papers on zoology, by gentlemen officially connected with the survey, such as those by Mr. James Stevenson, Mr. C. H. Merriam, Ernest Ingersoll, and others. The Bulletins are still richer in this department, containing numerous papers by such distinguished naturalists as Dr. Packard, Dr. Coues, Mr. J. A. Allen, Mr. Robert Ridgway, and others no less eminent in their specialties. One of the miscellaneous publications, by Dr. Elliott Coues, U. S. A., on the Ornithology of the Missouri Region, is a closely-printed octavo of 800 pages, which is based primarily on Dr. Hayden's collections, and constitutes a formal and authoritative treatise on a majority of the birds of North America. In the magnificent series of quarto publications, or "monographs," in which the results of original and exhaustive researches are published, zoology again receives due attention. One of the volumes contains Thomas' revision of the *Acrididæ*, or grasshoppers, a most important and timely contribution. And here it may be remarked that if the "grass-

hopper problem" be solvable, we are likely to have the matter settled, now that it is to be referred to Dr. Hayden, and all available scientific knowledge is to be brought to bear upon this question of vital national importance. Another volume of the series consists of Packard's splendid monograph of the geometrid moths, which has received the highest possible commendation from all quarters. A third will consist of Coues and Allen's memoir on the North American *Rodentia*, the largest order of mammals, and one sustaining the most important economic relations with the agricultural interests of the nation.

In thus glancing at the zoological work accomplished by the Survey, we do not include work done in fossil zoology or palæontology, since this comes more distinctively within the field of geology itself. But to the study of the extinct faunas of the West have been applied the labors of such pre-eminent palæontologists as Joseph Leidy, E. D. Cope, F. B. Meek, Leo Lesquereux, and others, whose results are beyond praise.

AMERICAN PRODUCTS IN ENGLISH MARKETS.—There are repeated indications of the uneasiness felt in European business circles over the manner in which American manufactures are supplanting those of Europe in the markets of the world. The case of American watch-making versus the Swiss manufacture; of American cutlery against Sheffield cutlery; of American cotton goods, American beef, &c., against the English products, are also instances in point. And now the London *Times* expresses the deepest concern that the Turkish Government obtains so large a proportion of its supplies of arms and ammunition from the United States, and says there is no other way to account for the fact except upon the hypothesis that rifles and ammunition can be bought cheaper and of better quality in Rhode Island and Connecticut than in Warwickshire.

PROF. HAYDEN'S geological survey will be conducted this season north of the Union Pacific railroad, explored by Clarence King, and continue north and west.

WHO IS CARL SCHURZ?

The causes of the unprecedented action of the Senate in referring the Cabinet nominations—the nominations of the first Cabinet officers of the new President—to committees, renders the inquiry above very pertinent—that is, the nomination of Mr. Schurz to the portfolio of the Interior, and that of Mr. Key to the Post Office. Who, then, is Carl Schurz—Carl, the “Strong?” Is he not a soldier, a statesman, a scholar? Who doubts his patriotism? Who challenges his love of free institutions or freedom? Who his Republicanism? Aye, but he is a foreigner—a German! What does he know of American institutions? Pray, who was Alexander Hamilton, the West Indian? Who Albert Gallatin, the Switzer? What did they know of American institutions? What did Hamilton, whose fame as a soldier vanishes in the greater fame of his genius as a statesman—a civilian—Hamilton, one of the authors of the *Federalist*, the ablest treatise upon American institutions, and who has been claimed as the founder of our Constitution, the author of the plan of Government, the institutions, embodied in our great organic charter as a nation—Hamilton, whose knowledge, profound and practical, of finance, as of politics and law, made him the first Secretary of the Treasury, under Washington—at the beginning of our Government—and who, as such, established for all time the main features of our financial system? Truly, what did Hamilton know of our institutions? And what did Albert Gallatin, distinguished like Hamilton for his practical statesmanship and his profound knowledge of our institutions, as he was for his patriotism and the purity of his character—who, also as Secretary of the Treasury, added the labors of his genius to that of Hamilton’s, in perfecting our system of finance, and who was at different times selected by the Government, with the applause of the nation, as its representative abroad, in the highest diplomatic capacity, at the Court of St. James and at Paris?

And who were the signers of the Declar-

ation of Independence—those founders of our liberties, those authors of our existence as a nation? Were not many of them foreigners? Who was Button Gwinnett? an Englishman! Who was Robert Morris? an Englishman—one whose financial abilities and credit, in our Revolutionary struggle, sustained Washington and our armies in the field in the darkest hours of the war. Who was James Smith? Who Matthew Thornton and George Taylor? Irishmen! Who John Witherspoon and James Wilson? Scotchmen! All foreigners, who, in the struggle in support of the Declaration that “these colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States,” in giving birth to the nation and its institutions, pledged their “lives,” their “fortunes,” and their “sacred honor.”

And what are those institutions? Are they the original product of America? Are they native to the soil? Or are they simply transplanted from the old country—the work, the creation of the so-called foreigner, in ages prior to our existence as a people, after centuries of battle, sacrifices and blood, from Arminius to William III, and simply adopted, naturalized, in this, by the descendants of those from whose brains and prowess they sprung. Indeed, even in our own times, among the ablest treatises upon American institutions, exhibiting a knowledge and an appreciation so profound of their character, forces, and scope as to command the applause of the egotistical but able Thomas Hart Benton, is De Tocqueville’s, the Frenchman’s, as De Lolme’s, the Switzer’s, on the English Constitution, is of the institutions of England. Hence, were we to strike from the history of the nation the works or deeds of the so-called foreigner, his services to the cause of independence, to the work of founding, starting, establishing, and illustrating our much-boasted American institutions, we would rob Americans of many of its most brilliant pages! So, were we to blot out, in the records of the Republican party—of Republicanism—the services or works of Carl Schurz, we should rob it of some

of its most important triumphs. Dare we do that?

Ingratitude is the curse of party, but Republicans cannot afford to ignore or belittle such services as Schurz'. A compact statement of these we give on another page. We cannot repeat them here, but they answer, and completely, the inquiry: "Who is Carl Schurz?" In the field, in the Senate, and on the stump, ever actively in harness, since 1856, and with a courage and an ability rarely equaled, he maintained the principles of Republicanism. In 1858, and again in 1860, he antagonized Stephen A. Douglas, who ranked as one of the ablest of American debaters, and all will remember the "Little Giant's" scoriation in 1860, at Cooper Institute, by Carl. All, too, will remember the campaign in 1875 in Ohio. It was a battle of giants! Nominally, the struggle was for the possession of the State; really, it was one for the mastery of the nation. The local early disappeared in the national issues. Thurman and Allen, with their eyes fastened upon the Presidency, openly rejoiced in certain victory. The Republicans, disheartened by defeat, and with a majority of the nation manifestly against them, clamoring for a change, doubted and wavered. Had they been beaten, had the Republicans failed to recover Ohio in 1875, a Democratic triumph in the national contest of 1876 was certain. Hence, it was a perilous hour for Republicanism. General Hayes, as the leader in the battle, summoned Schurz to his support—summoned him from Europe; and confessedly, even by those who affect to frown most upon his present appointment, it was Schurz' gallant fight, his masterly exposition of finance, his brilliant, trenchant, and caustic exposure of the demagogical craft of the Democracy, and his eloquent appeals to the patriotism of the masses, that secured victory to the Republicans—that enabled them to enter the contest of 1876 as a compact and aggressive party, and in advance decided the issue in favor of the Republican nominees—in favor of Hayes and Wheeler! Verily, who is Carl Schurz? What does he know of Republicanism? Of American institutions?

What claim has he on the Republican party?

STEAM POWER AND NATIONAL PROGRESS.—From a census recently made of the working and material development of France, it appears that the total machine force of the country is at present 1,500,000 horse power, representing a force of 4,200,000 draft horses, or 31,500,000 men—that is to say, ten times the valid industrial population of France. This substitution of machine-work for hand-work has produced an economical revolution in French industry, which it is interesting to compare with the industrial state of France in 1788, before the introduction of machines. The first steam-engine that appeared in France was set going in 1789. It came from the manufactory of Boulton & Watt, at Birmingham, and was used for the water supply of Paris. Unfortunately, from the great Revolution to 1815 machinery industry in France almost disappeared, and it was not until 1824 that the French began to manufacture steam-engines, and many of their manufactories now rival those of England. In 1852 France possessed only 6,000 steam-engines, representing a force of 75,000 horses. In 1862 the number of engines had risen to 22,500, and the horsepower to 618,000. From this year the increase was extraordinarily rapid, until, as stated above, the horse-power of the steam-engines in France attained 1,500,000 last year. In 1788, of one milliard of manufactured products, sixty per cent. was workmanship and forty per cent. raw materials. To-day the proportion is directly the reverse; the workmanship is forty per cent. and the raw materials sixty per cent., and yet it must be remembered that workmanship has increased forty per cent. during the past twenty years. To-day the annual production of France is about twelve milliards, of which the raw material is seven milliards and the workmanship five milliards, whereas, in 1788, the workmanship would have cost eleven milliards. It results from this that the introduction of machine work has led to a saving of six milliards in workmanship. Such figures speak for themselves.

HENRY CLAY'S CENTENARY.

"RALLY, WHIGS! RALLY, WHIGS! HO!"

"I would rather be right than be President!" Such was the memorable declaration of the "GREAT PACIFICATOR!"—"the great embodiment" of the old Whig party—of HENRY CLAY!—than whom since Washington this country has seen none wiser or greater as a party leader—none his peer in chivalrous manhood, intrepid patriotism, lofty eloquence, or practical statesmanship!

Henry Clay was born April 12th, 1777, and consequently, the 12th instant—April 12th, 1877—will be the centenary anniversary of his birth. *Shall it be celebrated?* It is a notable fact that all the members of the present Administration, with the exception probably of Mr. Schurz, were faithful captains in the old Whig camp; and, in view of the serious Southern complications, the scandal of their increasing brawls, and the perils with which they menace the liberties of the Southern Unionist, are laboring to revive the old Whig element in the South, to separate it from the Secessionist Democracy, and attach it to Republicanism, as a means of restoring peace to that section, and establishing the liberties of all its citizens!

What, to that end, would contribute more than a grand ovation—a national ovation—to Henry Clay—on his centenary birthday? His memory, in the minds of tens of thousands, is still green! The inspiration of his great name, the influence of his exalted patriotism, are still fresh and active! It was in crises like the present, and amid similar complications and perils, that his dauntless patriotism and unrivaled statesmanship always triumphed, and that he won the imperishable sobriquets of "the Great Commoner!"—"the GREAT PACIFICATOR!" His example and name, properly invoked, on such a day, would more than all other causes aid in stimulating the old Whig loyalty, in reviving the old Whig sentiments and feelings, in rekindling the old Whig fires throughout the South, and give to the new movement in that section

—the proposed new policy—an impetus which must ultimately result in success!

Who, indeed, has forgotten the influence of his example, of his electrical sentences, in 1850, when denouncing a "solid South!" "I know no South, no North, no East, no West!" "I owe no allegiance to any ideal or contemplated Southern Confederacy!" "My allegiance is due to the whole Union!" "If Kentucky, to-morrow, should throw up the banner of resistance, I, for one, will not fight under that banner! No, sir, never—*never!*" A "solid South" was his abhorrence! Its principles and aims he denounced as treasonable—its advocates as traitors! His was a patriotism which never hesitated or halted—his were "the high, the exalted, the sublime emotions of a patriotism, which, soaring toward Heaven, rises far above all mean, low, or selfish things, and is absorbed by one soul-transferring thought of the good and the glory of one's country"—his a "public virtue," "which, catching its inspiration from the immortal God, and leaving at an immeasurable distance below, all lesser, groveling, personal interests and feelings, animates to deeds of self sacrifice, of valor, of devotion, and of death itself!"

Thus, in 1820, at the crisis involved in the perilous conflict over the admission of Missouri into the Union, and in which the existence of the Union was seriously menaced, it was the genius of Clay which triumphed in quieting the strife, and adjusting the difficulties of the sections. So, again, in 1832-'33. It was the patriotism of Henry Clay, the magnanimity of his spirit, which interposed to save the life of Calhoun, to rescue the nation from civil war, and restored the peace while defeating nullification. And again in 1850. The sections, lashed into fury by malignant demagogues, fought spitefully over the spoils of Mexico, and the Republic rocked to its very foundations. The crisis was full of peril. It was one in which the patriotism and genius of Clay ever triumphed.

He had retired from active public life, and had reached an advanced age ! He did not hesitate. He left his retirement at the call of his countrymen, entered the Senate Chamber, and devoted the remaining hours of his life to his country. Through his commanding abilities, his imperial will, his eloquence, experience, and skill in the lead, in the long and dangerous struggle which ensued, he quieted the angry strife, healed the "gaping wounds" of the nation, and once more gave peace to the sections.

Where will we find another life of equal

nobility? Where a record so brilliant of a patriotism, services, or real heroism so grand? Outside of every other consideration, do they not, of themselves, deserve all the honors of his country? Shall they be gratefully awarded? Will his countrymen, in this new crisis of our affairs, in the cause of pacification, the peaceful reunion of our whole people upon the basis of the Constitution, of Liberty, Equality, and Law, unite on his centenary birthday in a grand ovation to the "Great Commoner," the "Great Pacificator," Henry Clay?

ORGANIZATION OF NEXT HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

An extra session of the Forty-fifth Congress, it is stated, will be called to convene early in June next. For many pregnant reasons, the President's wish was to avoid such a session, if possible, but the Jacobins of the late House, in their rancorous revolutionary heat, by defeating the army appropriation bill, has rendered a special session absolutely necessary. There is no expedient consistent with the law and the duties of the Executive by which it can be avoided. So the Attorney General declares. As the law now stands, there will be, after the 30th of June next, no appropriation or fund out of which the army may be supported, and an extra session is demanded as a means of obtaining supplies, or the most serious difficulties will ensue.

Hence the organization of the next House of Representatives is very naturally a matter of exciting interest. What will be its political complexion? Under the laws the Democracy claim that the late Clerk is master of the situation, and will have it in his power to determine its political character, through the preparation of his list of new members. Will the Republicans submit?

The law declares that—

"The names of those persons and of such persons only whose credentials show that they were regularly elected in accordance with the laws of their States respectively, or the laws of the United States, shall be placed upon the roll."

It further provides, that, in the event of the Clerk being unable to perform that duty, it shall devolve upon the Sergeant-at-Arms, and, when the latter is unable to act, that it shall be performed by the Door-keeper. The Jacobins of the late House, during its closing hours, supplemented this law by a rule which directs the Sergeant-at-Arms to obey the Clerk while acting as presiding officer. But where will the Clerk find his authority to act as presiding officer? The law does not give it to him. Congress by no law can invest an officer of one House with power in another House. The Constitution, the organic law, forbids it. It declares: "Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business," &c. "The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers," &c. "Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings," &c. But nowhere is one House empowered to choose officers, or to make regulations or rules for a succeeding House—to judge of or determine the elections, returns, or qualifications of the members of a future House. Where, then, will Clerk Adams obtain his authority to act as presiding officer—as Speaker *pro tempore*—of the next House during its organization? No law of Congress, no rule of the preceding House, can legally invest him with such authority, nor clothe him with power

to "judge of the elections, returns, or qualifications" of the new members. That by the Constitution is confined to the new House. Even his functions, all his authority or power, as Clerk, ceased with the life of the House which appointed him. So did those of the Sergeant-at-Arms and the Doorkeeper—all the officers and functionaries of the late House—all as a matter of law and fact passed out of existence with the House which appointed them. Heretofore, in similar cases, the old officers have acted, not as a matter of law or right, but by sufferance, as a means to the organization of the new House. How, then, if resisted, or if his authority be challenged, will Clerk Adams and his *confreres* support, or enforce the revolutionary usurpations by which it is proposed to invest them with extraordinary powers in the new House?

Nothing daunted by these constitutional difficulties, the Jacobin Democracy boldly claim that he is invested with all the power needed to count in a Democratic majority, to preside in the preliminary stages of the organization, and to secure the speakership to the Democracy by excluding from the floor of the House, under the rules which empower the presiding officer to preserve the decorum of the body, all whose names he may reject from his list. But those rules, if objected to, will have no force in the new House unless it formally adopts them. They are the rules of a defunct House. Hence, a spirited opposition will tumble this infamous fabric of usurpation about Clerk Adams' ears, and reduce him to the condition of Clerk Hugh A. Garland in December, 1839, at the organization of the House of the Twenty-sixth Congress. Under the previous custom, not as a matter of right or law, he was permitted to act as presiding officer. For days he practically defied the House: he refused to call the names of the members from New Jersey, or to put any motion in relation to them, when, on the fourth day, Mr. John Q. Adams, rising in his seat, disposed of Mr. Clerk's usurpation of authority over the representatives of the nation, and the House at once elected Mr. Adams Speaker *pro tempore* during the proceedings attending the organization. If he is not very

cautious, and wiser than we think, Mr. Clerk Adams may find himself in the mortifying position of Clerk Garland at the Twenty-sixth Congress.

But how will he make up his list? By what rule will he be governed? Are his powers simply ministerial, or are they judicial? Even the law under which he will act confines him to the "credentials" of claimants to seats for his evidence of membership; it gives him no power in cases of contest; it circumscribes his selections to those "regularly elected" under the laws. Who were regularly elected? What are their credentials? The certificates of the Governors? Among other States there are conflicting credentials from South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. How will he decide? Already it is stated that, in the case of Colorado, a case really not open to dispute, he ignores the certificate of the Governor and gives the election to the Democratic claimant. Will he do so in other States? How in Florida? Will he recognize Gov. Stearns or Gov. Drew? How in South Carolina? Will he recognize Chamberlain or Hampton? How in Louisiana? Will he recognize Packard or Nicholls? The simplest statement of the facts illustrates the monstrous character of the usurpations contemplated by the desperate and unprincipled Jacobins of the late House in attempting to give to a *quasi* Clerk, a mere subordinate of the House even when legally in the exercise of his functions, and in the next House without any official character except by the sufferance of the new members, a power to decide in matters so weighty and grave—a power to judge of the "elections, returns, and qualifications" of members. The nation will watch his proceedings with no light interest.

EITHER man must be content with poverty all his life, or else be willing to deny himself some luxuries, and save, to make the base of independence in the future. But if a man denies the future, and spends as he earns, (whether his earnings be one or ten dollars a day,) let him look for lean and hungry want at some future time, for it will surely come, no matter what he may think.

INSIDE VIEW OF THE U. S. PATENT OFFICE.

In a letter to the Commissioner of each of the Bureaus of the Interior Department, under date of March 21st, (a copy of which is inserted on page 270 of the present issue of the *REPUBLIC*,) the Secretary called for a statement showing the present condition of their respective charges. The Honorable Commissioner of the Patent Office, in his reply, gives a clear and comprehensive view of his office in its various divisions; and as the subject is full of interest to the public generally, the report is herewith presented in full to our readers:

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE,
March 27, 1877.

Hon. Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior:

SIR: In accordance with your order of the 20th instant, I have the honor to submit the following statements: Upon reflection I find that in this office a consideration of the organization will necessarily include more or less discussion of the force employed, and, to some extent, the character of their employment. That force consists of two distinct classes—the examining and the clerical, with the usual auxiliaries of laborers and messengers.

THE EXAMINING CORPS.

The examining corps consists of twenty-two principal examiners, each having a first, second, and third assistant; of an examiner of interferences and an examiner of trade-marks. Each principal examiner has charge of a class relating to some one or more kindred subjects-matter. Each one of these principal examiners, with the aid of his assistants, examines all applications in his class as to patentability, decides all questions relating thereto, both of law and fact. His favorable decision is practically final, and the patent issues upon his order. In case of his adverse decision appeal may be taken to the Board of Examiners-in-Chief. This board consists of three equal members, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Their legal duty is to hear appeals from adverse decisions of the principal examiners and from the examiner of interferences; to review the

decisions of those examiners, and they may affirm or reverse them. From their adverse decision appeal may be taken to the Commissioner in person or to the Assistant Commissioner acting as Commissioner.

The examiner of interferences, who has also assistants, has original jurisdiction in cases where conflict arises between applicants or the applicant and patentee as to priority of invention.

The examiner of trade-marks receives all applications for trade-marks and labels, and considers the propriety of registering such matters. He acts under the supervision of the Commissioner and appeals from him are taken to the Commissioner in person.

In addition to the assistant examiners, who aid the principal examiners in the adjudication of the claims of applicants for patents, each examiner has a clerk who assists in the correspondence and in the care of the files and records of his room.

Each examiner receives at his room all the applications pertaining to his class, but before they are sent to him all questions as to fees, to the more formal matters, such as oath, petition, signatures, kind of drawing, &c., are determined by the chief clerk or his subordinates or by the Commissioner in person.

All applications when received are examined in the order of their receipt. The examiner and his assistants make such examination into the records of the office, prior patents, printed publications, foreign patents, and the like, as may be necessary to refresh his memory and enable him to decide as to the novelty of the invention presented in the application.

The law requires him, if he reject, to state explicitly the reasons of his rejection. The applicant or his attorney may then amend, present arguments if he thinks best, and the case must be reheard. The second decision of the examiner may be final, and from that appeal may be taken, as hereinbefore stated. This system brings inventors and their attorneys directly and constantly into contact with the office.

Although, strictly speaking, no money interest is here concerned, the eagerness of pursuit is none the less on that account. The rights sought are those of property; that is to say, the exclusive use of a supposed valuable invention, and added thereto is often the pride of invention. Added to this is the fact that many attorneys prosecute cases for fees contingent upon success in procuring the patent. The result is an unremitted pressure for patents. The advantage of this is that the office is under constant and interested scrutiny, sharp to detect and earnest to complain of defects. On the other hand, constant pressure requires as constant resistance on the part of the examining corps, in order to guard the rights of the public, and refuse patents not justified by the law. Changes in the head of the office and gradual changes in the *personnel* of the examining corps have caused changes in the resultant of these two forces, so that on the one hand there has been at times complaint as to the strictness of the office in rejecting applications that may have seemed frivolous, and on the other hand complaints that the country has been flooded and people harassed with patents which ought never to have been granted.

THE CLERICAL FORCE.

To this examining corps the clerical force is mainly auxiliary. The chief clerk and his assistants receive all papers and moneys, orders for copies and applications for patents, and deal most directly with the public in such matters. The correspondence of the office is carried on through the chief clerk and his assistants in all matters except such as relate to the adjudication of applications for patents. Subordinate to the chief clerk is a division which receives all applications for patents and distributes them to the different examiners, keeping record of such receipts and distribution. To this division are returned all the files in cases in which patents have been ordered to issue by the examiners. This business includes a preliminary examination as to form of applications, fees, &c., and their acknowledgment and receipt, notice of defects, making files, receiving and assigning amendments, calling for balance fees in

issue cases, &c. More than twenty thousand applications are here received each year, and a much larger number of amendments and other communications. Eleven clerks are here employed.

Another division, also subordinate, receives orders for copies, of which large numbers are daily made, attaches certificates, distributes these orders, sees that they are properly filled, keeps accounts thereof, sends the *Official Gazette*, and answers correspondence as to these matters. Nine clerks are in this division.

Another division receives and records assignments, furnishes abstracts of such assignments, keeps accounts of fees received, and has the custody of records pertaining thereto, employing for these purposes seven clerks.

The copies furnished by the office are partly in manuscript and partly printed matter. The printed matter consists of specifications, of which, since 1866, the office upon the issuances of a patent has printed a large number of copies and keeps them on hand for the use of the public when required. The manuscript copies are those of older patents or files, correspondence and decisions in patent cases. All these matters certified to are often used by those interested in patents in courts or elsewhere. The manuscript copies are made in the copying division, which consists of some forty ladies under the supervision of a chief, the force being varied with the varying amount of work.

Another subdivision has in charge the filling up of the patent heads, the formal document to which the signatures of the Secretary and the Commissioner of Patents and the seal of the office are affixed; and connected with this is the custody of the seal and proper attachment of specifications and drawings to the certificates, and like matters. Files are here numbered, and the number, name, and residence, assignment and title are entered on the record. Patent heads made up from the record book and red ruled; record books filled up, indexed, signed, and sent to binders; patent heads compared with the headings of the specifications and drawings and then compared with the record books; files sent

to printer and charged; printed specifications and photo-lithographs received from printer and draughtsmen, checked off, examined and sent to pasting-room; all reprints of cases, or replenishing of exhausted copies sent to printer and charged; letters in regard to errors in printing, &c., answered; a complete list of patents issued each week, giving the number, class number, name, residence, assignment, and title, is made, and also a similar list for the printer. Three lists of patents for office use are compared with the record each week. Volumes of specifications and drawings for the record-room are put up and sent to the binder. Volumes of specifications of designs and trade-marks for the record-room and examiner of trade-marks are indexed and sent to the binder. The number of employees engaged on this business is nine clerks and a messenger.

STORE AND SPECIFICATION ROOMS.

In connection with this division is a store-room, in which is kept the bulk of the recent issues of specifications and drawings, arranged in order, banded and kept in cases. Three persons are employed here. Also in connection with this is a specification room, where are kept the recent issues of specifications and drawings, and where the classification of the *Official Gazette* is corrected to fill orders for different classes of patents. The *Official Gazettes* are here folded, wrapped and sent to the mail room, and specifications and drawings pasted and put in cases. Orders for the weekly issues are entered on books in this room and filled. The number of employees is eighteen. Two other employees have charge of another room, where back issues of specifications and drawings are stored. Another subdivision receives, records, distributes and checks off when filled, all orders for manuscript copies; estimates all manuscript copies, copies from books all patent heads for manuscript orders and for printed orders also; has control of the files in patented cases (some two hundred thousand), and charge of the room where interested parties may examine them. Orders are here filled for the printed specifications, drawings and patent heads compared, connected, seal attached, and proper

entry made in books: the patents sent to issue room. Eleven clerks and a messenger are here employed.

Another division of four clerks and messenger, also subordinate to the chief clerk, receives, arranges and distributes models; and still another, consisting of an officer in charge and twelve assistants, who have charge of all patented models, and exhibit them to the public when required. Those models are examined by inventors and attorneys to ascertain the novelty of inventions sought to be patented.

One of the larger subdivisions has charge of all matters relating to drawings. The duties in detail are as follows:

1st. Examination of drawings of all applications for patents as filed; their acceptance or rejection, designating informalities, and pricing of same.

2d. Reproduction (by photo-lithographic process) of all drawings, consisting of current issues, quarto page library edition, back work (by classes) and special orders; and included under this head are delivery of drawings and tracings to contractor, comparison and action upon proofs and copies, receiving and delivering copies, and supervision and verification of all bills for photo-lithographic reproductions from drawings.

3d. The preparation of drawings from models to complete applications; tracings of drawings to fill orders for attorneys and others; tracings of drawings of classes of inventions preparatory to reproduction of same.

4th. Accounts of temporary employees, *i. e.*, tracers, headers, model draftsmen, &c.

5th. Pricing of all model and tracing work.

6th. Photo-lithograph copies of cases patented prior to July, 1871, *i. e.*, where classes have been reproduced, copies of designs and trade-marks.

7th. Original drawings of all classes of inventions patented, including designs and trade-marks.

8th. Files of rejected, abandoned, withdrawn and forfeited cases, when two or more years have passed since last action.

9th. Recording and classifying drawings of all cases as allowed by examiners, and

retaining the same waiting payment of final fees.

10th. Printing and comparing name, number, date, and invention upon drawings of weekly issues of patents; attaching copies of drawings to printed specifications to accompany patents; recording, classifying, attaching claims, &c.

11th. Distribution of thick photo-lithographic copies to different examiners.

12th. Supervision of records of patents, including bound volumes of drawings and specifications, letter-books, alphabetical lists of inventors, classified indexes of inventions, recording weekly issues, &c.

13th. Filling of orders for drawings, and files from this and attorney's room 1.

14th. Estimating cost of classes of inventions, furnishing copies of same, and filling orders for photo-lithographs as reproduced.

The force in this division classified is as follows :

Regular Appointments—23 clerical duties, 1 model draftsman, 1 retouching drawings, 1 laborer, 1 messenger.

Temporary Employees—1 skilled draftsman, 6 model draftsmen, 1 clerical, 1 photo-lithograph expert, 2 charge of rooms, 1 retouching drawings, 3 headings, 9 order tracers, 17 photo-lithograph tracers.

Number of regular appointments, 27; temporary employees, 41; total, 68. •

The work relating principally to the publications of the office include the compilation and supervision of the publication of the weekly edition of the *Gazette*, the monthly edition of specifications and drawings, the yearly edition of the *Gazette* in two volumes, and the making of an index for each edition. In addition, there is in progress "A General Index of Patents granted from 1790 to date," and a yearly index of patents and patentees. This room is also charged with the work of assorting the thick drawings, and attaching the claims belonging thereto. Requisitions on the Public Printer for printing and binding are also made in this room, and a general supervision had of the work done at the Government Printing Office for the Patent Office. The accounts with the Public Printer for printing and binding for the

Patent Office are also kept here, and the supervision of the reproduction of the plates for the *Official Gazette* devolves upon this room, as does much of the correspondence which naturally arises with the contractors for the photo-lithographic work used in the publication of the *Gazette*. The classification of patents is also a part of the duties assigned to this room. Seven persons are employed.

The text of this publication and of patents is printed at the Government Printing Office, and is paid from the printing appropriation of the Interior Department. The illustrations, as well as all photographed copies of drawings, are supplied by contractors, and paid from special appropriations.

The attorney's room is kept for the convenience of attorneys and applicants doing business with the office, and is in charge of a clerk with three or four boys, who bring papers and other records to this room for the use of the public.

The office has a library of some 30,000 volumes, relating more or less directly to the business of the office, in charge of a librarian and assistants.

DUTIES OF THE EXAMINING CORPS.

In discussing the efficiency of the force as to the examining Corps, I shall be compelled to refer to the character of their work. The duties of the examining corps are partly scientific and partly judicial. They require general intelligence, mechanical aptitude, scientific training, familiarity with the state of the art for each particular class, a knowledge of the law and the decisions of the courts relating to patent matters, a judicial turn of mind, willingness to hear arguments and receive information, and firmness to decide adversely to eager applicants. The examiner in the performance of his duties is required to make laborious searches in order to ascertain the novelty or lack of novelty of applications submitted to him. In making the search he acts the part of prosecuting attorney at the same time. When the search is completed it is his duty to decide questions, nice and perplexing, as to differences between the processes or machines sought to be patented and those already shown in

references in his class. I need hardly add that this duty requires of the examiner an amount of patience, fairness, intelligence and fidelity not often to be found. And further, that on the one hand he shall be so sustained that he can act honestly and intelligently, without fear and without favor; and on the other that he shall not be so sustained that he can in security act carelessly, unjustly, or unwisely.

MANNER OF APPOINTMENT.

This examining corps is made up of persons appointed under different systems. Prior to 1869 appointments therein were made, so far as I am aware, practically without examination. When an examination was ordered it was not competitive, was sometimes after the appointment and tended to mere form. To my knowledge many were made without even the form of an examination. Commissioner Fisher, in the early part of 1869, instituted a plan of competitive examination. This was continued, with perhaps some intermission, until it was merged into the general civil-service system, which was put into operation under the Presidential order of April 16th, 1872. That order continued in force until April, 1875, since which time I think there have been practically no examinations except in isolated cases; and but one competitive examination either for appointment or promotion. The result of this mixture of systems is a variety in the examining corps in respect to fitness greatly in excess of that which the ordinary differences among classes of men would lead us to expect.

A few of the older examiners and assistant examiners were, in my judgment, incompetent for the positions they held, and some have been reduced in grade or discharged since I came into office. In respect to others I propose to submit recommendations. Many of the older, and most of the examining corps appointed since 1869, are able and faithful officers. With respect to them I have but few recommendations to make. In the performance of their difficult executive and judicial duties they need only the incentive that faithful official services will be appreciated. The standard of the examining corps may, and

undoubtedly should, be raised. It is possible on the pay allowed by law, although that pay has not been enough, to retain some of the best and most experienced men. Still, it is possible, as it now stands, to elevate the standard of the corps point of ability, but it is a work which needs to be done gradually. Some of the less able officers have acquired by long experience considerable knowledge of the details of the business, and in some respects render better service than inexperienced though abler men. But they have long since reached their maximum, and the maximum is small. On the other hand great care is required in the selection of new men.

CHARACTER OF THE CLERICAL FORCE.

The duties of the clerical force I have perhaps already sufficiently indicated in my statement of the organization of the office. This force consists very largely of ladies. In fact they have been employed during the past eight years to do almost all the copying work and part of the other work required by the office. For their admission to the office there has been practically, I think, no examination. They have generally been appointed on personal solicitation. The clerical force has been greatly changed within the past two years, and not always, in my judgment, for the better. Its efficiency is not up to the standard required by the public interests nor that which the salaries paid ought to command. The renovation of this force and the elevation of the character of it require time and patience. By carefully sifting out the incompetent and inattentive I am confident that the office may be benefited, both by the addition of a better element and by better services from those who are retained.

THE QUESTION OF REDUCTION.

In respect to reductions, I am of the opinion that the examining corps should be kept up to the maximum allowed by law. The clerical force, I think, may be reduced when improved in the manner heretofore indicated and when the method of carrying on the clerical business is changed, as I shall hereinafter suggest.

In this connection I desire to consider

the sixth topic of the circular. The method of conducting the receipt of applications, examination of cases, and issue of patents appears to have been carefully thought out at a very early period in the history of the office. It works well, is as simple as is consistent with the proper safeguards and checks, and needs no change.

The copying business, to which I have referred in the statement of the organization of the office, and also touched upon in relation to the clerical force, was not originally provided for. The system has grown up, meeting new demands as they arose, so that it cannot so well be called a system as a collection of little systems. For instance, an order for printed specifications, with the money accompanying it, may go to one clerk to be furnished by him and the money paid to him. An order for an abstract of assignment or an assignment to be recorded, for both of which fees are required, may go to the assignment clerk as an independent transaction. As he is an honest man I believe he does not put the money in his pocket, but the honest administration of the business depends on the man and is in spite of the system. Further than this, the divided responsibility is perplexing and is not favorable to the prompt performance of the business. This whole business of furnishing copies involves the receipt of a large amount of money and brings the office daily into contact with the public, and promptness in attending to business in this branch, as well as in the examination of patents, is absolutely needed to satisfy the public. I propose to reorganize this part of the office in some respects, so as to make the chief clerk directly responsible; to have him receive all orders and superintend their examination; to have the fees paid directly to him, or rather to the financial clerk, who is one of his assistants on his personal staff; to send to the rooms where copies are stored or where they are made no orders except those made by clerks under the immediate supervision of the chief clerk on orders taken from a stub book, where the receipt of the money will also be entered, so that these stub books will show at night exactly the

business of the day, the money received from all these smaller items, and whether or not the orders have been filled. By this I hope somewhat to reduce the force.

In the management of this part of the office I have had very efficient help from Major Lockwood, chief clerk, who, though new to the office, has had large and valuable experience in another department of the Government.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROPERTY.

I have also given attention to another matter. I find there is no system of responsibility for the property of the office. The law (section 481, Revised Statutes) makes the Commissioner of Patents the custodian "of all books, records, papers, models, machines and other things belonging to the Patent Office." Manifestly the direct and personal custody of even a small part of these books and other things is not possible to the Commissioner, considering the magnitude to which the office has grown. For instance, the librarian has charge of the scientific library, each examiner of a small library in his own room and of other property belonging to the office, and so on throughout the office. There was no accountability and no record, so far as I am aware, for all these various articles. I have caused an inventory to be made for each room, and I am preparing property books in which I propose to keep a record of all the property in the custody of every officer of the bureau, to invoice to each such things as are in his custody and take receipts from him, and to do this not only for the property now on hand, but every article which may be procured, and to deal in these matters precisely as is done in the military service.

In respect to existing abuses I have already, perhaps, indicated my views. The evils to be remedied are not acute, but chronic, diseases, which are to be remedied by an improvement of the system, increased accountability and a healthier way of official living. But a good system is not more necessary for the force employed than a good and efficient force for the purpose of carrying out the system, and the nature of the force depends upon the ap-

Oregon, of the Cronin college notoriety, and Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, both Democrats, and their admission objected to, were admitted to seats in the Senate and sworn in as members. The credentials of Mr. Corbin, of South Carolina, the Republican representative of the State, were referred to the committee.

The bank of Nevada effected the sale of one million ounces of fine silver to the United States Government.

At a meeting of the Union League Club, of New York, at which Gov. Jewell, Peter Cooper, and Judges Peabody and Noah Nash were present, resolutions were passed indorsing the sentiments of Mr. Hayes' inaugural address and his Cabinet appointments.

A large and enthusiastic meeting of business men and leading bankers was also held in New York city, in Wall street, at which the sentiments of the inaugural address and the Cabinet nominations were approved and applauded. Wm. A. Booth presided, and the meeting was addressed by John A. Stewart, John A. Stevens, John Jay, and George T. Hope. Cheers were given for Hayes and the Union.

The charge by the Finance Committee of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors against the Republicans of fraudulent voting at the last election, was refuted by the publication of the list of pretended fraudulent voters in the evening papers of that city. It embraces the names of some of the oldest and most prominent citizens, naturalized and native—even the name of the Democratic county clerk, who is also a prominent member of the Democratic State Central Committee.

John Sherman's nomination was confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury. Twenty-six Democratic Senators, all present, voted against the confirmation—which was a practical and complimentary indorsement of Secretary Sherman's sturdy and unflinching Republicanism.

.....March 9. At a joint meeting of the Merchants' and Cotton Exchanges of St. Louis, and at a meeting of the Cotton Exchange of Memphis, resolutions were adopted approving the policy and Cabinet selections of President Hayes.

Marshall Jewell, at Hartford, Conn., and W. G. Brownlow, at Knoxville, Tenn., telegraphed their congratulations to President Hayes.

Ben Butler, in a visit to the President, assured him of his support.

In the Senate of the Ohio Legislature, the resolution offered by Mr. Monahan, a Democrat, indorsing the sentiments of the President's inaugural address, was adopted.

At a meeting here, at which Senator Johnston, of Va., presided, and W. W. Corcoran, of this city, was a vice president, resolutions were adopted indorsing Fitzhugh Lee's scheme of immigration to Virginia.

The Rhode Island prohibitionists, at their State Convention nominated for Governor, Gen. Van Zandt; for Lieutenant Governor, Albert C. Howard; for Secretary of State, Joshua M. Anderman; for Attorney General, Warren R. Perce; for General Treasurer, Samuel Clark. Clark is a Democrat; the others are Republicans.

.....March 10. The Cabinet nominations were confirmed.

Hon. E. B. Washburne, Minister to France, is in Washington.

Senator Blaine dined with the President.

Mr. Garfield has retired from the Ohio Senatorial contest.

The Republicans of Schenectady, New York, indorsed the policy and Cabinet selections of the President. So did the Minneapolis, Minn., Board of Trade.

The North Carolina Legislature appointed a commission, composed of the Governor, Treasurer, and Attorney General of the State, to devise some plan for the settlement of the State debt acceptable to the bond-holders and not too burdensome upon the people.

.....March 11. President Hayes was offered the "National Pew" at the Metropolitan church, but with Mrs. Hayes and family attended the Foundry—a church of less aristocratic pretensions.

.....March 12. Hon. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, resigned his seat in the United States Senate, and retires to private life after thirty-two years of active public life.

The resignation of Senator Sherman was received by Governor Young. After formally tendering his resignation, Mr. Sherman says: "Permit me in doing so to express my profound gratitude for their generous support and confidence during a period of twenty-two years of continuous service in Congress. I have held no position of trust and honor but what they have conferred, and no words can convey the sense of my obligations to them. I now accept from President Hayes, with much hesitation, an office of great labor and care, solely from a sense of duty, with an earnest desire to promote a public policy as announced by him, and with the hope that in so doing I may still preserve the good will of the people of Ohio."

Secretaries Evarts and McCrary, Attorney General Devens, and Postmaster General Key, were sworn in by Justice Cartter, and the first meeting of the new Cabinet was held. Secretary Sherman had previously qualified, but Secretary Thompson had not arrived from Indiana.

The Packard and Nicholls governments in Louisiana indorsed the President's policy.

The Union League of Philadelphia, the Produce Exchange of Toledo, Ohio, and the citizens of Terre Haute, Michigan, indorsed the President's policy.

.....March 13. New Hampshire, at its election for State officers and Congress, sustained the policy of the President, by the election of the Republican candidate for Governor by about four thousand majority. Republican Congressmen were elected in the second and third districts—a Democrat in the first district. The Legislature and Executive council are largely Republican.

Don Cameron, in the Republican Senatorial caucus at Harrisburg, was nominated, by a vote of 128 to 1 for Morton McMichael, to succeed his father in the U. S. Senate.

The Republicans won a victory at the Camden, (New Jersey,) municipal election.

Ex-Secretary Morrill was appointed Collector of Customs at Portland, Maine.

.....March 15. Fred. Douglass, a colored man, was nominated by President Hayes Marshal of the District of Columbia.

Stanley Matthews nominated by the Republican members of the Ohio Legislature as United States Senator to fill the seat vacated by Secretary Sherman. The vote stood: Matthews, 43; Howland, 29; Taft, 2; Shellabarger, 8; and Lawrence, 1.

Republicans of Louisiana issue an address to the citizens of the United States.

Ex-Secretary Boutwell was nominated and confirmed as commissioner on the new edition of the Revised Statutes.

The First National Bank at Allentown, Pennsylvania, suspended payment.

.....March 16. A complimentary testimonial to Justice Bradley, by a large number of leading citizens of Newark, New Jersey, was published, indorsing the Justice's course on the Electoral Commission.

Peter B. Sweeney, of the notorious Tweed ring, was reported as having arrived in New York from Europe.

.....March 18. The Republican State Central Committee expelled P. B. S. Pinchback from membership, and A. Dumont was elected president of the committee.

The United States Senate closed its special session—adjourned *sine die*.

.....March 19. Over three hundred illicit whisky distillers have surrendered themselves under General Grant's proclamation of pardon, pleaded guilty, and propose to abandon the business.

The National Bank at Lansingburgh, New York, failed.

Governor Vance, of North Carolina, in reply to a letter of some colored men, refuses to lend them any aid in a scheme for colonizing themselves outside of North Carolina. The State needs their labor. They have now all the political and social rights they need or can enjoy—the rights to work for the white man and vote the Democratic ticket. Where will they find such another elysium?

General Grant proposes a two years' trip through Europe.

Governor Hubbard, of Connecticut, vetoed the bill giving members of the Legislature a mileage of twenty-five cents each way, on the ground that it is a violation of the Constitution providing against the Legislature increasing its own pay; and vetoed the new registry law, on the ground that

the requirement that an elector shall be made an elector anew when he removes to another town is an unconstitutional interference with the franchise.

.....March 20. Stanley Matthews was elected Senator of the United States by the Ohio Legislature, and Don Cameron a Senator by the Pennsylvania Legislature.

A committee, appointed by a meeting of the German citizens of Washington, called upon President Hayes, and tendered him their congratulations and respects. They subsequently called upon Secretary Schurz, and wished him "God speed" in his work, as the head of the Interior.

Judge Reed, of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, decided that Hampton is the legal Governor of the State.

The nomination of Gen. George B. McClellan as Superintendent of Public Works of New York was rejected by the Republicans in caucus, and the nomination was accordingly rejected by the Legislature, on the ground of incompetency.

The New York Republican State Central Committee indorsed President Hayes and his policy.

.....March 21. The Cabinet decided unanimously to send to Louisiana an advisory commission to inquire into the condition of affairs in that State, and to report any recommendations upon which the Government may be enabled to proceed to decisive and final action regarding it.

An extra session of the Forty-fifth Congress was decided on: it is stated that it will be called to meet on the 4th of June.

The Connecticut House passed the new election law over the veto of the Governor, but sustained his objections to the bill giving increased mileage to members.

The distribution of seed for the season by the Agricultural Bureau here has ceased to all, except those districts West which were afflicted with grasshoppers in 1876, and for which a special appropriation was made by the late Congress at its last session.

In the New York Senate, the vote by which the act allowing women to hold office on School Boards was lost, was reconsidered, and the bill passed.

At Indianapolis a man quietly walked into the Indiana National Bank, coolly

placed a corded box, which he carried, on the floor near the counter, stepped on it, and reaching over the railing grabbed packages of bank notes amounting to about \$25,000; he escaped with the plunder; \$5,000 reward.

At Harrisburg, the Pennsylvania Legislature in joint assembly declared Don Cameron duly elected to the United States Senate in the place of his father; and at Columbus, the Ohio Legislature in joint convention declared Stanley Matthews duly elected United States Senator in the place of John Sherman.

Ex-President Grant was served with a copy of the *nar.*, by one of Marshal Douglass' deputies, in the case of the crazy Biggins *vs.* Grant. Biggins, some years ago, was greatly annoyed at the General's constant appearance at his bedside, and in his dreams; so meeting him on the street he threatened the General, that if he caught him there again, he would "bulldoze" him. He was arrested, pronounced insane, and sent to the lunatic asylum. Hence, his suit for false imprisonment.

.....March 22. U. S. Minister Washburne was presented by a committee of German citizens with a series of resolutions expressing their gratitude and regard for his noble conduct, and his protection in Paris of their countrymen, during the Franco-Prussian war.

The Packard Senate in Louisiana seated J. J. Monette of the Third Senatorial District and General Thomas C. Anderson of the Tenth District in the places of Ducros and Garland, who were declared elected by the Returning Board, but who are in the Nicholls Senate.

Nine men arrested by Nicholls' police in New Orleans for enlisting men in Packard's militia were brought before Judge Whitaker, of the Superior Criminal Court, on application for writ of *habeas corpus*, and remanded to prison without bail.

The Brooks, of Boston, owners of several millions of property in New Orleans, paid their taxes to the Nicholls Government. Burnside, the largest property-holder in the State, did the same, as also many other large property-holders in the State.

.....March 23. At the session of the Cabinet it was determined to invite Chamberlain and Hampton, rival Governors of South Carolina, to visit Washington for consultation with the Government as to South Carolina affairs.

The Pennsylvania Legislature adjourned *sine die*. Thomas V. Cooper was elected President *pro tem.* of the Senate.

The retrenchment bill, regulating the salaries of municipal officials, passed both branches of the Boston city Government. The saving will amount to \$95,000 per annum.

The Mormon bishop, John D. Lee, "the father of sixty-four children, ten dead and fifty-four living," was shot for his complicity in the terrible Mountain Meadow massacre. In a confession he implicates Brigham Young, Haight, and other bishops and high priests of the infamous Mormon stew, as more deeply guilty in the frightful massacre than himself, and claims that he is simply a victim to their greater villainy and cowardice.

Dr. Major Mary Walker had one of the watchmen arraigned in the Police Court for ejecting her forcibly from the Treasury building. He claimed that he acted under orders. She was abusive and asserted her rights as an American citizen. The judge held that as a citizen she was entitled to admission, subject to her good behaviour, but dismissed the culprit upon his own recognizances. Secretary Sherman subsequently directed that she be admitted so long as she behaved as an orderly citizen.

Clerk Adams, of the House of Representatives, rose to explain. He shall simply and strictly obey the law—nothing more—in making up the list of members of the Forty-fifth Congress. It requires him to include the names of such persons, and of those only, whose credentials show that they were regularly elected according to the laws. All but ten or twelve of the credentials have been received, and for those he has written. When received he will prepare his list. He has nothing to do with contested seats, and the testimony or papers in such cases are only sent to him to be reserved for the use of the House.

E. B. Washburne, our Minister to France,

resigned, and his resignation was accepted by Secretary Evarts in a note in which he compliments Mr. Washburne upon the able performance of the difficult duties of his mission.

.....March 24. The famous Boss Tweed agrees to surrender property to the amount of about \$250,000, and in consequence will be shortly released from the Ludlow street jail. The suit against Peter B. Sweeney, one of the Boss' notorious "Ring," has been positively set for trial in June.

In an interview of ex-Secretary Fish with Alexander H. Stephens, the latter urged as the great need of the South non-intervention and local home rule, and in all Southern appointments those of men, without reference to existing party rules, who have the confidence and respect of the Southern people. He urges upon the President the example of Washington, who appointed Hamilton and Jefferson to places in his Cabinet, although knowing them to be of opposite political faiths.

.....March 26. Wade Hampton accepts President Hayes' invitation to visit Washington, for the purpose of stating his claims to the Governorship of South Carolina.

Gov. Packard replies to Nicholls' manifesto of the 24th, denying its claim that the Nicholls "Government is a fixed fact, complete in all its branches," and denounces the said Nicholls as "destitute of one shred of legal title to the office he attempts to usurp."

The "business men" of Charleston send a delegation to Washington "to speak for Hampton and South Carolina."

Secretary McCrary telegraphs Packard that "the President desires that the situation remain unchanged."

Kellogg telegraphs Packard that the President declared to "Ellis and others" "that Nicholls has no legal courts."

.....March 27. Gov. Chamberlain, of South Carolina, arrived, and had an interview with the President.

.....March 28. The completion of the Southern Commission was announced. It consists of ex-Governor T. C. Brown of Tennessee, Judge C. B. Lawrence of Chicago, Wayne McVeigh of Pennsylvania, General Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut,

and John M. Harlan of Kentucky—four Republicans and one Democrat. It will meet in New Orleans on Wednesday, the 6th of April.

The much-bruited letters of Stanley Matthews and Charles Foster were published. They express, “in the strongest manner possible,” a “desire to have adopted such a policy as will give to the people of South Carolina and Louisiana the right to control their own affairs in their own way,” and pledge their belief that such will be the President’s policy, but do not authoritatively in his name pledge him to anything.

.....March 29. Wade Hampton arrived in Washington. His defiant Wilmington

speech preceded him. He wants no recognition. He said “I am going to [Washington] to demand our rights—nothing less—and, so help me God, to take nothing less.” He had an interview with the President. He urged the condition of South Carolina—its injurious effects upon the planting and all the industrial interests of the State—as a reason for the withdrawal of all Federal interference in support of Chamberlain.

.....March 30. Ex-Governor McCormick, of Arizona, has been appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in the place of Mr. Conant, who has been made chief agent of the syndicate in London.

EXPORT OF AMERICAN BEEF TO EUROPE.

Statement of the Quantity and Value of Fresh Beef Exported from the United States to Great Britain during the Eight Months ended February 28, 1877.

[Prepared by the Bureau of Statistics.]

YEAR.	MONTH.	FROM NEW YORK.		FROM PHILAD'A.		TOTAL EXPORTS.	
		Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1876.	July.....	1,170,200	101,250	.....	.....	1,170,200	101,250
"	August.....	1,365,000	134,811	.....	.....	1,365,000	134,811
"	September..	2,451,550	218,005	.....	.....	2,451,550	218,005
"	October.....	2,569,075	224,730	150,610	14,308	2,719,685	239,038
"	November..	2,974,480	275,550	1,219,500	115,852	4,193,980	391,402
"	December..	3,036,980	257,843	737,500	68,062	3,774,480	325,905
1877.	January	1,796,000	185,550	776,450	69,880	2,572,450	255,430
"	February ...	3,605,610	293,838	1,348,000	127,619	4,953,610	421,457
		18,968,895	1,691,577	4,232,060	395,721	23,200,955	2,087,298
				To England.....		19,409,955	1,701,118
				" Scotland.....		3,791,000	386,180

Within the last two years a new business of great importance has sprung up between New York and several English ports—the fresh-meat trade, which promises to work a complete revolution in the butcher shops of Old England.

An enterprising dealer of New York has discovered by practical experiment that in a dry atmosphere, having a constant temperature of from thirty-six degrees to thirty-eight degrees Fahrenheit, meat may be

preserved fresh for a long time. At a slightly lower temperature delicate fruits may be preserved quite fresh, and so that they will retain their flavor. Care must be taken that the freezing-point is never reached. There are not, so far as we know, any recorded experiments on the extreme limits of the time that fresh food can be kept in this way, but even strawberries have been preserved in an excellent condition for three weeks.

Taking advantage of the high price of beef in England, a Glasgow firm commenced, some two years ago, importing live cattle from this country; and this having been successfully done, they enlarged their imports, until now several thousands have been sent over. The first American live cattle shown in London were imported by this firm in the Anchor Line steamship *Olympia* in July, 1875, and, being a novelty, attracted great attention. Since then many lots have been imported by other parties. The dead-meat trade, which was the natural consequence of the other, was commenced in October, 1875. The success of this venture was due to the perfect method of refrigeration employed. While meat was constantly shipped during the warm summer of 1876, not a single invoice was lost of those properly refrigerated. Where this matter did not receive proper attention, whole shipments were lost. At present six of the Anchor Line Royal Mail steamers on the Glasgow line are fitted each with two refrigerators, capable of holding from 180 to 225 carcasses. Thus the carrying capacity of each ship in the way of meat is from 360 to 450 carcasses, and one of these vessels is due every Wednesday at the port of Glasgow.

The cattle intended for British use are all taken alive to New York city. After being dressed, the carcasses are put into a refrigerating room, where a constant stream of air cooled by passing over ice plays on them. This stream is kept up by means of an engine of twenty-five horse-power. The object of this is to extract all the animal heat from the carcass before it is shipped, and the effect of this thorough chilling is that meat brought from New York in the summer-time keeps longer after being delivered at Glasgow than that of animals killed in the latter city. It is also much more suitable for curing purposes, being older, and the fibers more open. After refrigeration, the quarters are sewn in canvass sacking, and shipped on Friday, so as to be safely located in time for the departure of the steamer on Saturday. On board the ship the walls of the chambers or safes are about nine inches thick, and composed of wood, a layer of resinous paper, a

space for air, then a layer of felting, and, lastly, a covering of wood.

The meat-room is lined with patent oil-cloth, and also with air-tight boarding; the roof is studded with iron hooks, at such distance as to keep the quarters of beef from touching each other, friction being found to damage their chances of preservation. The place is kept exquisitely clean. On the side of this chamber, opposite to the ice-house, are placed wooden flues open at the top, and perpendicular to another and larger flue, which runs along the same side of the chamber, and crosses the floor into a wooden chest, attached to which is a fan worked from above by a donkey steam-engine. The fan, when set in motion, causes a current which draws the heated air from the top of the compartment down through the wooden flues, and along that running across the floor into the chest, thence passing into the ice-house with great force by an orifice at the top. The air becomes cold in the ice-house, and this cold air, passing out of the ice-house at the bottom, is sent into the meat-room. The air is subjected to the same treatment again and again, so that a constant current of pure cold air is being supplied by the refrigerator at a temperature of about thirty-seven degrees, or sufficiently cold to preserve the meat, but without freezing. When the fan is in motion, the current of air is strong enough to draw into the flues any small pieces of paper thrown into the air. The door of the meat-store, as well as that of the ice-house, is cased with India rubber, and is fastened on with screws, which make it air-tight if required. The ice-house is somewhat smaller than the meat-room; it is packed with block ice. The floor, being covered with coarse canvass, acts as a filter for any sediment which may gather.

THE *Richmond Enquirer*, a Democratic organ of Virginia, makes confession that "charges of are becoming as common as [the Democratic government] was a carpet-bag government! is pitiable! Will a Virginia Southerner, steal? Horrible! rible, indeed, than the original

SPECIE PAYMENTS AND MATERIAL PROSPERITY.

All the more weighty influences point conclusively to an early easy resumption of specie payments, and to the certainty of a return to substantial prosperity in the near future. A few facts in support of this conclusion, and first:

REDUCTION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The recapitulation of the statement of the public debt of the United States, for the month of March, 1877, just issued, is as follows:

Debt, less cash in the Treasury,	
April 1, 1877.....	\$2,074,674,126 63
Debt, less cash in the Treasury,	
March 1, 1877.....	2,088,781,143 04
Decrease of debt during month..	\$14,107,016 41

The reduction of the public debt \$14,107,016.41 and the funding of forty million five per cent. bonds in four-and-a-half per cent. bonds during the first month of Secretary Sherman's administration is something to be proud of, and a good indication of future success. This is a larger sum than was ever reached by either of his predecessors in the same period of time.

There were some heavy reductions under Mr. Boutwell, for instance: June, 1869, \$13,384,777.97; June, 1869, \$16,410,132.54; May, 1870, \$11,697,793.39; June, 1870, \$14,301,962.37; July, 1870, \$20,303,772.04; August, 1870, \$17,034,123.74; September, 1870, \$13,403,325.59; April, 1871, \$11,011,250.65; October, 1871, \$13,458,620.51; March, 1872, \$12,391,451.32; April, 1872, \$15,481,968.64; May, 1872, \$12,588,088.62; September, 1872, \$10,736,635.89; October, 1872, \$10,327,343.09. There were no heavy reductions under his successors until Mr. Sherman came in. The total reductions during the two terms of President Grant were \$436,682,116.97.

RECENT COURSE OF FOREIGN TRADE.

Our foreign trade for the last calendar year shows a decrease of \$64,694,027 in total imports, and an increase of \$56,725,312 in total exports, as compared with 1875, the excess of total exports for the year being over \$185,000,000. The following table is a complete and suggestive summary. It is a comparison of imports with

exports during the past eight years—in one case with specie included in both, and in the other with specie deducted from both—the figures given being the excess of imports or exports respectively in each year:

	Specie Included—		Specie Excluded—	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1876..	.....	\$185,384,145	.....	\$164,009,077
1875..	.....	64,464,806	.....	1,937,241
1874..	.....	63,190,035	.....	7,716,764
1873..	\$22,545,047	.....	\$55,608,696	.....
1872..	118,875,561	.....	194,813,195	.....
1871..	52,122,956	.....	112,759,011	.....
1870..	2,256,776	.....	57,602,131	.....
1869..	69,692,422	.....	101,589,986	.....

This table shows an extraordinary change in the trade movement, which is probably not equaled in commercial history.

DECREASE IN IMPORTS.

The official returns for January show a heavy decline in merchandise imports as compared with the corresponding month in 1876, the following being the comparative figures for the month, gold values:

	1877.	1876.	1874.
Merchandise.	\$37,655,786	\$42,099,201	\$34,756,563
Specie.....	2,139,307	759,293	1,031,516
Total....	\$39,795,093	\$42,858,494	\$35,788,079

Taking the entire seven months of the fiscal year—July 1 to January 31—the imports thus compare, gold values:

	1876-7.	1875-6.	1874-5.
Merchandise.	\$232,066,484	\$270,438,608	\$292,948,470
Specie.....	31,286,987	11,372,320	9,659,112
Total....	\$263,353,471	\$281,810,928	\$302,607,582

The merchandise imports for January occupy a position nearly midway between those for the corresponding time in 1875 and 1876; and although they show a decline as compared with the previous January, they are \$5,386,326 in excess of the previous month of December, and are the largest thus far during the present fiscal year, August standing next with \$35,000,000, and October next with \$34,000,000. The specie imports, not quite one million in July, ran up rapidly to one, two, five, and six millions in successive months, closing the calendar year with \$11,884,286 in December, in part offsetting the extraordinarily heavy exports of domestic produce

for that month; in January the specie import fell to \$2,139,307.

INCREASE IN EXPORTS.

Turning to exports, the following is the comparative movement for January, mixed values :

	1877.	1876.	1875.
Domestic produce.....	\$67,341,814	\$56,638,778	\$51,483,379
Foreign Merchandise.....	960,942	1,273,646	1,104,664
Total goods..	\$68,302,756	57,912,424	52,588,043
Specie.....	2,962,629	2,352,624	11,142,162
Total	\$71,265,385	\$60,265,048	\$63,730,205

Taking the exports, gold values, for the same seven months as above used for the imports, we have the following movement:

	1876-7.	1875-6.	1874-5.
Domestic produce.....	\$364,626,822	\$301,470,528	\$298,917,442
Foreign Merchandise.....	8,022,063	8,206,366	8,205,366
Total goods..	\$372,648,885	\$309,676,894	\$307,122,808
Specie.....	25,928,970	25,470,792	47,996,955
Total.....	\$398,577,855	\$335,147,686	\$355,119,763

The produce exports fall off over nine millions from the \$76,569,689 in December—the heaviest to be recorded in any one month—but are over five millions in excess of November's exports.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS COMPARED.

The following is a comparison of the period of seven months in each of the three fiscal years, gold values, the first comparison being of goods only, the second of specie only, and the third of both goods and specie combined, the quantity marked with a (*) being a decrease :

	1876-7.	1875-6.	1874-5.
Goods imports..	\$232,066,484	\$270,438,608	\$292,948,470
Goods exports..	372,648,885	309,676,894	307,122,808
Excess exports..	\$140,582,401	\$39,238,286	\$14,174,338
Specie imports..	\$31,286,987	\$11,372,320	\$9,659,112
Specie exports..	25,928,970	25,470,792	47,996,955
Excess exports..	*\$5,358,017	\$14,098,472	\$38,337,843
Total imports..	\$263,353,471	\$281,810,928	\$302,607,582
Total exports..	398,577,855	335,147,686	355,119,763
Excess exports..	\$135,224,384	\$53,336,758	\$52,512,181

This shows an excess of twenty millions a month of exports over imports, in goods alone, since June, and of over nineteen millions in goods and specie combined. It is scarcely to be expected that this rate of excess will continue, but if it should the year's trade would result in a balance of \$240,000,000 in favor of this country. This

is certainly a most extraordinary showing, and none the less whether it is interpreted as an evidence of poverty or of prosperity; the \$185,000,000 of export excess for the year ending with 1876 will probably be not far from \$200,000,000 for the fiscal year ending with June next.

THE SPECIE MOVEMENT.

The specie movement also has turned in this direction, and this fact may comfort those who cherish the idea that sufficient specie to pay the Government notes can be accumulated without any withdrawal of bank notes. The production of the precious metals, by Dr. Linderman's figures, was 85,350,000 during the fiscal year last completed, and \$1,056,631,889 since June, 1859; during the same period the total export of both domestic and foreign was \$1,189,687,856, and the total import, \$283,517,602, leaving as net export, \$906,169,984 an annual average of about \$53,100,000. The production for that period in excess of the net exports, therefore, was \$150,461,635. Allowing for use in manufactures, the increase in stock on hand during that time was about sixty-five millions of dollars, and of this the addition during the last year was, say, forty millions of dollars. The tables show that the product during the last seven months has been kept at home, and that there has been a net import of more than five millions besides, against a net export of fourteen millions during the previous year, and thirty-eight millions during 1874-5. The increase in the excess of imports of goods is \$101,344,115 during the seven months, as compared with 1875-6, and there is a change of \$19,456,489 in the specie movement, making a total change of \$120,800,604 in the combined movement, and an increase of \$81,887,626 in the net excess of exports over imports. If the product of gold and silver be taken as \$7,000,000 a month, the stock in the country must have been increased over \$50,000,000 since last June.

These facts, together with the fall of gold to 4½ and 5, indicate conclusively that the return to specie payments need not be long delayed. The greenback and gold will soon be counted of equal value in all our mercantile transactions.

THE MANUFACTURING INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH.

Some few years ago it was quite an easy matter to apportion to each section of this mighty continent its various sources of wealth: to the New England States belonged the industries; to the West the raising of wheat, and to the South the production of cotton; but as the country has developed, the minds of all shrewd business men have been opened to the necessity of combining manufacturing enterprises with agricultural pursuits; the West was the first to adopt the necessity of producing goods in proportion to what was grown within her districts, for she found out she never derived any benefit of reciprocity from the importation of the articles she paid so dearly for in the East. Apart from the mere question of grain, it is one of the first principles of political economy to diversify as much as possible the different channels in which labor is employed, and so of late years it has dawned upon the South that so long as she continued to plant cotton and make it her chief source of occupation, she could only attract to her territory the very poorest class of field labor, for from statistics it has been clearly shown that the cotton laborer very rarely is able to earn anything over and above his actual expenses, and of course the man who has nothing to spend does nothing for the opening up or progress of that section in which he is working.

The contrast has been very marked between the farming hands of the cotton States and the working men in the manufacturing districts; to this end the South has been obliged to push forward her utmost energies in encouraging everything that tended to promote her future wealth, and so has determined to appropriate a certain share in the rapid growth the United States has made in manufactures, which have doubled within the last ten years. The financial crisis of 1873 did a great deal of good to the South, as while all industries were at a stand-still in the North, suffering as they did from the incumbrances of debt, contracted in prosperous times, the few cotton factories that

had been erected in the South were all doing a most successful business. In Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Texas mill property to this day is paying large dividends; the only way to keep trade ever on the increase is to create new activity, the moment it is discovered that certain other localities are outstripping the South of her legitimate occupation, the spinning, as well as the growing of cotton. The great drawback to the proper advancement of manufacturing enterprise is that both State and municipal laws prevent the untrammelled execution of local energy; and while, of course, it is very difficult for legislators to see that the wealth of their various sections depends upon the self-supporting capacity of their inhabitants, still it is an essential point to inspire due encouragement to build up every kind of enterprise, instead of pulling it down by stringent taxes, for the amalgamation of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits is the only way for any people to acquire permanent wealth and retain a lasting independence.

EMIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.—The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics furnishes the following table, (compiled from the official report of the British Board of Trade,) showing the emigration from the United Kingdom to the United States, British North America, and Australia, respectively, during the years 1874, 1875, and 1876:

DESTINATION.	1874.	1875.	1876.
United States.....	148,161	105,046	75,533
British North America..	25,460	17,378	12,327
Australia.....	53,958	35,525	33,191

The total number of persons who emigrated from the United Kingdom to the United States from 1815 to 1876 was 5,467,075.

The amount of money remitted by settlers in the United States and British North America to their friends in the United Kingdom from 1848 to 1876, inclusive, was £19,685,068; the greatest amount in any one year being £1,730,000, in 1854.

THE BUCKSHOT WAR.

In 1838 Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, a leading and distinguished member of the Quaker City Demoskratos, was ambitious of airing his statesmanship in Congress as the Representative of the Third Congressional District of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. At the previous election, in 1836, Mr. Ingersoll had been defeated by the sitting member, Mr. Charles Naylor, who, in 1838, was a candidate for re-election. But Mr. Ingersoll was not discouraged. Defeated again, in 1838, in the canvass before the people—in an effort to carry the field by violence under a cry of fraud—he next attempted to manipulate the count of the return judges.

The election was held on Tuesday, October 9th, 1838. By law the return judges of the district—six in number, three Democrats and three Whigs—were required on the Friday following, at the State House, “to compare and cast up the returns” of the several polling precincts of the district, and, from them, “to execute, under their hands, one general and true return” of the whole district. That meeting of the return judges was preceded in the Democratic papers by inflammatory diatribes and lampoons, and upon the street by incendiary placards, all announcing to the people of Philadelphia county that their liberties were in danger, and summoned them to attend the count *en masse* to protect their rights. Accordingly a furious crowd assembled. The count embraced the whole of Philadelphia county, which included the First and Third Congressional Districts. Mr. Ingersoll, with the Van Buren county candidates to the Legislature—two as Senators and eight as Representatives—appeared, and practically asserted the right to regulate the count.

The wildest scene of confusion and uproar ensued. Amid the din Mr. Ingersoll charged fraud in the vote. In the canvass of the county there were seventeen judges—ten Democrats and seven Whigs. A Democratic clerk of the Seventh Ward of the Northern Liberties was introduced, and stated that a tally list of that ward,

the one not put in the ballot-box, was missing: he charged that it had been stolen. The seven wards of the Liberties, which, in their aggregate vote, was heavily Whig, comprised about one-half of the population of the Third District. The rejection of their vote would elect Ingersoll: to count them would give the district to Naylor. Hence, upon the charge of the Seventh Ward Democratic clerk that a tally list of that ward had been stolen, Mr. Ingersoll demanded the rejection in the count, not merely of the vote of the Seventh Ward, which was Democratic, and the rejection of which would only increase Naylor’s majority, but the vote of the whole seven wards of the Liberties.

Of course the Whigs revolted at such a proposition. But the Democratic judges, by a vote of ten to seven, excluded the vote of the Liberties, and even ejected their return judge, Mr. Bela Badger. The Whigs refused to submit. The Democratic judges denying them the use of their returns, the Whig judges made the return required by law from their own returns, and what they could collect from other sources, and dispatched it through the legal channel to the Secretary of the Commonwealth at Harrisburg, by whom it was received. The ten Democratic judges also made out a return, necessarily a mutilated return, and placed it in the Prothonotary’s office. If it ever reached Harrisburg, it did not in time to invalidate that of the six Whig judges, by which the Whig candidates to the State Senate and House were elected. Too late the Van Buren county candidates realized that they had been sacrificed as victims to Mr. Ingersoll’s ambition. But for them there was no retreat: they must abide the consequences.

Having secured in the county canvass the rejection of the vote of the Liberties, and the ejection of its return judge, Mr. Ingersoll was confident of victory. By the ejection of Mr. Badger he had now a majority of the judges of the Third District—three to two—and in the count of that district it was at once proposed to exclude

the vote of the Liberties. The Whigs rebelled. They, with the judge of the Liberties, made "one general and true return" of all the votes in the district, by which Mr. Naylor had over seven hundred majority, and transmitted it to Harrisburg. The Democratic judges also made a return. It excluded the Liberties, and certified that in about one-half of the district Mr. Ingersoll had a majority. Of course Governor Ritner gave to Mr. Naylor the certificate of election, as the member elected in the Third Congressional District of Pennsylvania to the Twenty-Sixth Congress.

The scene of battle was now transferred to the State capital. Practically, so far, at every step Mr. Ingersoll had been worsted, and had carried with him in his defeat the Van Buren county candidates to the Legislature. At Harrisburg, in the December following, further important stakes were to be played for: the organization of the Lower House, with its spoils and perquisites, and the election by the Legislature of a United States Senator and a Treasurer to the Commonwealth. Those the Democracy claimed. The Whigs had a small majority in the Senate. If they secured the representation from Philadelphia county it would give them the organization of the House, a majority on joint ballot, and with it the United States Senator and the State Treasurer. There was the rub: how to secure the Democratic representation from Philadelphia county. The situation was alarming: the "unterrified" furious! If the Democratic delegation had, or were entitled to, a majority of the votes cast in the county, the Democratic managers had so manipulated the returns to secure the representation in the Third District as to leave the Executive authorities at Harrisburg without any legal or official information on the subject. The return of the six Whig judges elected the Whig candidates, who received their certificates of election.

At the meeting of the Legislature the war began in earnest. For a time it had a serious look—bloodshed seemed imminent. The Whigs had the regular returns and the seal of the State. The Democrats

claimed a majority in Philadelphia county, backed by an immense mob of their partisans, all armed, and resolved on war if their demands were denied or evaded. The organization of the House they would have. That they could only secure by dispossessing the Whig claimants. But how to do it? Under the laws and the Constitution of the State the Whigs, even if not elected, had a right to their seats until unseated by a regular contest upon petition and the presentation of proofs before the Legislature of the rights of the contestants. The houses only could decide. That they could only do after organization and the appointment of committees. Hence, the Democratic claimants, backed by their mob of armed adherents—"butchers," "hired ruffians" and "assassins," as the Whigs called them; "the people," "the patriotic yeomanry" of the State, as the Democracy styled them—demanded admission before organization—demanded that they be allowed to participate in the organization; and that they determined to enforce, peaceably or by violence, as the exigency demanded. As a prelude to what was to follow, the Whig representatives were everywhere insulted, everywhere outraged—in the Capitol, on the street, and at their boarding-houses; and the wildest alarm prevailed throughout Harrisburg.

The two houses met on the 4th day of December, 1838: the House at 10 o'clock, A. M. The mob filled the galleries, swarmed in the lobbies, with loud cries and threatening aspect. A struggle at once began. The Whigs contended that the members having the regular returns should be seated. They could not, prior to an organization, entertain a contest. The Constitution and laws of the State and the rules of the House forbade it. That the Democracy furiously opposed. They demanded the admission of the Van Buren members, who, they contended, had a majority at the late elections, and were consequently entitled to their seats. The Whigs remained firm, and the House, after much wrangling, separated into two bodies. The Whigs organized by the election of Gen. T. S. Cunningham as Speaker, and the Democracy by the election of Mr. William Hopkins, of

Washington. Finally, these two bodies adjourned without violence.

At 3 P. M. the Senate met. Of this body, at that time, Mr. Thaddeus Stevens—"Old Thad."—was a prominent and active leader—feared and hated then, as at his death, by the "great untterrified." As in the House, the Locofoco mob swarmed in the galleries and lobbies, and created a most frightful uproar. The session was a stormy one. Senators were applauded, or hooted and hissed, by the mob, amid shouts of, "Give us our rights!" or, "Blood!" "Blood!" "Blood!" The majority were resolute and firm; they would yield nothing to the clamors of the mob. After an organization by the election of Mr. Charles B. Penrose as Speaker, the swearing in of new members and some other important business—all performed amid the clamorous efforts at terror by the mob—the Senate, on motion, agreed to meet at 10 A. M., and then attempted to adjourn, but before the adjournment could be announced the mob, exasperated at the tenacity of the Whigs, rushed, at a concerted signal, with horrid yells and din, and shouting for "blood," into the chamber, tearing down the doors, uprooting desks, and forcing Senators to escape by the windows.

On the following day a similar scene of violence was enacted in the House. The aisles, lobbies, and galleries of that body were early filled with a mob of ruffians. The Hopkins (Democratic) branch of the House had adjourned to meet at 10 A. M., and the Cunningham (Whig) branch at 2 P. M. At the latter hour the Whigs attempted to assemble, but the Democratic branch had not adjourned. Mr. Spackman (who, at the request of General Cunningham, advanced to the Speaker's chair, filled by Mr. Hopkins, to move an adjournment) was seized by the mob when he reached the platform, and was about to make the motion, and violently thrust out of the house. That proved the signal of tumult. The mob outside rushed in, and, uniting with their fellows on the floor, took possession of the hall, after tearing down the doors, uprooting and overturning desks, and otherwise mutilating the furniture and hall, and forcing the Whig members to re-

treat in every direction to save their lives or escape violence.

The mob now established themselves in the two chambers. The leaders addressed them in the most inflammatory and treasonable harangues, which were responded to by demoniac yells and denunciations of death against the most distinguished men of the State if they dared to return to their seats. The reign of terror was perfect. The mob had complete possession, not only of the legislative halls, but of Harrisburg, and Governor Ritner, (a Whig,) apprehensive of violence, which was denounced against him, did not for days dare approach the Executive chamber. Says the Harrisburg *Intelligencer* of December 5th, 1838: "The mob have now possession of the town, and mob law reigns supreme. The officers of the law make no attempt to put down the disgraceful scene: no life is safe." The sheriff of Dauphin county (one William Cochran) openly aided the rebels, and united with them in plans to hang Thaddeus Stevens and others.

At this alarming crisis of affairs Governor Ritner issued a proclamation, declaring that "a lawless, infuriated, armed mob from the counties of Philadelphia, Lancaster, Adams, and other places," had, under the lead of Federal office-holders, overthrown the law, had expelled the Legislature and Executive authorities, and still hold possession of the town and Capitol. He therefore ordered the citizen soldiery to immediately march to Harrisburg, and called upon all good citizens to aid in reinstating the government and laws.

The old Commonwealth was shaken to its very foundations. All over the State excited public meetings were held by the two parties: by the Whigs to express their horror and indignation at the lawless deviltry of the mob, and to devise measures to sustain the government and the laws—by the Democracy to denounce the resistance of the government to the demands of the rebel insurrectionists, to inflame the passions of the populace against the Whigs, and to defeat if possible all succor to the civil authorities at the capital.

The peril was great and alarming. All government at Harrisburg had ceased: the

laws were wholly paralyzed. In vain did Governor Ritner appeal for aid to the United States military at Carlisle Barracks under Captain E. V. Sumner: in vain did he appeal to President Van Buren, at Washington; in vain did he multiply proofs to that august Democratic chief that the Legislature, as the executive branch of the State government, had been overthrown by a lawless mob, and dare not re-assemble. The President would not interfere. The Constitution forbade it. The astute Sumner at Carlisle Barracks, posted in advance as a part of the conspiracy, refused to interfere, and for the reasons subsequently elaborated by President Van Buren.

Said the Captain on the 5th: "The disturbance" at Harrisburg "appears to proceed from political differences alone." Said Van Buren on the 11th: "The commotion" at Harrisburg, "does not appear to arise from any opposition to the laws, but grew out of a contest between two political parties regarding their respective rights." The insurrectionists might outrage the Legislature—might even hang the Legislators and the Governor; they might murder, burn, and plunder the citizens and the city: to Van Buren it was no evidence of hostility to the laws—it was simply an emeute growing out of the rivalry of parties: he would not interfere.

Consequently, the Whigs were everywhere outraged with impunity; were everywhere denounced by the Democracy in the grossest vituperation, as were all efforts of the State government to reinstate the laws—at Philadelphia as at Harrisburg and throughout the State—in the *Globe*, the national Democratic organ here, and in Congress. Even the State militia were denounced in the House as the "armed mob" of a tyrant for "the murder in cold blood, with buckshot," of "the innocent, peaceable, unarmed citizens"—"the sovereign people of Pennsylvania assembled in their majesty!"

Hence, although Democratic Federal office-holders might head the insurrectionists, yet nothing Democratic—no one under the control of the Democracy—should assist in reinstating the laws until the demands of the mob rebels had triumphed—until the

civil authorities of the State had succumbed to the mob Democracy in arms. Captain Ramsey, at the Frankford U. S. Arsenal, on assuming command, had found upon its books the record of an issue by his predecessor, approved by the Department at Washington, to a Locofoco sheriff, of 1,500 rounds of ammunition for use in quelling a riot. Upon such a precedent, so approved, he had not hesitated to honor the requisition of "a Governor of a sovereign State," and to promptly issue ammunition to the State troops under the Governor's call. For that he was severely reprimanded by the Secretary of War. He was sternly ordered to recover the ammunition thus issued, and to report at Washington. At the same time Major Craig, the commandant of the U. S. Arsenal at Pittsburg, was ordered to issue no ammunition or arms to the State troops, and consequently the militia were forced to proceed to Harrisburg with buckshot instead of ball cartridges. Hence, in party history, this famous Locofoco emeute is known as the "BUCKSHOT WAR."

Commodore Jesse D. Elliott and Midshipman Robinson, being at Carlisle and fully apprised of the insurrection against the State authorities, felt it their duty, not as officers, but as citizens, to attend the Governor at Harrisburg, and assist him "with their counsel, or in any other way he might require their services." For even that they were severely rebuked by the Secretary of the Navy. They were ordered to instantly return to Carlisle and to report their arrival there at Washington.

The rebel mob, thus emboldened, formed a provisional government, and issued, through its Commander-in-chief, Adam Tiller, a call to the local militia to march to its support.

Nevertheless, in the presence of proceedings and acts so revolutionary and violent, the Democracy throughout the country, at their meetings, in Congress, and in their press denied that there was an insurrection, a rebellion, at Harrisburg, and denounced the Governor's call for the State militia as tyrannical and infamous. The "commotion" there was constitutional and patriotic—a grand uprising of the in-

dependent yeomanry of the State in vindication of their liberties and rights, and made every effort, seconded from Washington, to prevent all help reaching the beleaguered State government at the Capitol.

At length the State troops marched with "buckshot" cartridges. The arrival on the 8th and 9th of General Patterson at Harrisburg, from Philadelphia, with the first division of Pennsylvania militia, occupying town and State arsenal, for a moment alarmed and disconcerted the insurgents, and proportionately encouraged the Whigs. A belligerent calm ensued. On the 8th the Senate, which had not met since the Tuesday previous, again assembled, with Mr. Strohm, of Lancaster, in the chair. On the 10th Speaker Penrose reappeared. He had been deterred since the 4th from resuming his duties by threats of assassination. But the struggle in the Legislature for the organization of the House continued with equal resolution and bitterness, though not with the same external violence. The Whigs declared their determination to maintain the Constitution and the laws; they declared that they would yield to no intimidation. The Senate and the Hopkins Democratic branch of the House met at the Capitol; the Cunningham branch at Wilson's. No legislation could be effected. On the 15th the Senate still hesitated to formally recognize the Cunningham House, but on the 20th it declared the Hopkins House illegally constituted. That aroused all the belligerent ire of that pugnacious branch: it denounced the Senate for usurpation in passing "upon the constitutional organization of the House," "a co-ordinate branch of the government," and appointed a committee to draft a plan to revolutionize the State, and involve it in all the horrors of civil war.

Here the courage of some of the Whigs began to weaken. General Patterson's command, on the 20th, had all returned home. The troops from Cumberland and Adams, which had taken their place and held the State arsenal, were more favorable to the Democracy. D. R. Porter, the Democratic Governor-elect, and who was soon to be inaugurated, was at Harrisburg. The situation was anything but pleasant,

even if safe, for the Whigs: against the counsel of "Old Thad.," they proposed to compromise. That proved their Waterloo. It announced their fears to the Democracy, and made the latter sure of the situation: they accordingly rejected all overtures from the Whigs. They would have all or fight.

Finally, a number of Whigs seceded from the Cunningham House and joined the Hopkins House—a number sufficient to give the latter body a quorum of "regularly returned" members in addition to the contestants from Philadelphia county. That decided the battle. Hence, on the 25th, on motion of Mr. Michler, the Senate, by a vote of 17 yeas to 16 nays, recognized the Hopkins House as "within the pale of the Constitution," and notified it that the Senate "was ready to proceed to business."

So the struggle ended. The great "BUCKSHOT WAR," after a campaign of twenty-two days, closed in the triumph of the "great untterrified." They secured the organization of the House, with its offices and spoils, and Daniel Sturgeon, who figured in the *melée* as the Democratic Treasurer of the State, was transferred to the Senate of the United States; but Charles J. Ingersoll did not sit in the Twenty-sixth Congress—in the House of that Congress which began its sessions in December, 1839, by the unexampled outrage of disfranchising the State of New Jersey in its organization—by excluding without a legal contest, and before organization, to secure to the Democracy its offices and spoils, the Whig Representatives from New Jersey, bearing the great seal of the State.

Its deviltry, however, furnishes an illustration of the immemorial tactics of the Democracy as a party: first, fraud—then violence; or usurpation, violence and fraud combined; and when these fail to seat or maintain them in power, then rebellion, carnage, blood! In 1838 it worked its own cure. Attracting the attention and exciting the indignation of the whole country, it contributed greatly in the combination of causes which a little later achieved a grand Whig triumph in the election of Harrison and Tyler as President and Vice President of the United States.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

We claim to be decidedly and pre-eminently a nation which reads. No European or other foreign people possess the craving for mental food which we Americans display, neither have they the wonderful ostrich-like mental digestion of which we can also boast. Bread or stone, it is all one—down it goes, perhaps with a wry face or a gulph, and the cry is, like the horse-leech's daughters, still for more. To what cause this effect is assignable it is difficult to discover. Perhaps it is to the mixed blood which runs in the national veins—the characteristics of all people mingled into one. We have the solidity of the English, the wit and *insouciance* of the Irish, the stolidity of the German, the frost of the Scandinavian, with the fire of the Italian, the pride of the Spaniard, and the gayety of the French, and the result is a type which it puzzles ethnologists to define, and yet which causes us to be unerringly assigned our nationality the moment we set foot on alien shores. This mixture of blood gives us a spice of each distinct current, and one contradicts the other, while preponderating over all is the lasting effect of the stern, uncompromising spirit of our puritan forefathers, whose intense personality tinctured the form of civilization they have handed down to us from those days of grim, narrow, self-righteousness. To these many sources we may ascribe the self-satisfied self-assertion, which is our greatest failing, and the restless craving for knowledge yclept "Yankee curiosity," which amuses our relations over the water so much. But this Yankee trait, properly cultivated, directed, and cared for, has made us a *smart* people, and given us, when our national age is considered, a wonderfully forward place in the ranks of intellectual culture. As a proof of this we need only look around us at the public museums, art galleries, and libraries with which we have endowed our cities. This general quickness of thought and desire for mental culture is fostered undoubtedly by our form of government, under which all, no matter how humble or how poor, can anticipate brilliant possibilities in the

future, if they have the power within themselves to win them; for no stern, repressing laws of caste will crush the spirit down—and so looking forward, naturally seek to be prepared for a thorough enjoyment of the prize when it is attained. Away off down the dim vista of our hundred years we find the boy Franklin struggling up through the darkness of poverty and all its narrowing cares and paralyzing effects to the light of knowledge and of science, until at length he controls the very thunderbolt! What a struggle he found himself obliged to make—how steep the path and thorny the way to the goal—his life tells us; but that he appreciated the difficulties and endeavored to smooth the road for others we also know, and the Philadelphia Public Library stands an eloquent tribute to his courage and success to-day. No nation can be great which neglects mental culture; the highest civilization is based upon the school, and the keystone to the arch of national prosperity is the spelling book. But the school must be carefully guarded, and the spelling book when once mastered must be followed by judicious mental training, else it were better their blessings had never been known. As an aid and corollary as it were to the schools, public libraries are indispensable, but the establishment of them should be a subject of much care, and the choice of books, particularly where the young are to be considered, a matter of grave study. The aim should be to draw the youthful mind away from frivolous reading which will only serve to poison and debase it, and to lead it imperceptibly into the course most likely to develop and establish for it a firm foundation upon which to build the success of a lifetime, and to do this without disgusting or alarming. To be useful the library must be open to all, without regard to age, but to prevent injury to the tender minds of the very young rests very much with the librarian. He must recognize, not only his duty to the mute though eloquent objects of his care, but also to the living searchers after knowledge; that he is a teacher as

well as a custodian, and that he has a higher *rôle* than even the preacher or the pedagogue, for with him rests the perfecting or the ruin of the work they have begun. Next in importance to the guiding of the young but supple minds is that of influencing the older, but equally ignorant; those who have awakened to a conviction of their mental deficiencies, or have only attained the means of correcting them, at an age when the school room is forsaken by the more fortunate, for the real lessons of life; to these the royal road to knowledge is verily "up hill all the way," and the labor of guiding and advising a weary one. But it would be foolish to draw any definite line as to the choice of books in a free library; the majority should be unquestionably of a popular character, not too heavy to disgust or too light to be ignored. Science can be made attractive to the simplest, while history and biography can be clothed in all the charms of the novel without losing a grain of usefulness by the genius of competent authors.

Although it is greatly the fashion among our wealthy citizens to "run over" to the Old World for a short relaxation every few months, while many take their children to Paris or Dresden for their education, or to impart a "finish" and style to them after the rudimentary education has been accomplished in our own schools, there are many among us as intelligent and as appreciative whose shorter purses prevent this costly gratification. To these, to whom the treasures of art found in the galleries of Munich and Dresden, Florence or Rome, had been known only through the medium of written descriptions or poor copies, the Centennial exhibit was a thorough treat—a liberal education in those branches; but we trust a visit to the Art Gallery and its "Annex" will bear fruit in awakening the idea of the importance of well-selected art galleries as a part of public free libraries, particularly where those libraries are more frequented by the young. Let them take their "Lives of the Painters" from the shelf, and when reading of Grotto's "O," or of Michael Angelo's "Moses," be able to understand the wonders which genius

such as others achieved more completely by the aid of good copies of these and other artists' works. Then, too, the embryo painter or sculptor will here find studies for his pencil or chisel, and suggestions which all the books in the world could not convey half so well. Besides, æsthetic culture in these days is essential to all the trades, more or less; and artistic taste and skill can be displayed in and enhance the commonest industries. Here we are behind other countries, and are just waking up to the fact. In France and Germany, and particularly in Switzerland, we find this idea fully advanced and its great importance recognized. While we have much reason to be proud of our artists, "native here, and to the manner born," but who live and die in Italy, as finding more congenial atmosphere for their æsthetic natures there, we cannot but regret that Yankee "thrift" forbids their perfect development beneath their native skies. But how can native artists anticipate national recognition and encouragement when our solons in Senate assembled decide upon giving the order for a national painting not to the best artist—by no means—but to the *lowest bidder*, the cheapest worker, as if it had been a proposal to supply stationery and dust-brushes to the departments? No! if we would point to our artists and art galleries with the same pride that we do to our libraries, we must not seek for what is *cheap* but for what is *good*. Painting and statuary are as much aids to education as books, to some—to most all brains a quicker means. Visitors to the old-time cities of Europe, rich in their exquisite treasures of art, can with difficulty be induced to leave them; but with us, to a stranger, after a drive through the public park, (if there is one,) a visit to the public schools, a saunter through the library, (in case one has been established,) a sight, if the town is not too young, of some old-time relic in the way of a house which has survived the march of progress since the Revolutionary days—or one of Gen. Washington's chairs, (I didn't say anything about a hatchet,) or Penn's desk—or something else equally old and

well-authenticated—finds, if he is detained by business or the weather, nothing to divert and amuse but a novel or the gossip of a bar-room! Nor is the cost of mere art collections so great as to alarm the spirit of national thrift: copies in plaster and terracotta of the famed marbles can be had at comparatively small cost, and good copies, too—exact reproductions; so with paintings, and where painted copies cannot be afforded the exquisite photographs of copies prepared for photographing, by special permission, are marvelously cheap! May those in charge of our public libraries quickly understand their incompleteness without the “Art annex.”

The bibliomaniac owes a debt of gratitude to the Commissioner of Education in that he has given to the country a work which, under the title of “A Report upon the Free Libraries of the United States,” has collected not only histories and statistics of the various libraries, but papers relative to binding, catalogueing, shelving and all the minutiae of the care of books, besides papers upon bibliography from the pens of men the best calculated to discuss the subject. Of course in these centennial times such a publication is expected to take the matter in review from the grand starting point a hundred years ago, and one of the most interesting papers is that which gives an account of the efforts of Franklin and his friends of “The Junto” to form a debating society, out of which grew the Philadelphia Library and the American Debating Society. It was pure accident which directed Franklin’s steps to Philadelphia. When he left Boston he intended to settle in New York, but as there was already *one* printer there, (in 1723,) and he had no employment for an assistant, he was advised to go to Philadelphia, where a young man had lately died, leaving a vacancy in a printing office in that city!

The next public library to be established was in 1748, in Charleston, S. C., and another in 1753, in Georgetown, S. C. The first public library in New York was not begun until 1754. These were followed by other cities, or rather by other societies in other cities—for they all had their origin in the efforts of private indi-

viduals. But in the progress of civilization and mental culture the State has recognized the importance of these institutions by taxation for their support, and the funds so supplied include sufficient for the building of handsome structures to contain the books and the payment of salaries to the librarians. This Report shows that there are few large cities in the Union now without their public library.

The editors of this Report are Messrs. Warren & Clark, and in his letter to the Secretary, Commissioner Eaton gives the year 1870 as the date of the inception of the idea. We can congratulate the above-named gentlemen upon the result of their six years’ labors. The editors have furnished several papers themselves, but the majority are from the pens of librarians and scientific men. Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, gives several, and we need no greater proof of the wonderful growth of our country in its life of a hundred years, than, after reading of Franklin’s struggles, to pay a visit to the Congressional Library and glance through its alcoves shelving thousands of volumes. This library has increased wonderfully since the new copyright law transferred that branch of the Interior Department to the care of the Congressional Librarian, as this law requires that two copies of every publication copyrighted in the United States shall be sent to this Library. Of course the amount of trash in dime novels, jest and song-books, besides other literary ephemera is very great, but they serve to mark the growth of the country in a literary sense since the day when *one* printer sufficed for New York city, and Franklin could find employment in Philadelphia only through the death of another.

Among the very interesting papers in the publication before us is the one giving minute and particular descriptions of public libraries in ten of our principal cities, viz: Brooklyn, Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, Cincinnati, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and San Francisco, which contain a great deal that is of personal interest. These have been the outgrowth of individual effort, and are “public” libraries, but not in every case “free.”

The Peabody Institute of Baltimore was founded by George Peabody in 1857. Mr. Peabody was then living in London, but he selected twenty-five gentlemen of Baltimore to act for him, and placed in their hands the sum of \$350,000; further increasing that sum by gifts to \$1,400,000. The library building was ready for use in 1861. Readers of the *REPUBLIC* will need no reminder of the many other public-spirited acts of the great philanthropist. The want of a place of resort in the evening a little higher than the bar-room or theater, having been felt by several young clerks in Baltimore, they held a consultation over ways and means in 1839. The result was, "The Mercantile Library Association," and the terms of membership are annual subscriptions varying from one to three dollars. The Maryland Institute, for the promotion of the mechanic arts, was originally organized by Fielding Lucas, Jr., and John H. B. Latrobe, in 1825, but, after ten years existence the entire property of the Institute was destroyed, and the society was not reorganized until 1847. The earliest public library in Baltimore was established in 1795, at a meeting of which Right Rev. John Carroll, D. D., the Catholic Bishop, was chairman. It would occupy too much space to enumerate all the like public institutions in the Monumental City, we must give a little attention to others. In Boston we find the Massachusetts Society existing since 1791, when it was organized by a few gentlemen interested in American history. Each decade since has witnessed one or two foundations of literary institutions or libraries down to 1872. Public spirit among her citizens gave Brooklyn her Mercantile Library, as well as several others. Although the people of the Southern States before the Revolution displayed equally with those of the North a desire to foster mental culture, their "peculiar institution," when the country had shaped itself into a nation, prevented a healthy growth of this sentiment, and confined it entirely to the governing class. Private libraries were numerous and costly, and the standard of education among the upper ranks was very high, but there it stopped. The laws forbade anything like

learning to the negro, and the "poor white trash" were too small and too scattered a portion of the community to make it worth while to establish schools for them, while above all was the fear that if such schools should be allowed the negro might surreptitiously acquire sufficient knowledge to make him dissatisfied with his life—in other words, slavery and the school-room were antagonistic, and would not thrive in the same atmosphere. Consequently we find but few public libraries in the Sunny South. The Charleston Library, mentioned above as instituted in 1748, still exists, however, and also the Apprentices' Library, an organization of later date. The Georgia Historical Society, at Savannah, established a library in 1871. Galveston, Texas, has a fine "free" library.

Since the war much has been done toward establishing libraries through the South, where they did not exist previously, and re-establishing those which the exigences of these sad four years rendered useless or destroyed altogether; but the condition of many of the Southern States prevents any very rapid growth in this direction, and we can only hope that, as that terrible time recedes further and further into the past, its paralyzing effects will entirely disappear.

The public libraries of Chicago were nearly all destroyed by the fire of 1871. Some have been reorganized, and some have grown up since. The record of that city in this way is a good one. Rapid growth is a feature of our Western cities, and none give a better example of this than Chicago—our Phoenix, as she may justly be called. And when we remember that not a hundred years ago the whoop of the savage echoed from the now vine-clad hills of the Ohio valley, and that Lo, the poor Indian, with his untutored mind, saw God in the sun and heard Him in the wind that swept through the forest where Cincinnati "raises to eternal heaven her marble halls" at the present day, we cannot but feel a thrill of delight as we contemplate her wonderful development. Her original settlers were nearly all men of means and of fine intellectual culture, and it was as important to them to arrange for a library as for their houses. In 1802, thir-

teen years after the town was begun, the Cincinnati Library was organized at a meeting of the citizens at Mr. Yeatman's, and a committee of three, Jacob Burnet, Martin Bauer, and Lewis Kerr, were appointed to solicit subscriptions. The year 1808 saw the Circulating Library established. In 1821 the Apprentices' Library, and in 1828 the Ohio Mechanics' Institute first saw the light. The library of the latter was kept in a building well known as "Trollope Folly," or Bazaar. Six years after, the Young Men's Mercantile Library also was founded. But we must not linger too long in the Queen City, much as there is to attract and detain us. The public libraries of New York city are also numerous, and in the New York Society Library we have the oldest "circulating" one in the country—it being established in 1700, when Bellomont was Governor of the Province. We have already mentioned the organization of the oldest Philadelphia library, and will only say that this city is not behind her rival in number or age of these establishments. St. Louis being, like Cincinnati, a comparatively young city, her libraries are also of later date; then, too, she had the prejudices of the slaveholder to combat, and, consequently, she suffered equally with the cities further south. We come at last to San Francisco, where we find, to our astonishment, only three public libraries, but, it must be remembered the peculiar class which originally settled there: men whose one idea was to reach the highest pinnacle of wealth in the shortest time, and who had little time for any books beyond their day-book and ledger.

This publication was a part of the Centennial exhibit of the Bureau of Education, and which bureau has been much crippled by the economy of the House during the two sessions just past, consequently the report could not be as exhaustive as it otherwise would have been. But its usefulness will be seen at a glance, and it is offered in so attractive a form as to fix the interest from the first. Few are aware of the care which the General Government has taken in regard to public libraries. This has been shown by liberal grants to Territories, and by the fine libraries in the sev-

eral departments of the Government at Washington besides the Colossus at the Capitol, which bids fair soon to overrun its present barriers—a very Niagara of books! There are many Government publications of much value to the people at large, such as the Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys, the Patent Office Reports and *Gazette*, the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, yet strange to say there is no deposit of a complete series of these, even in the Library of Congress.

We have mentioned the various subjects of papers in this volume hap-hazard, but the plan of the report has been carefully arranged and is a very good one. First, we have the history of public libraries in the United States; second, their present condition and extent is shown; third, the various questions of library economy and management are discussed; and fourth, as complete statistical information of all classes of public libraries as it is practicable to obtain is presented, and thus forming a volume of incalculable value to the bibliographer and the bibliomaniac, besides introducing many interesting topics to the casual reader, and affording a means of whiling away an hour or two with profit and pleasure in turning over its pages.

HON. STANLEY MATTHEWS has been elected to the United States Senate by the Ohio Legislature. Mr. Matthews is one of the ablest men in Ohio, and for years has ranked as one of the foremost lawyers in the land. Not a single dissenting vote was cast against his election as Senator from Ohio. This is the first time, we believe, that such an event has occurred in the history of the Republican party. We learn from reliable authority that this action of the Democratic members of the Ohio Legislature was influenced by the earnest appeals of influential Southern Senators and Representatives, who desired that this compliment should be extended to Mr. Matthews in recognition of the friendly and liberal spirit he has exhibited toward the South, and of his earnest advocacy of the policy of pacification and reconciliation.

SKETCHES OF THE CABINET.

In the brief sketches following are embraced the principal political services and characteristics of the *personnel* of President Hayes' Cabinet. Its composition is a declaration of the policy of the administration. In executive ability, in brilliant attainments and works as statesmen and jurists, few of our former Cabinets surpass or equal it, and it begins its operations with the applause of all—with the earnest prayers of the nation for its success in the management of the difficult and weighty matters intrusted to it.

WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS.

William Maxwell Evarts was born in Boston, Massachusetts, February 6th, 1818. His father was Jeremiah Evarts, who was graduated at Yale College in 1802, and who, after four years' practice at the bar in New Haven, became the editor of a religious magazine, was in 1812 chosen Treasurer of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and afterward wrote a number of essays on the rights of the Indians. He died in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1831. William M. Evarts, after a preparatory education in his native city, entered Yale College and was graduated in 1837, in the same class with Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, the present Minister to England. At the time of his graduation he was but nineteen years of age. He had then chosen his profession, and having obtained his degree at college, he began his law studies in Harvard. While in the Law School there he developed rapidly the ability as a speaker which he had shown in college, and an unusual diligence as a student. His course finished, the young lawyer went to New York, and in 1841 was admitted to the bar. His keen logical insight soon commanded attention, while by his ability as an advocate in many important cases, he raised for himself steadily the reputation of a leader in the ranks of a profession at that time including some of the most learned and eloquent practitioners which the Empire State has produced. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Union College in 1857; in 1865 the

same honor was offered to him by Yale College, and in 1870 the degree was bestowed upon him by Harvard. On the 19th of April, 1849, he was appointed Deputy United States District Attorney for the New York City district, holding the office precisely four years to a day. In April, 1851, while acting as District Attorney, during the sickness of the regular incumbent, he signalized himself by his able prosecution of the persons engaged in the Cuban filibustering scheme known as "the Cleopatra expedition." In 1853 he resumed the private practice of his profession, and continued in it until his entry into President Johnson's Cabinet, achieving a position which was scarcely second to that of any lawyer in the United States. In 1853 he again gained considerable reputation by his conduct of the celebrated Lemmon slave case, as counsel for the State of New York. In 1850 he invited criticism by his advocacy, in a speech delivered in Castle Garden, of the Compromise measures which were so bitterly opposed by the anti-slavery men of the period, and incurred a hostility in consequence of the position which he assumed that time only could remove from the minds of his hearers. He supported the Fugitive Slave law. In the contest for United States Senator in 1861, Mr. Evarts and Horace Greeley were the rival candidates before the Republican caucus. Mr. Evarts was finally withdrawn by his friends, who voted for Ira Harris, who was elected. His personal history in late years has become inseparable from the record of the nation itself. When Andrew Johnson was impeached by the House of Representatives in 1868, Mr. Evarts was retained by the President, and in his office of leading counsel no doubt contributed by his great knowledge of constitutional law, by his earnest advocacy of his client's cause, and by his untiring efforts in the memorable case, to the success of the President. President Johnson appointed him Attorney General, and he retained the office until the incoming of the Grant Administration, in 1869, performing all the

duties pertaining to his station with eminent ability. When the Treaty of Washington came to be carried out by the tribunal at Geneva, Mr. Evarts was retained by the Administration as counsel to act with Mr. Caleb Cushing and Hon. Charles Francis Adams. His admirable services on that occasion can never be forgotten. To his clear and unanswerable presentation of the disputed claims of this Government was no doubt due, in great measure, the decision in favor of the United States. A case demanding more delicate or careful treatment had probably never arisen between the two nations, and Mr. Evarts proved himself a trustworthy agent in whom to confide an important duty. During his long career as a lawyer he has been identified with many prominent cases, conspicuously as the counsel of Henry Ward Beecher in the great scandal suit. The report that he had received an exceedingly large fee for an opinion on the Berdell mortgage upon the Boston, Hartford and Erie Railroad made his name famous at one time. He was counsel in the celebrated Parish will case, and also in a contest of the will of Mrs. Gardner, the mother of President Tyler's widow, finally gaining the case. From time to time he has been consulted in cases demanding an extensive knowledge of the laws governing corporations, and very recently he has taken a part in rapid transit litigation in New York. He has held many honorable positions there, having been for years president of the Bar Association, and being now president of the Union Club. When Grant and Wilson were candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency in 1872, he entered into the contest against Greeley and Brown, and made an impressive speech in Cooper Union. His opinion on the Virginia seizure in 1873 attracted a great deal of attention, and his eulogy of Chief Justice Chase, pronounced at Dartmouth on June 25th, 1873, was one of his noblest rhetorical efforts. He was selected by the Centennial Commissioners to be the orator on the one hundredth anniversary of Independence, and in Philadelphia delivered an oration prepared in the broadest spirit of patriotism, which added new laurels to the

wreath he had already won as an orator and a statesman. In the campaign which opened last summer in New York his name was mentioned at Saratoga with sufficient strength to indicate the wide-spread admiration that is felt for the man. He has been known as a Republican almost from the time of the party's organization, and in the convention at Chicago which nominated Abraham Lincoln, he led and became the spokesman of the New York delegation, presenting the name of William H. Seward in a superb speech. When Chief Justice Chase died, William M. Evarts was confidently spoken of by lawyers as most likely of all men in the nation to be his successor. On the eve of the election last fall he made a great speech for the Republican candidates in Cooper Union, in which he skillfully delineated the weakness and insincerity of the Democratic candidates, and spoke out unfalteringly for the Republican nominees. His arguments before the Electoral Commission are still fresh in the public mind, and the announcement that he has been chosen to fill the chief place in the incoming President's Cabinet will give encouragement to those who desire to see the dignity of the nation maintained, and will command respect if not admiration abroad, where the fame of Mr. Evarts has been established as second to that of no other American statesman. Mr. Evarts is a member of the firm of Evarts, Southmayd & Choate, in Wall street. He was appointed a member of the Charter Commission, formed by Governor Tilden two years ago to report a plan for the better government of cities. In September last he delivered a speech at the unvailing of the Seward statue in Madison square, and on November 26th was the orator at the unvailing of the Webster statue in Central Park, New York.

JOHN SHERMAN.

Hon. John Sherman, the Secretary of the Treasury, was born in Lancaster, Ohio, May 10th, 1823. He was descended from a family of Connecticut Shermans, founded by a refugee Roundhead, and his ancestors bequeathed to him a large share of sterling courage, conscience, and good sense. His father—Charles Robert Sher-

man—was a lawyer, and afterward a judge of the Supreme Court. He had a family of eleven children, who, at his death, became scattered. William Tecumseh, now the General of the Army, a brother of John Sherman, became by adoption a member of the family of Hon. Thomas Ewing. John attended school at Mount Vernon until he was fourteen years of age, when he was sent to the Muskingum Improvement to earn his livelihood and to learn engineering. At sixteen years of age a political change gave the Democrats control of the Muskingum Improvement and deprived John Sherman of his place. He began the study of law with his brother, Charles T. Sherman, at Mansfield, Ohio. After a four years' novitiate he obtained a license, and having reached the age of twenty-one, he immediately entered upon practice. He formed a partnership with his brother—John riding the circuits and Charles doing counsel business in the office—which lasted for eleven years. In politics John Sherman was an ultra Whig. He attended the Whig National Conventions of 1848 and 1852, and in the latter year was chosen a Presidential Elector. In 1854, when the Nebraska issue arose, he accepted a nomination for Congress in the Thirteenth Ohio District, and was elected. To the House of Representatives he brought a capacity for fluent debate, a large knowledge of affairs, habits of hard work, the reputation of being sound in judgment, sincere in purpose, and superior to personal considerations in the discharge of his duty. So well were his constituents pleased with his record in the Thirty-fourth Congress that he was returned for the three succeeding terms. When Mr. Chase resigned his seat in the Senate in 1861, to become Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Sherman succeeded him, and has since retained his seat in that body. He was placed upon the Finance Committee; and his speeches against the State banking system, slavery in the District of Columbia, and finance and taxation generally, commanded universal attention. In the Thirty-ninth Congress he devoted himself to the reduction of taxes, and introduced a bill to fund the public

indebtedness into a five per cent. loan, by which means it was believed specie payments could have been reached in 1867, but the bill was mutilated in the Senate and defeated in the House. In the Fortieth Congress Mr. Sherman became chairman of the Finance Committee, and reported a new bill for funding the national debt. This bill he supported in a speech on February 27th, 1868. It authorized the sale of 10-40 five per cent. bonds to redeem all outstanding debts; exempted these bonds from State taxation; provided for the payment of one per cent. annually of the public debt; offered to the holders of the 5-20s the option to exchange them for 10-40s at par; authorized the conversion of legal tenders into bonds and bonds into legal tenders; and authorized contracts payable in gold. By a large portion of the people this was looked upon as a just, wise, and necessary measure, while it was attacked by others as a violation of the pledged faith of the Government and a step toward repudiation. In appearance Mr. Sherman is tall, straight, and exceedingly spare, with brown hair, gray eyes, a large head, high, square forehead, and a countenance indicating the possession of decision, firmness, and self-control. In temperament he is tender and sympathetic. In debate, he speaks rapidly, without effort at display, with great freedom from tricks of oratory, and with animation, going straight at his mark and commanding undivided attention. His personal and political history are alike free from reproach. He has ever been the staunch friend of President Hayes, and his name was not unnaturally mentioned in connection with the formation of the Cabinet at an early moment after the result of the election was known. When, in 1876, the Ohio State Convention was considering the subject of presenting the name of a candidate for the Presidency, Senator Sherman wrote to a member of the convention, urging that Governor Hayes should be put forward, with the assurance of the hearty support of the Republicans of Ohio, and his suggestion was adopted. His financial ability is undisputed, and his experience in the House and Senate, and his familiarity with the finan-

ces of the country, will make him a valued adviser of the President.

GEORGE W. M'CRARY.

Hon. George W. McCrary, Secretary of War, is in the prime of life, having been born August 29th, 1835, in Evansville, Ind. Soon after his birth his parents removed to Wisconsin Territory, settling in that part of it which afterward became the State of Iowa. He worked upon the farm for several years, and saved enough money to give him a tolerably good education in a Western academy. In 1854 he made his appearance in the office of Rankin & Miller, in Keokuk, dressed in a suit of homespun. He was duly installed as a student in law, but his appearance was so much against him as to excite ridicule and sarcasm among strangers who saw him in the office. One of his preceptors was Samuel F. Miller, now Judge of the United States Supreme Court. He saw through the homespun and found the material of an able man beneath. When he was asked what he expected to make of that "gentleman," meaning McCrary, he replied: "A first-class lawyer." A year after his entrance into the law office of Miller & Rankin he was admitted to practice, having then only reached his twentieth year. He was abundantly successful from the beginning of his career. Taking an active part in politics, in 1857 he was elected by the Republicans to represent Lee county in the State Legislature, and was the youngest member in the House. He discharged his duties with marked ability, and in 1861 he was elected to the State Senate. Here he served until the close of the war, holding the position of chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs during his first term, and that of chairman of the Judiciary Committee during the second. Upon the appointment in 1863 of Judge Miller to the Supreme Court, Mr. McCrary was selected by him as his successor in business, and from that time until 1868 he devoted himself to the practice of his profession. He was then nominated for Congress by the Republicans, and was elected by a majority of 5,013. In 1870 he was nominated by acclamation, and in the succeeding election received a majority of 3,366. His renomi-

nation in 1872 was again made by acclamation, and he was a third time elected. In the campaign of 1874, when he was a fourth time elected to Congress, he received 11,384 votes, against 9,521 for Leroy G. Palmer, the anti-monopoly candidate. He was not a candidate for re-election last fall. His record in Congress is one of which any man might be proud. He has steadily opposed land grants, fought sturdily all monopolies, insisted from the first upon retrenchment and economy, voted to abolish the franking privilege, and has been one of the most prominent advocates of a thorough and radical reform in the civil service. When he was first elected to Congress he served on the Naval Committee, the Committee on Revision of the Laws, and the Committee on Elections. The latter committee had charge of the famous contest between Brewer and Adams, of Kentucky, and in disposing of it Mr. McCrary made a minority report which so favorably impressed the House that all precedents were forgotten and thrown aside, the minority report was adopted, and the Republican House unseated a Republican and put a Democrat in his place. The familiarity he had shown with election laws won for him the appointment, at the beginning of his second term, of chairman of the Committee on Elections—a compliment unheard of before for so young a member. In the Forty-third Congress he was chairman of the Committee on Railways and Canals, and in the last Congress he was a member of the Judiciary Committee. Mr. McCrary's record in relation to the formation of the Electoral Tribunal is too recent to need detailed mention. In Congress he has won not only a reputation for tireless industry, wisdom, honesty, and faithfulness, but has shown by his life that it is possible for a man to be a politician and at the same time to retain his integrity so completely, that after nearly ten years of public service no taint of corruption in any shape has ever adhered to his garments, nor has he ever been soiled by the breath of political scandal.

RICHARD M. THOMPSON.

Hon. Richard M. Thompson, the Secretary of the Navy, now of Indiana, is a Vir-

ginian by birth, a native of Culpeper county, and was born on the 9th of June, 1809. He received a good English and classical education, but his tastes led him away from the place of his birth to seek adventures in the wilds of Kentucky, to which State he removed before he became of age. Here he remained for a few years in the capacity of a clerk in a country store, in the town of Louisville. The shop, however, was not to his taste, and he removed to Lawrence county, Indiana, where he tried school-teaching. Again he entered a store, but this time with a purpose beyond becoming a merchant, for, while he sold goods by day, he took up the study of the law and devoted his nights to preparation for that profession. A three years' probation of this sort brought him within the bar, to which he was admitted in 1834. He early developed a taste for political affairs, and the same year he was admitted to the bar he was elected to the Indiana Legislature as a Whig. In 1835 he was re-elected, and, his second term in the Assembly completed, he was chosen, in 1863, a State Senator. He served as President *pro tem.* of that body during his two years' term. His voice was heard for Harrison in the historic "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" campaign, in which contest he worked with great zeal, both as a writer and stump speaker. He was an elector for the State of Indiana in that election. Rising in the esteem of his constituents, in 1841 he was chosen to Congress, and in 1844 his name again appeared as an elector on the Whig ticket. In 1847 he was again in Congress, and at the end of his term declined a renomination. As a mark of the confidence which was felt in his ability, at the time of President Taylor's Administration, he was offered by the President the appointment of Chargé d'Affaires to Austria, which he declined. He also declined the office of Recorder of the General Land Office, which was tendered to him by President Fillmore. In the Republican convention of 1860, at Chicago, he framed and read the platform, and he has earned the reputation in the West, and in fact throughout the Northern States, of having prepared a greater number of platforms than any living politician,

and of having prepared most of them well. In 1864 his name was again placed upon the electoral ticket in Indiana for the third time since he had entered political life, and in 1868 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago which nominated Gen. Grant. Again, in 1876, he took part in the national convention, and, as chairman of the Indiana delegation, nominated Senator Morton in a speech which was certainly not the least effective of the many superior speeches heard on that occasion: Though nearly 70 years of age, Mr. Thompson is a man full of strength and vigor; with a figure tall, straight, and commanding, a countenance of great strength and intelligence, his presence is at once inspiring and pleasing. As a speaker he is one of the best ever heard in our political campaigns, and is always listened to with satisfaction.

CARL SCHURZ.

Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior, appointed by President Hayes, was born at Liblar, near Cologne, Prussia, March 2d, 1829. When the revolution of 1848 broke out, it found him pursuing his studies in the University of Bonn, and joining Gottfried Kinkel, professor of rhetoric in the university, in the publication of a liberal newspaper. In 1849, owing to an unsuccessful attempt to promote an insurrection in Bonn, he fled with Kinkel to the palatine, and took part, as an adjutant, in the defense of Rastadt. The fortress surrendered, and Schurz escaped to Switzerland, only to return secretly to Germany in 1850, when he skillfully effected the escape of Kinkel from the fortress of Spandau, in which he had been condemned to serve twenty years' imprisonment. He was correspondent in Paris, in 1851, for German journals; afterward spent a year teaching in London; and in 1852 came to the United States. He spent three years in Philadelphia studying law, when he removed to Madison, Wisconsin. He delivered speeches for the Republican party in German during the campaign of 1856, and in 1857 was defeated as the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Wisconsin. His first English speech was delivered during the contest between Stephen A. Douglas

and Lincoln, in 1858. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Republican Convention at Chicago, and was largely instrumental in securing that part of the platform relating to citizens of foreign origin. He spoke in both German and English throughout the campaign. President Lincoln appointed him Minister to Spain, but he resigned in December, 1861, and, accepting the commission of brigadier general, he assumed command, June 17th, 1862, of a division under Gen. Sigel, and took part in the second battle of Bull Run. On March 14th, 1863, he was promoted to be major general, and in the battle of Chancellorsville his division was routed by Jackson. At the battle of Gettysburg he commanded the Eleventh Corps, and he afterward participated in the battle of Chattanooga. Returning to the practice of law at the close of the war, he was employed in Washington as a newspaper correspondent in 1865-'6, and made a report to Congress, as Special Commissioner appointed by President Johnson, on the condition of the Southern States. His report was extremely distasteful to the President. He removed to Detroit and founded the *Detroit Post*, and became in 1867 the editor of the *St. Louis Westliche Post*, both of which newspapers were conducted with remarkable ability. In 1868 he was temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention in Chicago, and labored in the canvass for Gen. Grant's election. He was chosen United States Senator from Missouri in 1869, his term ending 1875. At the expiration of his term the Democrats of Missouri elected the former rebel Gen. Cockrell as his successor. Opposing some of President Grant's administrative acts, he took a leading part in the organization of the Liberal Party, and presided over the convention at Cincinnati which nominated Horace Greeley. In visits to Europe in 1873 and 1875 he was received with much consideration in Germany, and on his return participated in the Ohio canvass with Gov. Hayes, opposing the inflation schemes of Gov. Allen. During the campaign of 1876 he devoted himself assiduously to the Republican cause, making speeches in German throughout the East and West, speaking night and

day, and attracting immense audiences of Germans in every city which he visited. In appearance he is tall and slight, with dark hair and beard. In debate he is a rapid and fluent speaker, and a complete master of English, which he speaks without a perceptible trace of foreign accent. Among his best known works are the "Irrepressible Conflict," "The Abolition of Slavery as a War Measure," and his "Eulogy on Charles Sumner." His course has always been fearless. While he has been independent in his views, and has recognized no authority superior to his own individual judgment, he has, during his political life of more than twenty years, won the respect of all classes of citizens.

CHARLES DEVENS.

Charles Devens, the new Attorney General, is one of the most thoroughly respected men in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, although he has by no means been recently a conspicuous man in politics, or in any other sphere than that of the Judiciary. He is about fifty-seven years of age, having been born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 4th, 1820. He entered Harvard College when he was fourteen years of age, in the year 1834, and was graduated in 1838. He then entered the law school of the same college, from which he was in due time graduated, and in 1841 was admitted to the bar, beginning his practice in Franklin county. In 1846 he was elected to the State Senate, and was appointed United States Marshal for Massachusetts in 1849, holding the office until 1853. He supported the Fugitive Slave law. Upon the outbreak of the war he entered the service as major of the Third Battalion of Massachusetts Volunteer Rifles. He soon rose in rank, being appointed colonel of the Fifteenth Massachusetts in August, 1861. On April 15th, 1862, he was promoted to be brigadier general, and for gallant and meritorious conduct before the capture of Richmond, April 3d, 1865, he was brevetted major general of volunteers. From September, 1865, to June, 1866, he was Military Governor of the Eastern District of South Carolina, after which he was mustered out of the service. He was conspicuous throughout the war for his gal-

antry in the field and his ability in every branch of the soldier's sphere, entering into numerous engagements. His first action was at Ball's Bluff, and his last in the engagement at Appomattax Court-house. He was wounded at Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks, Chancellorsville, and Cold Harbor. He was appointed Associate Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts in 1867, retaining that position until October, 1873, when he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

DAVID M. KEY.

Postmaster General David M. Key was born in Greene county, East Tennessee, in 1824. His father was a Baptist minister. Young Key was reared on a farm, and, after obtaining a common school education, taught school to obtain means to pay his way through college. In 1850 he was graduated at Hiwassee College, East Tennessee, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1853, and settled in Chattanooga, where he has ever since resided. In 1861 he joined the Confederate army, entered the service as lieutenant colonel of the Forty-third Tennessee Regiment, served through the war, and surrendered in North Carolina under General Joseph E. Johnston. In 1865 his old friend Andrew Johnson pardoned him. He returned to his home in Chattanooga and renewed the practice of law. In 1869 he was elected to the Constitutional Convention, and was earnest in securing the rights of full citizenship to the colored people, with whom he is very popular. Although a Democrat, his course has been so liberal as to win the respect, admiration, and often the support of Republicans. The county of Hamilton, in which he resides, is Republican; but its members in the Legislature were his zealous supporters. In 1875 Mr. Key was appointed by Governor Porter to fill the vacant seat of Andrew Johnson in the Senate. He was recently defeated as candidate for election to that office, lacking only three votes, but received every vote of both parties from East Tennessee, which gave Hayes 10,000 majority. He also received every Republican vote in the Legislature. His defeat was due to his non-partisan course in the Senate. He voted

for the Mississippi investigation, and was the only Democratic Senator who did. At his home he is regarded as a representative Confederate, a just, liberal, honest man, who thoroughly accepted the situation in 1865, and has done all in his power to promote good-will and harmony between the sections. In 1870 he delivered an oration over the graves of the Federal dead at Chattanooga, which touched the popular heart, winning golden opinions from ex-soldiers of both sides. He is a man of imposing presence, and, while not brilliant or showy, has solid qualities and sterling integrity which command respect. He has long been regarded as the leading lawyer of East Tennessee, and from 1870 to 1875, when he was appointed Senator, was Chancellor of the Chattanooga Circuit. In the Senate in December last he made a speech declaring his opinion that Oregon should be counted for Hayes and Wheeler. While he did not question the honesty, the motives, or the patriotism of Oregon's Governor, he thought he had made a mistake in his selection of an elector to fill an assumed vacancy. While he maintained his views as a Democrat without apology, he expressed them with moderation, and without betraying the alarm that was too apparent in some of his Democratic brethren. He repeatedly spoke of the Republican candidates during the election as patriotic and honest men, of whom any party or country might be justly proud.

BERLIN is full of feverish excitement, and threatened with riot from the laboring classes, who present a picture of distress and wretchedness such as the scenes in Lyons, France, and among our own people in the mining regions are but pigmies. Before the great Franco-Prussian war Germany was said to be the most prosperous nation on the Continent. But it appears with her as it has with all countries which have passed through the storms of a desperate conflict, that the reaction has come owing to the fact that the war stimulated various kinds of unproductive industries which exhausted the healthy, vigorous resources of the Empire, and caused a prostration at present of her industrial interests,

A PARALLEL:

OR, REMARKABLE RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN THE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT OF
PRESIDENT MONROE AND PRESIDENT HAYES.

In looking over the famous correspondence between General Andrew Jackson and Mr. James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, which took place just previous to the accession of the latter to the office of Chief Magistrate on the 4th of March, 1817, it will be seen, that after a lapse of sixty years, the magnanimous action taken by President Monroe, in accordance with the patriotic advice and counsel of the Hero of New Orleans, has been adopted and is now pursued by President Hayes, under circumstances of sectional differences and discords of momentous magnitude not altogether unlike in character as existing when Mr. Monroe reached the Presidency, from those of the present day, when the bold and fearless reformer is now in the great chair of State.

It will be remembered by those familiar with the history of the eventful period embraced in the war of 1812, during which the administration of Mr. Madison was surrounded and menaced with trying and fearful difficulties, that to the people of the Eastern States—and especially to the old Federal party of that section—the war of 1812 was exceedingly unpopular; and, perhaps, no tidings were ever more joyfully received by any rulers of nations than was welcomed by Mr. Madison late in December, 1814, of the happy termination of the war by the treaty of peace just concluded at Ghent.

The war was over, but the heart-burnings and political animosities that had sprung up during that trying time in our country's progress still remained behind, and the business and peace of the country as well as the successful administration of government was constantly and unfavorably affected by the bitter warfare carried on between the then Federal and Republican parties. It was the ardent and patriotic wish and desire of General Jackson that these political discords should be softened down or removed altogether, as far as practicable, by a judicious and magnani-

mous action on the part of the Government. Hence his letter to Mr. Monroe of the 12th of November, 1816, from which the following passage is taken as bearing prominently on such policy :

“Pardon me, my dear sir, for the following remarks concerning the next Presidential term ; they are made with the sincerity and freedom of a friend. I cannot doubt they will be received with feelings similar to those which have impelled me to make them. Everything depends on the selection of your ministry. In every selection party and party feelings should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate the *monster* called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feelings which on former occasions threw so many obstacles in the way of government, and, perhaps, have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, always bearing in mind that he acts for the whole and not a part of the community. By this course you will exalt the national character and acquire for yourself a name as imperishable as monumental marble. Consult no party in your choice ; pursue the dictates of that unerring judgment which has so long and so often benefitted our country and rendered conspicuous its rulers. These are the sentiments of a friend. They are the feelings—if I know my own heart—of an undissembled patriot.”

Mr. Monroe, to a great extent, shaped his policy of government with reference to appointments in accordance with the advice of his warm and devoted friend and patriot, the great old chief, and placed prominently in his cabinet as its premier John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.

In reply to General Jackson upon the subject, in a letter dated Washington city, March 1st, 1817, he thus explains his action and policy :

“I shall take a person for the Department of State from the eastward, and Mr. Adams' claims, by long service in

our diplomatic concerns, appear to entitle him to the preference, supported by his acknowledged abilities and integrity, his nomination will go to the Senate. Mr. Crawford will remain in the Treasury. After all that has been said, I have thought that I should put the administration more on national grounds by taking the Secretary of State from the eastward than from this quarter, or from the South or West. By this arrangement there can be no cause to suspect unfair combination for improper purposes. Each member will stand on his own merit, and the people will respect us all according to our conduct. To each I will act impartially, and of each expect the performance of his duty. While I am here I shall make the administration: first, for the country and its cause; secondly, to give effect to the government of the people, through me, for the term of my appointment, not for the aggrandizement of any one."

Fortunate and happy will our entire country be, if now and in the future its governmental affairs shall be carried on by such patriots, and under such auspices. Friendly and proper fraternal feeling will,

ere long, be restored among the descendants of those patriotic men of the Revolution, who, during a long and dark period that tried the souls of the bravest, fought side by side under the command of the great Washington for the liberties and welfare of all; and when the Southern States shall have assured to them domestic peace and tranquillity, by the proposed magnanimous action of our present Chief Magistrate, the East, forgiving or forgetting past errors of commission, remembering, if history and tradition do not misrepresent the past, that in that section during the war of 1812 there was some expressed intention of going out of the Union unless the war was stopped—then the South, bounding up from her desolation, will gratefully accept the restoration; and at no remote period sectional distinctions may be removed—no North, no South, no East, no West, but to be an American citizen will be as proud a title as that claimed and enjoyed in the palmiest days of the Roman Republic.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

LOUISIANA.

The President and his Cabinet have been giving very close attention to the Southern difficulties. They propose a further investigation into the facts in the Louisiana case, and have decided upon a commission for that purpose. Those only who are afraid of more light and truth on the subject oppose the measure.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In reference to South Carolina, after coming to an understanding regarding the ultimate purpose of the Administration in the matter, the following letter was prepared and a copy directed to be sent to the gubernatorial contestants in South Carolina:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *March 23, 1877.*

SIR: I am instructed by the President to bring to you his purpose to take into immediate consideration the position of affairs in South Carolina, with a view of determining the course which, under the Constitu-

tion and laws of the United States, it may be his duty to take in reference to the situation in that State as he finds it upon succeeding to the Presidency.

It will give the President great pleasure to confer with you in person if you shall find it convenient to visit Washington, and shall concur with him in thinking such a conference the readiest and best mode of placing your views as to the political situation in your State before him. He would greatly prefer this direct communication of opinion and information as to any other method, ascertaining your views upon the present condition and immediate prospect of public interest in South Carolina.

If reasons of weight with you should discourage this course, the President will be glad to receive any communication from you in writing, or through any delegate possessing your confidence, that will convey to him your views of the impediments to the peaceful and orderly organization of a single and undisputed State government in South Carolina, and of the best methods of renewing them. It is the earnest desire of the President to be able to put an end as speedily as possible to all appearances of intervention of the military authority of

the United States in the political derangements which affect the government and afflict the people of South Carolina. In this desire the President cannot doubt he truly represents the patriotic feelings of the great body of the people of the United States. It is impossible that protracted disorder in the domestic government of any State can or should ever fail to be a matter of lively interest and solicitude to the people of the whole country. In furtherance of the prompt and safe execution of this general purpose he invites a full communication of your opinions on the whole subject in such one of the proposed forms as may seem to you most useful.

By the direction of the President, I have addressed to the Hon. Wade Hampton a duplicate of this letter.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. K. ROGERS, Private Secretary.

To the Hon. Daniel H. Chamberlain, &c.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

MINISTER WASHBURNE ASKS TO BE RECALLED.

The following is the correspondence between Minister Washburne and the President on the subject of Mr. Washburne's request to be recalled as United States Minister to France :

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1877.

To the President:

In pursuance of a determination long since formed to return home at the end of eight years of service as Minister of the United States to France, I now have the honor to request that I may be recalled, the same to take effect immediately, or upon the presentation of the letters of credence of my successor, as may be more agreeable to you. In making known to you my desire in this regard I beg leave to express my best wishes for the success of your Administration, for your own personal welfare, and the peace, happiness and prosperity of our country.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
E. B. WASHBURNE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1877.

E. B. Washburne, Esq., &c.:

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 22d instant, accompanied by a letter which you have addressed President, asking to be recalled as of the United States near the Republic, the same to take effect ly, or on the presentation of the

letter of credence of your successor, as may be most agreeable to the President.

I am instructed by the President to say, in reply, that your request for recall will be granted and your resignation accepted, on the understanding that you will remain in your official position until your successor shall be appointed and shall have presented his letter of credence. I am also instructed to add an expression of the President's appreciation of the faithful manner in which your official duties have been performed, and of the services rendered to your country and your countrymen in France, in a period of unusual embarrassment and difficulty, services which must ever remain on record as among the most important rendered by the diplomatic representatives of this Government.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. M. EVARTS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

SUBSIDIARY SILVER COIN.

The Treasurer of the United States has been directed, upon the receipt by him from any national bank designated as a public depository of the United States, located in any city in which there is no independent Treasury office, of a certificate stating that a deposit has been made to his credit in general account of the sum of one thousand dollars, or any multiple thereof not exceeding ten thousand dollars, in currency, to cause a shipment to be made from some mint of the United States to the bank issuing the certificate, of a like amount of subsidiary silver coin, the expense of transportation to be paid by the mint.

LICENSED OFFICERS OF STEAM VESSELS.

In compliance with a resolution passed by the Board of Supervising Inspectors at their annual meeting, held January 17th, 1877, the following rule, from the Revised Rules and Regulations governing the Steamboat-Inspection Service, approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, was promulgated for the information of all licensed officers of steam vessels, and a rigid compliance with its provisions enjoined upon all concerned :

"RULE 55. Whenever a steamer meets with an accident involving loss of life or damage to property by sinking, burning, explosion, or other cause, it shall be the duty of the licensed officers of any such steamer to report the same, without delay, to the nearest local board ; provided, when from distance it may be inconvenient to report in person, it may be done in writing, and the report sworn to before an authorized magistrate."

Local inspectors are instructed to furnish

copy of the circular with every master's, pilot's, and engineer's license is-
-ed.

REDEMPTION OF 5-20 BONDS OF 1865— MAY AND NOVEMBER.

By virtue of the authority given by the Act of Congress approved July 14th, 1870, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," notice is given that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein-below designated, known as "Five-twenty Bonds," of the Act of March 3d, 1865, dated November 1st, 1865, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the city of Washington, on and after the tenth day of June, 1877, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day:

Coupon Bonds.

\$500—No. 38851 to No. 40400, both inc.
\$1,000—No. 98651 to No. 108100, both inc.
Total coupon, \$7,000,000.

Registered Bonds.

\$50—No. 491 to No. 496, both inc.
\$100—No. 6351 to No. 6386, both inc.
\$500—No. 3961 to No. 3973, both inc.
\$1,000—No. 15051 to No. 15163, both inc.
\$5,000—No. 6768 to No. 7385, both inc.
Total registered, \$3,000,000; aggregate, \$10,000,000.

The principal and accrued interest of the bonds herein-below designated, known as "Five-twenty Bonds," of the Act of March 3, 1865, dated November 1st, 1865, will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the city of Washington, on and after the fifteenth day of June, 1877, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day:

Coupon Bonds.

\$500—No. 40401 to No. 42300, both inc.
\$1,000—No. 108101 to No. 121000, both inc.
Total coupon, \$9,500,000.

Registered Bonds.

\$100—No. 6387 to No. 6394, both inc.
\$500—No. 3974 to No. 3976, both inc.
\$1,000—No. 15164 to No. 15177, both inc.
\$5,000—No. 7386 to No. 7493, both inc.
Total registered, \$500,000; aggregate, \$10,000,000.

All United States bonds, forwarded for redemption, should be addressed to the "Loan Division, Secretary's Office," and all registered bonds should be assigned to "the Secretary of the Treasury for redemption."

Where parties desire checks in payment for registered bonds drawn to order of any one but the payee, they should assign them to the Secretary of the Treasury for redemption account of the owner or owners.

TREASURY CIRCULAR TO INDIAN AGENTS AND OTHERS.

Under sections 1764 and 1765, Revised Statutes, *double salaries* or *extra compensation* will be disallowed in the settlement of accounts.

Under section 189, the employment of *attorneys or counsel*, at the expense of the United States, is forbidden by law. The Department of Justice should be called upon to attend to matters requiring legal action or advice.

Under section 236, all *claims* or accounts requiring semi-judicial action to determine or adjust, or any claim arising out of *breach of contract, loss of property, or other uncertain matter*, should be referred to the Office of Indian Affairs for consideration and report to the Treasury Department; all *current expenses* should be paid in, and vouchers rendered with the accounts of, the quarter in which the expense was incurred, or else referred as above required; however, if, from the non-receipt of funds, or other *good cause*, (which must be fully stated on voucher,) payment cannot be made during the *current quarter*, or before its accounts are rendered, it may (in exceptional cases) be made in the next succeeding one, *but in no case at any later period*. The practice of disbursing officers of adjudicating uncertain or doubtful claims, or of including in the current quarter vouchers for expenses incurred long previous, must be discontinued.

Disbursing officers are not authorized to pay the heirs or legal representatives of a creditor of the Government the balance due until the accounts of such creditor have been acted upon at the Treasury; however, on special application by the disbursing officer, the amount due being small, he may be authorized by the Comptroller, after an examination of the vouchers at the Treasury, to make payment to the heirs or legal representatives.

An agent paying the balance of salary due his predecessor or other disbursing officer, who is at the time a debtor to the United States, does so in violation of law—such claims must be settled at the Treasury Department.

It is entirely out of the province of a disbursing officer to rectify alleged errors in the payment of accounts of other officers, or to pay any claims for short allowances on former settlement.

When a disbursing officer makes an *illegal or double payment* on the order of a superior, he does it at his peril, and the Government reserves the right to charge it to either or both.

Witnesses to payments or other transactions must affix their signatures opposite

every mark witnessed—and certificates of interpreters and others must be worded so as to show distinctly what they are certifying to—in case of payments, by giving names, numbers, or amounts, or all of them. A certificate as to the correctness of the “foregoing” is not sufficiently explicit.

Credit will not be given a disbursing officer for a *transfer* of funds to an officer or other person *not under bonds*, until the money has been satisfactorily accounted for.

An officer having property or funds cannot escape accountability by surrendering it to others not authorized to receive it.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

PAY OF THE ARMY.

The following tables give the pay of officers in active service :

GRADE.	Yearly Pay.	Monthly Pay.
Colonel	\$3,500 00	\$291 67
Lieutenant Colonel.....	3,000 00	250 00
Major.....	2,500 00	208 33
Captain.....	1,800 00	150 00
First Lieutenant.....	1,500 00	125 00
Second Lieutenant.....	1,400 00	116 67

GRADE.	MONTHLY PAY.			
	5 years' Service.	10 years' Service.	15 years' Service.	20 yrs' Service
	10 p. c.	20 p. c.	30 p. c.	40 p. c.
Colonel.....	\$320 83	\$350 00	*\$375 00	\$375 00
Lieut. Colonel.	275 00	300 00	325 00	†333 33
Major.....	229 17	250 00	270 83	291 67
Captain.....	165 00	180 00	195 00	210 00
First Lieut....	137 50	150 00	162 50	175 00
Second Lieut..	128 33	140 00	151 67	163 33

* The maximum pay of a colonel is by law \$4,500 per annum, hence less than full 40 per cent. can accrue.

† The maximum pay of a lieutenant colonel is by law \$4,000 per annum, hence less than full 40 per cent. can accrue.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR.
INQUIRIES BY THE SECRETARY INTO THE
WORKING, ETC., OF THE DIFFERENT
BUREAUS OF HIS DEPARTMENT.

The following letter has been addressed by Secretary Schurz to all the heads of bureaus in the Interior Department :

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 21, 1877.*

SIR: I desire you to report to me, in writing, at as early a day as possible on the following points :

1. The organization, distribution and method of business in your bureau.
2. The force employed, and the character of their employment in detail.

3. The efficiency of the force, giving your judgment as to the changes that may be desirable in the *personnel* for the interest of the service.

4. What reductions may be practicable.

5. Your observations as to existing abuses, if any there be, and as to the remedies to be applied.

6. Your views as to changes, if any, that may be desirable, in the business methods of your bureau.

Your report will serve as a basis of future examination.

Very respectfully, C. SCHURZ,
Secretary.

MUCH IN LITTLE.—The New York *Inquirer* says : “ Within the great and universal the small and tender nestle and find rest. The prairie, that has kept itself all day to the lone traveler a wide, wild wilderness—space on the right of him, space on the left, and space before, broad, silent, dead—at night shows misgivings for its inhospitable greatness. And as the darkness begins to fall the vast stretch of land relents, comes hovering in and centers in a pleasant light seen ahead, and in a well-illuminated home, walled in, comfortable and tidy, from the endless outreach. There the feet, grown weary with the long, waste journey, find repose on ground reclaimed. There, beneath a roof—the first that has struck the eye for miles and miles—the unbounded good-will comes to a point in the breasts of friends, friends to the stranger, to give him good cheer of love and food. The Infinite draws itself in from its interminable spaces sprinkled with stars, to the little nest of birds, to the cradle with a baby in it, to the family sitting-room, dismantled by a boy playing horse with the furniture. Out of the infinite space is hewn the nook of an arbor, where elegant ease and pleasantries may sit ; then there is the quiet yard, with tree and vine, walk and flowers. Out of the high without top, and the deep without bottom, and the broad that has no end, is molded the home, where coming repasts make the house fragrant ; where pictures, music, and books enliven the scene ; where children sport ; where middle-age meets the sturdy demands of life ; where the old rest from their labors. The immense, as seen in the ever-beaming bouquet of suns and nebulae that the longest-sighted telescope cannot see across, tones itself down into a flower-pot in a window. The Infinite Spirit tones itself down from the love that delights to create a world and form the race, to the love that kisses young lips, steadies unsteady feet, holds to the truth of God and rears a sanctuary to His worship.”

THE FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE SENATE.

Republicans in roman, **Democrats** in *italic*, **Independent** in SMALL CAPS.]

Term expires.	Term expires.
ALABAMA.	MISSISSIPPI.
1883 George E. Spencer.	1881 Branch K. Bruce.
1883 John T. Morgan.	1883 <i>L. Q. C. Lamar.</i>
ARKANSAS.	MISSOURI.
1879 S. W. Dorsey.	1879 <i>Louis V. Bogy.</i>
1883 A. H. Garland.	1881 <i>F. M. Cockrell.</i>
CALIFORNIA.	NEBRASKA.
1879 Aaron A. Sargent.	1881 A. S. Paddock.
1881 Newton Booth.	1883 Alvin Saunders.
COLORADO.	NEVADA.
1879 Jerome B. Chaffee.	1879 John P. Jones.
1883 Henry M. Teller.	1881 William Sharon.
CONNECTICUT.	NEW HAMPSHIRE.
1879 Wm. H. Barnum.	1879 B. Wadleigh.
1881 William W. Eaton.	1883 Edwin H. Rollins.
DELAWARE.	NEW JERSEY.
1881 Thomas F. Bayard.	1881 T. F. Randolph.
1883 Eli Saulsbury.	1883 John R. McPherson.
FLORIDA.	NEW YORK.
1879 Simeon B. Conover.	1879 Roscoe Conkling.
1881 Charles W. Jones.	1881 Francis Kernan.
GEORGIA.	NORTH CAROLINA.
1879 John B. Gordon.	1879 A. S. Merrimon.
1883 Benjamin H. Hill.	1883 M. W. Ransom.
ILLINOIS.	OHIO.
1879 R. J. Oglesby.	1879 Stanley Matthews.
1883 DAVID DAVIS.	1881 A. G. Thurman.
INDIANA.	OREGON.
1879 Oliver P. Morton.	1879 John H. Mitchell.
1881 J. E. McDonald.	1883 Lafayette F. Grover.
IOWA.	PENNSYLVANIA.
1879 William B. Allison.	1879 J. D. Cameron.
1883 S. J. Kirkwood.	1881 William A. Wallace.
KANSAS.	RHODE ISLAND.
1879 John J. Ingalls.	1881 A. E. Burnside.
1883 P. B. Plumb.	1883 Henry B. Anthony.
KENTUCKY.	SOUTH CAROLINA.
1879 T. C. McCreery.	1879 John J. Patterson.
1883 James B. Beck.	1883 D. T. Corbin, (C.)
LOUISIANA.	TENNESSEE.
1879 (Vacancy.)	1881 James E. Bailey.
1883 W. P. Kellogg, (C.)	1883 Isham G. Harris.
MAINE.	TEXAS.
1879 Hannibal Hamlin.	1881 Samuel B. Murey.
1883 James G. Blaine.	1883 Richard Coke.
MARYLAND.	VERMONT.
1879 George R. Dennis.	1879 Justin S. Morrill.
1881 W. P. Whyte.	1881 Geo. F. Edmunds.
MASSACHUSETTS.	VIRGINIA.
1881 Henry L. Dawes.	1881 Robert E. Withers.
1883 George F. Hoar.	1883 John W. Johnston.
MICHIGAN.	WEST VIRGINIA.
1881 I. P. Christiancy.	1881 Frank Hereford.
1883 Thomas W. Ferry.	1883 Henry G. Davis.
MINNESOTA.	WISCONSIN.
1881 S. J. R. McMillan.	1879 Timothy O. Howe.
1883 William Windom.	1881 Angus Cameron.

Republicans, 41; Democrats, 33; Independent, 1; Vacancy, 1.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[Republicans in roman, Democrats in *italic*.]

ALABAMA.	2. William F. Slemons.
1. John T. Jones.	3. Jordan E. Cravens.
2. Hilary A. Herbert.	4. Thomas M. Gunter.
3. J. N. Williams.	
4. C. M. Shelley.	CALIFORNIA.
5. Robert F. Ligon.	1. Horace Davis.
6. G. W. Hewitt.	2. Horace F. Page.
7. William H. Forney.	3. J. K. Luttrell.
8. W. W. Garth.	4. Romualdo Pacheco.
ARKANSAS.	
1. Lucien C. Gause.	COLORADO.

James B. Belford.

CONNECTICUT.

1. **George M. Landers.**
2. **James Phelps.**
3. **John T. Walt.**
4. **Leri Warner.**

DELAWARE.

James Williams.

FLORIDA.

1. **William J. Purman.**
2. **Horatio Bisbee, Jr.**

GEORGIA.

1. **Julian Hartridge.**
2. **William E. Smith.**
3. **Philip Cook.**
4. **Henry R. Harris.**
5. **Milton A. Candler.**
6. **James H. Blount.**
7. **William H. Felton.**
8. **Alex. H. Stephens.**
9. **H. P. Bell.**

ILLINOIS.

1. **William Aldrich.**
2. **Carter H. Harrison.**
3. **Lorenz Brentano.**
4. **William Lathrop.**
5. **H. C. Burchard.**
6. **Thos. J. Henderson.**
7. **Philip C. Hayes.**
8. **Greenbury L. Fort.**
9. **Thomas A. Boyd.**
10. **B. F. Marsh.**
11. **R. W. Knapp.**
12. **Wm. M. Springer.**
13. **Thomas F. Tipton.**
14. **Joseph G. Cannon.**
15. **John R. Eden.**
16. **W. A. J. Sparks.**
17. **Wm. R. Morrison.**
18. **William Hartzell.**
19. **R. W. Townshend.**

INDIANA.

1. **Benoni S. Fuller.**
2. **James R. Cobb.**
3. **George A. Bicknell.**
4. **Leonidas Sexton.**
5. **Thomas M. Browne.**
6. **Milton S. Robinson.**
7. **John Hanna.**
8. **Morton C. Hunter.**
9. **Michael D. White.**
10. **William H. Calkins.**
11. **James L. Evans.**
12. **A. H. Hamilton.**
13. **John H. Baker.**

IOWA.

1. **J. C. Stone.**
2. **Hiram Price.**
3. **T. W. Burdick.**
4. **N. C. Deering.**
5. **Rush Clark.**
6. **Ezekiel S. Sampson.**
7. **H. J. B. Cummings.**
8. **W. F. Sapp.**
9. **Addison Oliver.**

KANSAS.

1. **William A. Phillips.**
2. **Dudley C. Haskell.**
3. **Thomas Ryan.**

KENTUCKY.

1. **Andrew R. Boone.**
2. **James McKenzie.**
3. **John W. Caldwell.**
4. **J. Proctor Knott.**
5. **Albert S. Willis.**
6. **John G. Carlisle.**
7. **J. C. S. Blackburn.**
8. **Milton J. Durham.**
9. **Thomas Turner.**
10. **John B. Clarke.**

LOUISIANA.

1. **Randall L. Gibson.**
2. **E. John Ellis.**
3. **Chester B. Darrall.**
4. **George L. Smith.**
5. **John E. Leonard.**
6. **Charles E. Nash.**

MAINE.

1. **Thomas B. Reed.**
2. **William P. Frye.**
3. **Stephen D. Lindsey.**
4. **Llewellyn Powers.**
5. **Eugene Hale.**

MARYLAND.

1. **Daniel M. Henry.**
2. **Charles B. Roberts.**
3. **William Kimmell.**
4. **Thomas Swann.**
5. **Eli J. Henkle.**
6. **William Walsh.**

MASSACHUSETTS.

1. **William W. Crapo.**
2. **Benjamin W. Harris.**
3. **Walbridge A. Field.**
4. **Leopold Morse.**
5. **Nathaniel P. Banks.**
6. **George B. Loring.**
7. **Benjamin F. Butler.**
8. **William Claflin.**
9. **William W. Rice.**
10. **Amasa Norcross.**
11. **George D. Robinson.**

MICHIGAN.

1. **Alpheus S. Williams.**
2. **Edwin Willits.**
3. **Jonas H. McGowan.**
4. **E. W. Keightley.**
5. **John W. Stone.**
6. **Mark S. Brewer.**
7. **Omar D. Conger.**
8. **Charles C. Ellsworth.**
9. **Jay A. Hubbell.**

MINNESOTA.

1. **Mark H. Dunnell.**
2. **Horace B. Strait.**
3. **Jacob H. Stewart.**

MISSISSIPPI.

1. **H. L. Muldrow.**
2. **Van H. Manning.**
3. **Hernando D. Money.**
4. **Otho R. Singleton.**
5. **Charles E. Hooker.**
6. **J. R. Chalmers.**

MISSOURI.

1. **Anthony Ittner.**
2. **Nathan Cole.**
3. **L. S. Metcalfe.**
4. **Robert A. Hatcher.**
5. **Richard P. Bland.**
6. **C. H. Morgan.**
7. **Thos. T. Crittenden.**
8. **Benj. J. Franklin.**
9. **David Rea.**
10. **H. M. Pollard.**
11. **J. B. Clark, Jr.**
12. **John M. Glover.**
13. **Aylett H. Buckner.**

NEBRASKA.

Frank Welch.

NEVADA.

Thomas Wren.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1. **Frank Jones.**
2. **James F. Briggs.**
3. **Henry W. Blair.**

NEW JERSEY.

1. **C. H. Sinnickson.**
2. **John H. Pugh.**
3. **Miles Ross.**

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Republicans, 144; Democrats, 148.

LIST OF SENATE COMMITTEES.

[The first-named on each committee is the Chairman.]

Privileges and Elections—Morton, Mitchell, Wadleigh, Cameron of Wisconsin, McMillan, Hoar, Saulsbury, Merrimon, Hill.
Foreign Relations—Hamlin, Morton, Conkling, Howe, McCreery, Bogy, Eaton, Johnston.
Finance—Morrill, Dawes, Ferry, Jones of Nevada, Allison, Howe, Bayard, Kernan, Wallace.
Appropriations—Windom, Sargent, Allison, Dorsey, Blaine, Davis of West Virginia, Withers, Eaton, Beck.
Commerce—Conkling, Spencer, Burnside, McMillan, Patterson, Gordon, Dennis, Ransom, Randolph.
Manufactures—Booth, Bruce, Rollins, Johnston, McPherson.
Agriculture—Paddock, Sharon, Hoar, Davis of West Virginia, Gordon.
Military Affairs—Spencer, Wadleigh, Burnside, Hamlin, Teller, Plumb, Randolph, Cockrell, Maxey.
Naval Affairs—Sargent, Anthony, Conover, Blaine, Kirkwood, Whyte, McPherson.
Judiciary—Edmunds, Conkling, Howe, Christiancy, Davis of Illinois, Thurman, McDonald.
Post Offices and Post Roads—Hamlin, Ferry, Jones of Nevada, Paddock, Conover, Kirkwood, Saulsbury, Maxey, Bailey.
Public Lands—Oglesby, Paddock, Booth, Chaffee, Plumb, McDonald, Jones of Florida, Grover, Garland.
Private Land Claims—Thurman, Bayard, Bogy, Edmunds, Christiancy.
Indian Affairs—Allison, Oglesby, Ingalls, Saunders, Hoar, McCreery, Coke.
Pensions—Ingalls, Bruce, Teller, Kirkwood, Davis of Illinois, Withers, Bailey.
Revolutionary Claims—Johnston, Jones of Florida, Hill, Dawes, McMillan.
Claims—McMillan, Mitchell, Cameron of Wisconsin,

sin, Teller, Hoar, Corbin, Hereford, Harris, Morgan.
District of Columbia—Dorsey, Spencer, Ingalls, Rollins, Saunders, Merrimon, Barnum.
Patents—Wadleigh, Booth, Chaffee, Kernan, Morgan.
Public Buildings and Grounds—Dawes, Morrill, Hamlin, Saulsbury, Jones of Florida.
Territories—Patterson, Christiancy, Chaffee, Garland, Saunders, Grover, Hereford.
Railroads—Mitchell, Howe, Dawes, Dorsey, Teller, Ferry, Morton, Ransom, Bogy, Barnum, Lamar.
Mines and Mining—Sharon, Chaffee, Kirkwood, Plumb, Hereford, Coke, Hill.
Revision of the Laws—Christiancy, Ingalls, Davis of Illinois, Wallace, Kernan.
Education and Labor—Burnside, Patterson, Morrill, Bruce, Sharon, Gordon, Maxey, Bailey, Lamar.
On Civil Service and Retrenchment—Blaine, Oglesby, Patterson, Booth, McCreery, Whyte, Beck.
To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate—Jones of Nevada, Rollins, Dennis.
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Library—Howe, Edmunds, Ransom.
Rules—Ferry, Hamlin, Merrimon.
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Levees of Mississippi River—Bruce, Blaine, Conover, Cockrell, Harris.
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JANUARY, 1876.

Whole No. 35.

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1876.

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To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

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THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Monday, December 6, 1875, was a cloudy day. The face of nature was shorn of brightness. The sun was veiled and the air obscure and chill with mist. Signs of mourning draped the Capitol. From that proud pile a funeral train had recently descended, bearing away the lifeless form of Henry Wilson, the late Vice-President of the United States. Up the stairways and into the vast edifice poured an eager multitude, unmindful of the distinguished dead, and kindled with the excitement of that living scene. On no previous opening of Congress was there a greater throng. A Republican Senate with a Democratic House had never before been witnessed.

THE SENATE CHAMBER.

The hall of the American Senate had been prepared with unusual taste and elegance by the faithfulness and care of the Sergeant-at-Arms, Major John R. French, a sterling and excellent officer. It remained still dressed in the rich dark emblems of the recent obsequies. At 12 o'clock M. the Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, Senator from Michigan, and President *pro tem.* of the Senate, struck the gavel, and in a moment the great assemblage was hushed to silence. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Sunderland, of the Presbyterian Church, chaplain of the Senate. The usual preliminary forms were immediately dispatched. Senator Boutwell, of Massachusetts, then arose to announce in the Senate the death of the Vice-President of the United States, and give notice of an early day when resolutions in his memory would be proposed for the consideration of the Senate.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

A peculiar interest centered in this great forum of the people's delegates; because here for the first time in nearly a score of years was the Democratic party to be invested with the dominant power. The proceedings for the organization of the House had been settled in the Democratic caucus the Saturday before. To witness the vision had come together from far and near the leaders and the led of this old party of strange and saddened history. The motley crowds surged through the halls which were crammed to their utmost capacity above and below. No hungrier set of men was ever gathered beneath the dome of the Capitol.

At the appointed hour the Hon. Edward McPherson, Clerk of the last House of Representatives, appeared at the desk and called to order. By this time all the doorways and corridors were packed with a dense mass of human beings; men, women, and children pressed together well nigh to suffocation.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE.

The first thing in order was the roll-call of the members elect, during which the clerk announced in regard to the credentials of certain members from Louisiana and New York points of doubt, which he submitted to the decision of the House. At the close of the call it was found that 286 members had answered to their names, some half dozen of the members elect not having yet arrived. Representative Lamar, from the State of Mississippi, then moved the election of a Speaker preparatory to the organization of the House. The motion being agreed to on the part of

the Democrats, he put in nomination Hon. Michael C. Kerr, a member from the State of Indiana. The Republicans nominated Hon. James G. Blaine, a member from the State of Maine. The result of the election was as follows :

Whole number of votes cast, 282; necessary to a choice, 142, of which—

Michael C. Kerr	received	173
James G. Blaine	“	106
Alexander Campbell	“	1
Wm. B. Anderson	“	1
A. S. Williams	“	1

giving Mr. Kerr a majority of 64 votes over all. The Speaker-elect was then conducted to the chair by Messrs. Randall and Blaine. After a brief address from Mr. Kerr, the oldest member in continuous service on the floor, Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, administered to him the oath of office. A message from the Senate was received, informing the House that a quorum was present, and proposing the customary committees to inform the President of the fact.

The Speaker then proceeded to the swearing in of the members, during which, a question being raised on the reception of Mr. Morey, claiming a seat from Louisiana, the first issue was joined between the majority and minority, and a spirited discussion ensued. The Republicans fairly won their point and carried it in triumph. Mr. Morey was sworn and permitted to take his seat. It was a sight, indeed, to behold. In a House where the Democrats have a clear working majority of more than sixty members, and among whom it is said there are some eighty ex-rebel officers, to witness the reading of the two forms of oath, which told the work that each man of them had done in the terrible history of the past, and to see the half dozen or so of colored members standing forward among the rest, the fruit of the agony which had lifted them from bondage—a bondage which to perpetuate, so many of their now fellow members had exerted their utmost power in the protracted horrors of a bloody civil war—all this was calculated to fill, as it did, the mind of the thoughtful observer with deep and serious reflection. The completion of the organization of the House

was then made on a resolution moved by Mr. Lamar. George M. Adams, of Kentucky, was elected Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Forty-Fourth Congress. John G. Thompson, of Ohio, was elected Sergeant-at-Arms. L. H. Fitzhugh, of Texas, was elected Doorkeeper. James M. Stewart, of Virginia, was elected Postmaster, and Rev. I. L. Townsend, of the Episcopal Church of the District of Columbia, was elected Chaplain. A message was then sent to the Senate, informing that body of the organization of the House and its readiness to proceed to business. A committee was also appointed to wait on the President and inform him that the Congress was ready to receive any communication he might be pleased to make.

RULES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, submitted resolutions proposing the rules of the Forty-third Congress, with the exception of Nos. 166, 167; and also proposing a committee of five, consisting of the Speaker and four members to be named by him, to revise the rules of the House and to propose alterations and amendments to the same. These resolutions were adopted.

The rules which were thus excluded are as follows: “166. All motions to suspend the rules, except where they may be suspended by a majority, shall, before being submitted to the House, be seconded by a majority, as in case of the previous question. January 20, 1874.” “167. Whenever a question is pending before the House, the Speaker shall not entertain any motion of a dilatory character, except one motion to adjourn and one motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn. But the previous question on the engrossment and third reading of any bill or joint resolution shall not be ordered during the first day of its consideration unless two-thirds of the members present shall second the demand: *Provided*, That this rule shall not apply to House resolutions offered in the morning hour of Monday: *and provided further*, That it shall not apply to any proposition to appropriate the money, the credit, or other property of the United States, except the annual appropriation bills. February 1, 1875.” A resolution was then adopted relat-

ing to the drawing of seats, and the House adjourned.

SECOND DAY.

In the Senate were presented the credentials of Hon. James E. English, from Connecticut, to take the seat of Orris L. Ferry, deceased during the recess. Mr. Adams, the Clerk of the House, announced a message from that body informing the Senate of its organization and the appointment of a committee to wait on the President; after which the Senate took a recess; at one o'clock the Senate was called to order, and the annual message of the President was submitted and read.

THE MESSAGE.

This document is longer than the previous messages of President Grant, and presents to the country questions of the gravest consideration. It commences with a review of the progress and prosperity of the Republic during the first century of its existence, and is a clear and powerful *résumé* of a growth and strength almost unequalled in history.

INTELLIGENCE.

It then discusses the necessity of the universal spread of intelligence among the people; and suggests an amendment to the Constitution, to be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, making the education of the children of the country, in a system of free public schools, compulsory; forbidding in such schools the teaching of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets; and prohibiting all national aid, directly or indirectly, to any religious sect or denomination. It suggests the fact that at the present rate of increase the value of church property by the year 1900 will amount to \$3,000,000,000; and that the contemplation of so vast a property may lead to sequestration, through violence and blood. To avoid this result, it suggests the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, exempting only the resting places of the dead, and possibly, with proper restrictions, church edifices. It presents a flattering view of our foreign relations—reciting the gratifying fact that Portugal has abolished servitude in her colonies, and humanely counseling legislation to prohibit American citizens holding slaves in any other country or having interest therein; also, announcing

the reparation of Chili in the case of the whale-ship Return, seized without sufficient cause more than forty years ago; and the decision of the arbitrator in favor of our Government and against that of the United States of Colombia for the seizure and detention of the United States steamer Montijo; likewise the conclusion of a reciprocity treaty with the King of the Hawaiian Islands; and an arrangement with the Spanish Government for the payment of the sum of \$80,000 for the benefit of the surviving sufferers of the ship *Virginus*. It discusses, in the clearest and calmest manner, the affairs of Cuba, and the complications and evils, which increase in magnitude every succeeding year, from the unhappy condition of that distracted and almost exhausted Island. It concludes that the occasion has not arrived for the recognition either of its independence or of belligerent rights to the insurgents; but plainly intimating that the time may come when it will be the duty of this Government to consider the question of mediation or intervention. The Message also treats of the "Free Zone," as it is called, a project of Mexican legislation applied to certain States of that Republic along our Texan border, whereby much injury accrues to our revenue as well as to honest commercial enterprise. The depredations on our people continue, and the complications remain as yet unsettled—no adequate means of suppression having as yet been applied. The joint commission for the adjustment of American and Mexican claims is bringing its labors to a close. The questions of difference between this Government and that of Venezuela have been put in the way of final adjustment by the recognition on the part of that power of her just obligations to the United States. A treaty has been formed with Belgium regarding commerce and navigation; and conventions established with the Mexican Republic for the further extension of the joint committee upon claims; with the Hawaiian Islands for commercial reciprocity, and with the Ottoman Empire for extradition. The Message treats of the work and continuance of the Court of Commissioners on Alabama Claims—showing that of the 1,382 claims presented, a little more than half have been adjudicated, and

recommending suitable legislation to enable it to finish the business before it; at the same time suggesting that Congress should, by law, create some court or jurisdiction for the relief of aliens upon claims against the United States. The Message discusses the value and necessity of telegraphic communication in the transaction of business; reciting the condition of the first ocean telegraph cable, the action of the French Government, in 1869, to a new company, which completed the laying of their cable between France and this country in July of that year; the subsequent laying of a third cable direct from this country to the Islands of Great Britain by the United States Direct Cable Company; and suggesting certain proposals in regard to them, which are -

1. The landing of the lines between this and any other country to secure equal and impartial rights.

2. The prohibition of combinations of lines for the purpose of controlling the rates of transmission.

3. Compelling the lines to give precedence to the official messages of the Governments they connect.

4. Retaining the power of the Governments to fix a limit to the rates of messages sent from their shores.

The message goes on to state that the executive will be governed in his actions on this subject by the above principles until Congress shall have regulated these vast interests by law.

FRAUDULENT CITIZENSHIP.

The message calls attention to the evils of fraudulent naturalization and expatriation, reciting the fact of many and frequent cases of dishonesty by which it is sought to impose upon this Government. The President thinks that more definite legislation should be had upon this subject, as well likewise upon the status of American women who marry foreigners, and of children born of American parents resident abroad, and also to give legal effect to marriages of American citizens contracted in foreign countries.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

The message then treats of the finances of the country elaborately and comprehensively, showing that the receipts from cus-

oms for the last fiscal year have been \$157,187,722.33, showing a decrease from the year before of \$5,935,111.34, and the receipts from internal revenue for the same period of \$110,007,493.52, an increase of \$7,597,703.53 over the year before. The Treasurer's report sets out a complete view of the workings of the department for the last year, and also contains recommendations for further legislation on important points. The message continues discussing the importance and necessity of specie resumption at least by the first day of January, 1879, and earlier, if possible, and suggests certain points for the action of Congress in furtherance of this end as follows:

1. A repeal of so much of the legal-tender act as makes the notes receivable for debts contracted after January 1, 1877, thus securing quotations at *real*, not *fictitious* values.

2. Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem not exceeding two million dollars monthly of legal-tender notes by issuing in their stead a long bond at 3.65 per cent. of denomination, from \$50 to \$1,000 each, thus obviating redemption in large sums suddenly.

3. Giving power to the Secretary of the Treasury to accumulate gold for final redemption, by increasing revenue and curtailing expenses. To increase the revenue by restoring the duty on tea and coffee would add some \$18,000,000 to the present amount received from imports, while the duties on articles entering into manufactures of all sorts might be measurably, if not wholly, remitted. Another source of accumulation would be devising some better method of verifying claims against the Government, especially those growing out of the late war. Many of these claims are most likely wholly fraudulent, or at least excessive; they are urged upon fictitious testimony, and in many other ways known only to the unscrupulous. An efficient remedy here would cut off a large drain upon the resources of the Treasury.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

The message submits the documents pertaining to this department with the specification of the following points requiring Congressional action:

1. The necessity of making \$300,000 of the appropriation for the Subsistence department available before the beginning of the next fiscal year.

2. The enactment of a system of annuities for families of deceased officers.

3. The repeal of the law abolishing mileage and a return to the old system.

4. The trial with torpedoes under the Corps of Engineers, with appropriations for the same.

5. A permanent organization for the Signal Service Corps.

6. Appropriation for continuing the compilation of the official records of the war.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Message asserts the present satisfactory condition of our Navy for a people situated as we are, and our dispositions for peace. Fifteen of the single turreted monitors have been substantially rebuilt, and are ready for sea as soon as they can be manned and put in commission. The five double turreted monitors, the most powerful of our vessels of war, are undergoing repairs and could be put to sea in the course of six months. These, with two iron torpedo-boats now ready, make a fleet for home defense equal to any force that can readily be brought against it. Our wooden Navy comprises some forty vessels, one-third of which are entirely new, and the remainder, though needing some repairs, could shortly be made ready for effective service. The expenses of maintaining a naval force equal to our position, character, and relations are of necessity large, but the estimates for regular annual appropriation the coming year are somewhat less than for the current year. Some extra appropriations asked for now are deemed of pressing importance in the face of any possible contingency which may arise.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

From the report of the Postmaster-General it will be observed that the deficiency to be supplied from the General Treasury is greater than that of the preceding year, but no branch of the public service excites more popular interest than the rapid and certain transmission of the mails. Next to the free school the post-office is the great educator of the people. The subsidy of \$150,000 per annum given to vessels carrying the mail

from New York to Rio de Janeiro having ceased in September last, leaves the country without these facilities. The Message suggests a renewal of that contract, and not for monthly, but semi-monthly trips. It also suggests an amendment to the act of March 3d, 1875, by which now almost all matter may be sent through the mails to any distance in packages not over four pounds in weight for sixteen cents per pound. The amendment proposes to exclude from the mail, merchandise of all descriptions, and limit the transportation to enumerated articles.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Attention is called to the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, and the increasing difficulty of preserving peace between the Indians and the miners of that region; also to the condition of the Indian Territory, of which a special report will be made at an early day; to the steady growth of the business of the Patent office, showing an excess of receipts over its expenditures, as also the magnified industrial activity of the country; to the operations of the Land Office, from which it appears that less land was disposed of this year than last by 2,459,601 acres, and the cash receipts less by \$690,322.23. The cause of this decrease is ascribed to the plagues infesting the frontier States and Territories, deterring parties from entering new lands. The entire area of the public domain surveyed is 680,253,094 acres, of which 26,077,531 acres were surveyed last year, leaving 1,154,471,762 acres of land still unsurveyed. The statistics of the Pension Office show a decrease on the roll of pensioners since 1873 of 1,420 persons, while the annual amount paid to them has increased by the sum of \$44,733.13, caused by the increased liberality of Congress, the average of annual pension given to each invalid person on the rolls having been increased from \$90.26 to \$103.91. At the close of the last fiscal year there were on the rolls of the Office 234,821 persons, of whom 210,363 were army pensioners, 105,478 being invalids, and 104,885 widows and dependent relatives; 3,420 were navy pensioners, of whom 1,636 were invalids, and 1,784 widows and dependent relatives; 21,038 were pensioners

of the war of 1812, 15,875 of whom were survivors, and 5,163 widows. The estimated amount for the payment of annual pensions for the coming year is \$29,535,000, being an amount of \$965,000 less than for the present year.

The Message proceeds to comment upon the reports of the commissioner of Agriculture and the commissioner of Education as charged with two of the fundamental interests of the country. These various subjects are presented as pertaining to the Department of the Interior, which within two months past has received a new chief in the person of the Hon. Zachariah Chandler, from whose stainless honesty and extraordinary business capacity and wide experience may be anticipated the most brilliant and satisfactory administration in one of the most complicated, extensive, and difficult branches of the Government, that has been witnessed in its history. At no period of his long public career, in no crisis of affairs however dark or perilous, has this distinguished patriot and honored citizen been found wanting, and the country may confidently rely upon him if life and health are spared, to bring order out of confusion and dignity instead of reproach in every quarter of his jurisdiction.

CONCLUSION OF THE MESSAGE.

The President concludes his seventh annual message, and the last but one in his second term of office, by allusions and recommendations touching the International Exhibition to be held at Philadelphia in the centennial year of the national existence. He recites the labors of the Board of Commissioners having charge of the preparations for this grand occasion, and invokes the aid of Congress in furtherance of their designs. He informs the country of the world-wide interest which has been awakened among the nations of the earth in this illustrious event now so nigh at hand. He likewise refers to his recent western tour through the Territories of Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, and again calls the attention of Congress to the necessity of more thorough legislation affecting the substantial interests of the population in those vast regions, and especially to the scandalous condition of

affairs existing throughout the Mormon community, declaring in emphatic terms that "polygamy as an institution should be banished from the land." And in the same breath he more than intimates that Congress should prohibit "the importation of Chinese women, but few of whom are brought to our shores to pursue honorable or useful occupations." And for more effectually applying a remedy to these and other evils, the President recommends that a large joint-committee of the two houses of Congress should be appointed, whose duty it shall be to visit during the coming summer all the mining States and Territories, and report at the next session of Congress such legislation as may seem most calculated to secure the best interests of all the people and of the Government itself.

Anticipating the choice of his successor before he will again have the honor of addressing to Congress his farewell message, he feels compelled to recapitulate the points which he deems of so much consequence to the future well-being of the Republic—

1. That the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common-school education to every child in their limits.

2. No sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the State, Nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community; make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read and write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on grounds of illiteracy who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

3. Declare Church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within its proper sphere, and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation.

4. Drive out licensed immorality, such as polygamy and the importation of women for illegitimate purposes.

5. Enact such laws as will secure a speedy return to sound currency, such as will command the respect of the world.

Recurring again to the Centennial year, and as we are on the threshold of our second century, the message suggests that it

would seem as though this should be a fitting time for these reforms. He concludes:

"Believing that these views will commend themselves to the great majority of the right-thinking and patriotic citizens of the United States, I submit the rest to Congress."

To these noble proposals of the President we trust there may be added, what must be approved by all the best of the land, a course of legislation more perfectly adapted to secure on the one hand the manufacturing and commercial rights of the citizen, and on the other, more effectual remedies against the frightful evils of intemperance—Sabbath profanation, and the gambling frauds of our wide-spread manifold diversified business operations; for the purity of political parties; for the rights of women; for the proper responsibility of the public press, and for the morality which is the only solid foundation of public virtue and of the stability, peace, and perpetuity of States. The paper, however, as it stands, forms one of the most remarkable public documents ever issued from the Executive Mansion, and is destined to be the key-note sounding to the battle of the future against the most powerful enemies of the common welfare and the coming prosperity and pride of our great Republic.

Its reading was heard to the end by the assembled representatives of the States and the people with profound attention. It now remains to be seen what harvest shall be gathered from such seed sown.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The President *pro tem.* of the Senate laid before the body reports from the heads of the various Departments, from the courts and officers of the Government, which were ordered to lie upon the table and be printed. Whereupon the Senate adjourned.

SECOND DAY IN THE HOUSE.

Proceedings were opened by the Rev. I. L. Townsend, Chaplain of the House, who appeared in full Episcopal costume, and read his prayers from the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church. Mr. Oliver, member-elect from Iowa, was sworn in and took his seat. The memorial of James H. Platt, Jr., contestant from the second district of Virginia, was ordered to be printed in the

Record. After a recess to one o'clock the House was called to order and proceeded with the drawing for seats. Exceptions were made in favor of Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, and Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, after which the drawing proceeded. The first name drawn was that of John O. Whitehouse, of New York, and the last was that of Henry R. Harris, of Georgia.

RECEPTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The message from the President was then received and read, when, upon motion of Mr. Randall, it, with the accompanying documents, was referred to the Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

A memorial from William Henry Trescott, relating to the right of representation from the third Congressional district of South Carolina, was referred to the Committee on Elections, and ordered to be printed in the *Record.* After the presentation by the Speaker of sundry communications required by law the House adjourned to Friday, the 10th of December.

In the Senate on the third day little but routine business was transacted. The time was consumed in the presentation of documents, petitions, memorials, and resolutions, in the withdrawal of papers from the files and referring them to the appropriate committees, and in the introduction of bills upon various subjects, and at twelve o'clock and thirty minutes P. M. the Senate adjourned.

PRODUCT AND MOVEMENT OF THE PRECIOUS METALS.—The San Francisco *Bulletin* presents some important statistics relative to the treasure product and movement at California and Nevada for a series of years past, including the following statement covering the production from 1865 to date:

	California.	Nevada.	Total.
1865.....	\$28,500,000	\$11,250,000	\$39,750,000
1866.....	25,500,000	10,000,000	35,500,000
1867.....	25,000,000	13,500,000	38,500,000
1868.....	22,000,000	12,000,000	34,500,000
1869.....	22,500,000	12,000,000	34,000,000
1870.....	25,000,000	16,000,000	41,000,000
1871.....	20,000,000	23,000,000	43,000,000
1872.....	19,000,000	28,750,000	47,750,000
1873.....	17,000,000	35,750,000	54,750,000
1874.....	15,000,000	38,000,000	53,000,000

Totals.. \$219,500,000 \$200,250,000 \$419,750,000

Though the above does not include the product of Montana, Utah, and Colorado, it is nevertheless the great bulk of the production of precious metals in this country.

The product of California shown above was nearly all gold, while that of Nevada was nearly two-thirds silver.

HENRY WILSON, EIGHTEENTH VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"An old man broken by the storms of State," he passed from our midst in the early morning of November 22, 1875. Representative of the worthier elements of American character, Henry Wilson, though broken in body, went to his grave with a name and fame unbent and unbowed by the tempests of partisan hate and personal detraction, which, during a long and eminent life, swept and surged around every public man of his time. The voices that seek detraction were then, and are now, almost entirely silent, and the few that deprecate are so evidently forgetful of the facts and conditions relating to and attending this man's career, as to succeed best in presenting the measure of their own pitiful meanness to the public gaze. Henry Wilson lived openly in the garish daylight of a Democratic society for over thirty years, steadily advancing from one post of honor to another; and the best response to these feeble critics is the universal regard that crowns his name with the love of a people whom he honored, and the gratitude of a nation he served—largely, wisely, and unselfishly.

Henry Wilson, (born Jeremiah Colbath,) was of the people—humble, manly, and true. His life illustrates the romance of democratic institutions. De Tocqueville once wrote that honor belonged to an aristocracy, and virtue to a Republic. Mr. Wilson's public virtue embraced personal honor in the better sense, and outlines distinctly the horizon of a generalization which limits the highest manly traits, to those who are the fortunate possessors of the power belonging to one form of social and political life. Honor and virtue to be genuine must be inseparable; virtue is the blade, and honor its keen and ready edge. Macaulay deprecated modern democracy because it reduced men to a level, and gave no room or play for that martial ruffianism which has too often been dignified by the name of heroism. But that a republic gives the largest opportunity for even aristocratic qualities let the life and character of Charles Sumner attest; while

that the leveling of democracy is not downward, the career of Henry Wilson fully proves.

Is it not a romance? The coldest statement of the outline facts are epical in expression. He was born on the 16th of February, 1812, and died on the 22d of November, 1875, and was consequently sixty-three years, nine months, and six days old when he passed beyond. His parents were of the poorest class, and the family had been so as long as they were known in New Hampshire. They were of the hardy old country stock, which, transplanted to the bleak, granite hillsides of that State, or the rugged western regions of North and South Carolina, has given birth to so many notable men. Calhoun, Jackson, Johnson, Houston, Wilson, and Lincoln are some of the names that come to the common memory as representative of this class. Henry Wilson was therefore born in an inhospitable clime and to the bleakest poverty known to earliest American years. Want rocked his cradle, and penury shadowed the stumbling steps of his childhood. Toil was the foster-parent of his boyhood, and from ten years until twenty-one he served a task-master no less severe than the harsh soil on which they both labored. Social amenities and graces found no place in the grim days of his youth. A twelve months' disjointed training at the rude winter school begun an education whose value was best attested by the young man's absorption of the best books accessible to him. Over a thousand volumes of history, political science, biography, and other solid literature, were literally devoured by the future statesman. With the scantiest of means at manhood, this scion of the rudest democratic surroundings, ventured into a larger sphere. Pack on his back, he left the neighborhood of Farmington, going first to Great Falls, a village in which, with the ripeness of well-earned honors about him, nearly forty years thereafter, he stood a candidate for the second highest office in the gift of his fellow-citizens, and alluded to his former visit in these words:

"I remember that in October, 1833, I walked into your village from my native town, went through your mills, seeking employment. If anybody had offered me nine dollars a month I should have accepted it gladly. * * I know the hard lot that toiling men have to endure in this world, and every pulsation of my heart, every conviction of judgment, every aspiration of my soul, puts me on the side of the toiling people of my country—ay, of all countries."

From New Hampshire he traveled to Massachusetts, settling finally in the prosperous little town of Natick, where for forty years thereafter he resided, learning and working at the shoemakers' craft; organizing and taking part in the village debating society and lyceum; active in town politics; reading thoroughly; working hard; living frugally; seeking an education, cheated of his hope of a college course by the dishonesty of a debtor; entering into local politics as a Free Soil Whig; becoming known as a manufacturer of shoes, an expressman, a well-informed political speaker, organizer, and editor; rising steadily through all social hostilities in a State where at the time, though founded on the clearest out of democratic ideas—the equal right of every citizen and the primal town-meeting—the social exclusiveness was as marked as that of South Carolina and Virginia, and far more embarrassing, because it did not rest so wholly on property in man or money, but on birth and position and the culture thereof; this man, strong of frame and wholesome in brain and body, moved from one position to another, gathering reputation and garnering renown as the years swept into the century. Representative and Senator in the General Court; presiding officer of State Senate and Constitutional Convention; delegate to the National Conventions of the Whig party, the Free Soil, then of the American or Know-Nothing organization, and finally an organizer of the National Republican party. He was also chosen a general of the State militia; elected United States Senator to fill the seat vacated by Edward Everett, as Charles Sumner had been to succeed Daniel Webster; twice thereafter returned to that great legislative body; colonel in the volunteer army of the Union during the earlier portion of the civil war; chairman of the

Military Committee of the Senate, and later elected Vice President of the United States.

When he was born—Poverty's most unpromising scion—the Union embraced but seventeen States and contained with the Territories a population that did not exceed seven and three-quarter million persons. When he died—the trusted of a nation and one of the most honored of its statesmen—thirty-seven great States were already embraced by its folds, and the population had swollen to at least forty-five millions. When he entered active life, poor, unknown, and feeling as only such an aspiring intellect can the deficiencies that beset his path and hindered his progress, caste and class ruled the councils of the land, and a million of slaves or more made a mockery of the Republican name. Thirty-five years of his manhood was spent in that battle with the slave power. When he died, mingling with the solemn requiem of national sorrow came the pealing hosannas of a race redeemed and a country regenerated, in praise of the humble son of Labor, whose patient will, comprehensive sagacity, and political ambition had always been their most useful and practical ally.

Who shall say that there is no personal romance in Democracy—that in modern life there is no room for the heroic virtues? The glamors of a feudal banditism, dignified under the name of chivalry, gilds the rhetoric but falsifies the philosophy of old world historians and publicists. Democracy has nought to fear while its records are made luminous by such careers as Garrison's, Lincoln's, and Wilson's. Modern life need not dread the reproach hurled at it as bringing all things to a dead lymph level while the names of a Livingstone and Hugh Miller are resplendent in heroic travel and literature, or the military deeds of those who fought for caste are more than outshone by those who fought for or have commanded in the name of liberty; nor is there need of shrinking comparison when Garibaldi's heroic life, in one field, and Grant's great service in another, are recalled. This is the era of the common people, and well are they vindicating through such lives as Henry Wilson's their right to stand in the world's ways, and do their devoirs in its history.

It is with the public career of Henry Wilson that the people have to deal. No man of this century has probably lived more openly. His private life has been so simple and sane that the curiosity that creates inquiry into the daily habits and surroundings of prominent persons—which is one of the earliest evidences, and probably the most disagreeable, of the Democratic spirit—has seldom been aroused in his direction. His private life was in reality but the vestibule of his public career. His early manhood was its toiling preparation for the nearly two score years of service, which divides itself naturally into these three phases:

The place he filled and the service he rendered as a working politician and popular speaker; his position and service as Senator and statesman; the place filled by him as author and historian. In each of these spheres he occupied a large space, and in all of them he has left a well-rounded record of work done and service rendered to his country and mankind.

To understand the position of Henry Wilson, and the great influence he possessed as a politician, two things must be borne in mind: 1st. The fact that he had so trained himself by dint of hard and almost omnivorous study, as well as all the circumstances of his own life of toil and endeavor, as to be always level with the common apprehension, whether he addressed it by the voice or pen. 2d. That he came into active politics just before the struggle over slavery had reached its stormy zenith, and that he was able, by reason of the soundness and sweetness of his moral nature, and his genius for perceiving the relations of ethics to politics, to stand in the forum and crystallize the slowly rising wrath of a people essentially Republican in tone into compact and formidable party cohorts—thus leading the anger of long-suffering convictions into those safe channels and revolutionary processes of action which best befit and most surely strengthen parliamentary and representative forms of government.

At the age of twenty-four Mr. Wilson was a pronounced anti-slavery man. He was then identified with the Whig party. His ability as a debater was so marked that at this time,

while attending an academy at Concord, New Hampshire, he was able to turn the tide of criticism adverse to John Quincy Adams in an anti-slavery meeting, and bring over to his view an orator no less distinguished than Wendell Phillips, then in the early glory of his manly beauty, and the rising dawn of his great powers. A friendship begun between them at this time, which during life never faltered or changed. It is to be said here, and perhaps the fact is in itself the highest tribute that can be paid to his memory, that from that date down to the closing days of his busy career Henry Wilson never failed to make his appearance at the so long unpopular Abolition meetings, to speak his mind openly, criticising freely, but never faltering in his devotion to its principles. This, too, when ambition must have held ample sway within his brain, and the brand of Abolition was almost like that of Cain. This devotion was repaid by the kindest confidence on the part of those uncompromising critics and agitators. From 1840 down to 1860 Henry Wilson received from the giants of that agitation—Phillips, Garrison, Parker, and the others—such recognition as fell to no other politician in the land. Charles Sumner, himself, did not meet with more ample homage or kindlier respect; yet Mr. Wilson had apparently everything to lose, and nothing to win, in the earlier and uncertain years of his career by such compromising fellowship.

But he knew that their aim was right, while he never accepted their policy of abstention from political action. He had read too closely the annals of his own and of the mother-country not to comprehend that all public wrongs in Anglo-Saxon communities, seek to finally right themselves through the ordinary machinery of political parties, and legislative crystallization of their decrees. There was a purpose running through his career, indistinct, perhaps, at first, but always growing clearer as the years passed, to destroy that which would not help freedom; to break, and re-mould all parties, until at last, one should be formed that, controlling national affairs, would emancipate the Republic, and make of its august claims a living reality. He has himself

described this ideal when, long after it had become a reality, he stood defending it before the people of the land :

"In the ranks of this rising party gathered the noblest spirits of the land ; the Christian upon whose vision flashed the imperative injunction of Holy Writ—break every yoke—undo the heavy burden—let the oppressed go free ; the scholar, who found in the pages of the mighty dead of all ages testimonies that deepened his convictions and quickened his zeal for the equal rights of struggling humanity ; the philanthropist, who saw as he gazed into the grave of buried nations that slavery poisoned their lives and hastened their decline and death. Into this new organization came also the veteran abolitionist, who, with Brougham, scouted 'the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man,' and who had proclaimed emancipation to be the duty of the master and the right of the slave, when he 'held,' in the words of Whittier, 'property, liberty, and life itself at the mercy of lawless mobs ;' the Free-Spoiler, who believed with William Ellery Channing that to extend slavery, 'we invite the scorn, indignation, and abhorrence of the world ;' the Whig, who believed with Adams that slavery taints the very sources of moral principles ; with Clay, that 'it is a grievous wrong no contingency can make right ;' with Webster, that 'it is opposed to the whole spirit of the Gospel and to the teachings of Jesus Christ ;' and the Democrat, in whose ears lingered the deathless words of Jefferson and Madison, the Democratic leaders of our earlier times. This political organization, born of the holier aspirations of our people, became the Republican party."*

When Henry Wilson became actively identified with politics as a Whig Daniel Webster was in the zenith of his fame. As the younger man moved sturdily on to reputation and influence, the shadow of the Great Expounder fell with darkening bane over Massachusetts' affairs. That powerful personality bestrode the political life of that State as the fabled Old Man of the Sea did the neck of Sindbad, the sailor. The incubus was almost as deadly. Nearly all that there was of culture and class feeling, with the selfishness of wealth, were gathered round Mr. Webster. He was so much of a king among men that hero-worship seemed to be almost allowable in his case. Theodore Parker said "He was more college than the college itself, and had a university in his head."

He was bitterly hostile in all his later life to the anti-slavery agitation—the leaders of which were no "respecters of persons"—especially of those in high places who betrayed liberty. The selfish interests of a

commercial and manufacturing community were at the time closely bound up with the South and its trade. Slavery and cotton were twin bonds of the Union. It was against all these forces, and the high personalities of Webster, Everett, Winthrop, and their confreres and supporters, that Mr. Wilson took his stand, and that, too, with their own party ranks.

In order to properly estimate the value of Mr. Wilson's public service, it is necessary to realize in some degree the condition of New England—its political and social life at the time. Wealth and culture were allied with ignorance and prejudice to stamp out the men who dared deride their Moloch and defend the true God of our Republican Israel. Moral courage of high character, convictions ingrained into the very nature of a man, was necessary to enable an ambitious politician to risk all his prospects by placing himself in marked hostility to the dominant will of his party. Mr. Wilson did more. He risked social ostracism at the very time when he needed every adventitious aid that energy and good fortune could bring to his side.

Mr. Parker years after, when criticising Senator Wilson for some seeming concession to the South in the Senate, speaking at the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Anniversary of January 30, 1857, said appropriately of this point :

"Henry Wilson has done many noble things ; I trust he will do many more. I have always held him to be a brave, an upright, a just, and honorable man. He has endured temptation before now. In 1848, when the Whigs nominated General Taylor, Mr. Wilson refused to sustain him. He was poor ; not very thriving or thrifty, with a family dependent upon him. He was ambitious of the respect of worthy and respected men. Some Whigs told him they would make him agent in their factory, with a salary of \$2,500 or \$3,000 to begin with, and more in prospect, if he would not oppose General Taylor ! We don't ask you, said they, 'to say a word, only to hold your tongue, and let your victuals stop your mouth.' Henry Wilson would not hold his tongue ; he spoke manfully against the continuous encroachments of the slave power, against the corruptions of the Whig party."

He might have been forgiven by the high-caste Whigs for opposition within ; but their hostility was sealed when he went on to the open platform alongside the hated abolitionists, and expressed the honest convictions of his heart and brain. From the first this man's power was recognized. He was always respected, either from fear or affection. The fund of knowledge he possessed ; his open and engaging appearance ; that comradeship of the workshop born "

* Speech at Bangor, Maine, August 27, 1868.

his continual contact with the daily life of common men," which he never lost; his sagacious apprehension of the public will, and his clear and level capacity for reaching the popular judgment, were always estimated at their full value by his opponents. His associates have sometimes undervalued them, influenced in their judgment at times by other mental traits he possessed, to which further reference will be made.

Henry Wilson, in making himself the political champion of unpopular ideas and policy, had to learn the lesson of sacrifice for duty's sake, and to often brace himself against temptations. Had he temporized ever so slightly, official positions would have been at his disposal—some of them affording, too, a sorely needed pecuniary independence.

It is not necessary to do more than indicate the outlines of his political career. From 1838 to 1842 Mr. Wilson was one of the most popular Free-Soil Whigs in Massachusetts, and first became widely known by a financial debate with Amasa Walker, in which the "Natick Cobbler," as he was then called for the first time, defeated that able economist. He was an earnest advocate of General Harrison's election, and was himself chosen for the first time as Representative in the State Legislature. He was then twenty-eight years of age, engaged in the manufacture of coarse shoes in a small way, and just married. In 1843 and 1844 he was elected to the State Senate, virtually leading from the first to the last the opposition to the annexation of Texas. He was the chosen associate and friend, in all the bitter agitation of the period, of Charles Sumner, Frank W. Bird, Judge Allen, E. R. Hoar, Wendell Phillips, Palfrey, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Francis Adams, and others of the best specimens of New England culture and character. Re-elected to the Massachusetts House in 1845; in 1848 he was also sent a delegate to the Whig National Convention which nominated Gen. Taylor. He repudiated this action because the candidate was a slaveholder, and returned home to assist in organizing the Free-Soil party. From that date begins the national career of Henry Wilson.

That the claim made in his behalf of being a chief organizer of the rising political anti-slavery sentiment is not extravagant the records of the time will fully prove. His words, like Martin Luther's prose, were a half-battle. He was among the foremost, if not the first party politician in the land to declare uncompromising hostility to slavery, its increase, and even its existence. To understand the importance of such action the distinction must be clearly maintained between the agitating Reformer and the working and organizing politician who deliberate-

ly accepts the practical limits that are necessarily set by party lines, in order to accomplish a desired result, with the hope of being able to move forward thereafter with increased vigor.

A very considerable proportion of the resolutions, etc., introduced on the anti-slavery side in State Legislature and party convention were from the pen of that "Natick Cobbler," who studied "Colburn's First Sessions" at twenty-three, and defeated Amasa Walker in an economic discussion at twenty-seven. He had even then made himself a master of the English tongue—"pure and undefiled," and though never aspiring to the dignity of oratory, or claiming the graces of scholarly rhetoric, he will be found to have commanded a sturdy eloquence, that clothed itself in a simple and translucent style.

It was at the time Mr. Wilson led the opposition in the Massachusetts Legislature to the extension of slavery through the annexation of Texas that Mr. Macaulay, speaking then in the British Parliament, said of the United States, that "They seek to extend slavery with more energy than was ever exerted by any other nation to diffuse civilization." Mr. Wilson offered resolutions against annexation. When it was accomplished, he supported those of Charles Francis Adams, which declared that Massachusetts would not accept the act as binding or legal, and afterward offered in the House a motion for the Judiciary Committee to report a bill making it a penal offense to surrender a slave escaping from Texas and taking refuge in Massachusetts. Mr. Wilson, in a speech sustaining his motion, declared (1845) that "everything indicated an impending struggle between freedom and slavery that would absorb the mighty energies of the nation; and in that contest it was fit that Massachusetts should lead."

Mr. Wilson, at a convention called soon after, reported a preamble and resolutions of the boldest character. One of the latter declared, "We solemnly announce our purpose to the South, and to the execution of that purpose we pledge ourselves to the country and before heaven, that, rejecting all compromise, without restraint or hesitation, in our private relations and in our political organizations, by our voices and our votes, in Congress or out, we will use all practicable means for the extinction of slavery on the American continent." The preamble was prepared by the Reverend Samuel Hunt, of Natick, who during the later and literary labors of the late Vice-President has been associated with him as his private secretary. To his competent hands has been committed the completion of the 3d volume of "The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America."

Mr. Wilson's withdrawal from the National Nominating Convention of the Whig party in 1848 was a remarkable episode, alike in national affairs and the life of the actor himself. A meeting was called immediately of the delegates who sympathized with him. Fifteen persons were present. Their names are worth recalling. They were Louis O. Cowan and Samuel Bradley, of Maine; Charles Allen, Henry Wilson, and Daniel W. Alvord, Massachusetts; Isaac Platt, John C. Hamilton, and Robert Colby, New York; Horace N. Conger, New Jersey; Lewis D. Campbell, Samuel Galloway, John C. Vaughan, Stanley Mathews, John Burgoyne, and H. B. Hurlburt, of Ohio. Of these, it is not known if any are living outside of the Ohio representation. L. D. Campbell has become a Bourbonized Democrat; Stanley Mathews is a well-known lawyer, and "Liberal;" John C. Vaughan resides in Leavenworth, where he is Recorder of the municipal court. Mr. Galloway is still an active Republican speaker. The Democratic convention had also practically divided on the slavery issue, and from these elements came the combination out of which was born the Free-Soil party. Mr. Wilson was the leading organizer in New England, and from that date came the political strategy and combinations which in the next six years wrested Massachusetts from the control of the "Hunker" politicians and "Doughfaces"—made Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Charles Sumner, United States Senators; George D. Boutwell, Governor; N. P. Banks, Speaker of the State House of Representatives; Henry Wilson, himself, presiding officer *pro tem.* of both the State Senate and the Constitutional Convention; secured the passage of the Personal Liberty bill, and at last put the master-spirit, as an organizer, into the Senate chamber at Washington.

For two years or more Mr. Wilson was the editor of the *Republican and Emancipator*, the organ of the Free-Soilers. It was a service given without reward other than of a duty done, and at considerable personal toil and inconvenience. A gentleman who was employed thereon tells how Mr. Wilson would come into Boston from Natick, and after attending to his manufacturing business turn his face to the bare and cheerless sanctum, where he would dash off, standing at a rude shelf-desk fastened against the wall, the leading editorials for the next issue. He was in the prime of life, fresh, ruddy, wholesome-looking. Going down to the little publication office he would often obtain fifty cents from the till and go to the National Theatre for recreation. When cash was very low, twenty-five cents would content him, when he would go into the gallery of that resort—among the "gods." He was a

controversialist slow to anger, but very severe when aroused by unjust attacks. His opponents learned to dread him, for he never replied except to slay. One instance of the kind was in the case of a Whig politician holding an important Federal post, who wrote a series of ferocious assaults on Henry Wilson. The latter would come to his own office, hair pushed back off his forehead, face red with anger, avow his determination to reply, and then tear up the rejoinder he indited. At last even "forbearance ceased to be a virtue," and the *Republican* appeared with a caustic editorial answering the assailant, and closing by charging him with gross corruption in the duties of his office, the character of which was specified in distinct terms. The Whig was unable to clear his reputation, and was driven from public life in consequence.

Mr. Wilson was a prominent opponent of the Fugitive Slave Law. He declared after Webster's seventh of March speech, in the State Legislature and in Faneuil Hall, that he would unite with "any party or body of men to drive from power those who sustained that policy." He would aid any one to rebuke Webster "and place in his seat a Senator true to the principles and sentiments of the Commonwealth."

During the memorable contest which first sent Charles Sumner to the seat which he so long honored, Mr. Wilson was the unquestioned organizer of the combination by which that result was achieved. It lasted from January, 1851, to April 24th, when Mr. Sumner was elected on the twenty-sixth ballot for the full term; Mr. Rantoul's election was for the unexpired balance of a term that ended before Mr. Sumner's election.

Mr. Wilson was several times invited to accept the Democratic vote and so obtain himself the high honor that lay in the balance. Mr. Sumner never failed to recognize the fidelity of his friend and colleague. In a letter written on the evening of the day upon which his election was secured, he said in a note to Henry Wilson, that "To your ability, energy, determination, and fidelity our cause owes its present success. For weal or woe you must take the responsibility of having placed me in the United States Senate. I am prompted to add, that while you have done all this I have never heard from you a single suggestion of a selfish character, looking in any way to any good for yourself; your labors have been as disinterested as they have been effective."

Those who knew Mr. Wilson intimately are aware how highly he valued this tribute; as they need not be told of the sincere devotion with which he worked with, and the almost simple admiration he manifested toward his eloquent and cultured colleague.

Probably the massive learning that weighted the latter almost to pedantry, and which Mr. Wilson admired all the more from having been debarred from acquiring, had very much to do with the affectionate regard and esteem in which Mr. Sumner was held by his friend. They differed widely in details, but their purposes were identical, and no one more freely acknowledged this than the senior Senator.

Mr. Wilson was made presiding officer, as has been before stated, of a State Constitutional Convention. He was also President of the National Free-Soil Convention which met at Pittsburg in 1852. In his opening speech he said: "Let us feel that we must free the Federal Government from slavery—from all responsibility for it wherever it exists under its authority, and place it actively and perpetually on the side of freedom."

The "Know-Nothing" or American order sprung into being in 1853. Whatever were its characteristics elsewhere—selfish, sectional, proscriptive as they were—in Massachusetts there was much that was worthy. Mr. Wilson was elected by it, with twenty years of anti-slavery life behind, to the United States Senate. Its legislative majority condemned the Kansas and Nebraska bill, passed the personal liberty act, opened the public schools to colored children, and otherwise placed themselves on the right side. Its strength was largely due to the fact that the Democracy of that State in their desire to defeat the work of the Constitutional Convention over which Mr. Wilson presided, had appealed to Catholic hostility to the public schools, even then exhibited, to defeat the Constitution, because it contained inhibitory provisions as to the use of public money for any sectarian purposes. The warning is one not to be unheeded in present circumstances. When the proscriptive amendment to the Constitution requiring foreign born citizens to reside longer than others in that State before possessing civic privileges, Mr. Wilson was the first public man of any party who openly opposed its adoption.

Mr. Wilson's action in the National American Convention held in Philadelphia, June 5, 1855, is a matter of public history. His position was bold and uncompromising; that of the pro-slavery propaganda was both bold and brutal. The New England delegate declared that he had twenty years before pledged himself to liberty. Rising to the perilous occasion—a well known Southern bully sat at his feet with a revolver ready for use, Mr. Wilson said: "The past belongs to slavery—the future to freedom. The past is yours—the future is ours. We wish you men of the South to distinctly understand that we have the power to prohibit

slavery in the Territories, and to abolish it in the District of Columbia, and we mean to do it. We mean to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act; and we mean that Kansas shall never come into the Union as a slave State—no, never." The speech with which he declared he would not support the platform adopted, rings like a trumpet call: "I will not support it; I will support no man who stands upon it." He said: "Your party will be withered by the blasting breath of the people's wrath." But why quote more. What he did and what he said, as a politician battling, organizing, intriguing even, if the purists chose so call it, for human rights and national regeneration, make many luminous lines on the scroll of the Union's record. His days were full of toil; his nights were ceaseless vigils in its behalf. No man in the land did more to make political opinion; none as much to *organize* victory—in so far as the formation of determined party action was concerned. His face and form was more familiar to the whole people than was that of any other man who filled an equal space in the public eye. From the date of the National Republican party's organization at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856, when Mr. Wilson formally became one of its honored leaders, (for he had been long preparing for just such a massive and potential movement,) he did more work on the stump in arousing the country than any public man in the land. The number of formal addresses he made from 1856 down to his recent death is stated to have been over fifteen hundred, while of impromptu speeches the number must have been legion. It is not necessary to repeat what has already been said as to the quality of his speeches, or as to the extent of his work. It will, however, be appropriate to suggest that his greatest successes have been achieved as an *organizer* of political opinion rather than as a *manager* of a party when formed. His moral, intellectual, and physical courage was of the highest order, when in the open face of his foe—the antagonist of his conviction—the opponent of the general policy he maintained. It was only within his own party household that Mr. Wilson showed either timidity or faint apprehension of conflicting positions. He dreaded greatly all internal dissensions, and at times appeared to be vacillating and weak—almost harsh also in his judgment of those whose indiscretion, or over-zeal, placed the general cause in seeming jeopardy. Out of incidents which illustrate these traits have come some of the causeless blab of slanderous critics as to Mr. Wilson's courage. None who knew him ever doubted his possession of the highest type—that which neither sought or evaded danger—except as duty

demanding either course.

Henry Wilson took his seat in the United States Senate for the first time during the Thirty-Third Congress, when it assembled for its second session, December 4th, 1854, to fill a vacancy caused by the retirement of Edward Everett. The Missouri compromise had been abrogated by the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Act. The rifle-shot that had killed the Free State settler, Dow, and made his name that of the first martyr for freedom in Kansas, had in its echoes rung the death knell of American slavery. The bloody beginning of the devastating end had already come. Parties were breaking under the attrition. The pro-slavery Democracy were in power. Stephen A. Douglas' bid for Southern support in his Presidential aspirations proved to be a barren victory. The Whig party only existed by the frailest tenor. Northern men with a sense of self-respect were abandoning both of the organizations. During the early part of 1854 several attempts were made to organize a new party combining the Free-Soilers and anti-Nebraska Democrats and Whigs. The name adopted by the several conventions that were held was that of "Republican." Mr. Wilson was nominated for Governor by such a body that met at Worcester, July 20, 1854.

From 1855 unto 1861, when the slaveholder's rebellion transferred to the hands of himself and Republican associates, in and out of Congress, the tremendous task of saving the Union, emancipating the slave, and reconstructing the Republic on the basis of Equity and Liberty, Mr. Wilson's Senatorial experience was necessarily an extension of the position he had so long occupied—that of a political agitator against the national domination of slavery, with the added responsibility of aiding the rapid accession to power of a new party pledged to a policy momentous and weighty from whatever standpoint it was to be regarded.

To fitly understand Mr. Wilson's historical value, as well as the great influence he then and afterwards exercised throughout the North, it is necessary to possess a realizing sense of the condition of things in the National Capital, especially as to the insane spirit of ruffianism which prevailed in the dominant pro-slavery circles. The murderous assault on Mr. Sumner is the chief incident upon which the minds of men naturally rest. But that was not an isolated fact. Day after day, week after week, for years together, the anti-slavery leaders who stood in the Congressional breach, did so at the peril of their lives. They walked always as over a prepared mine, that at any moment might have exploded. It was only by the open and expressed declaration of their intention to defend themselves that the North-

ern Senators who represented the opposition to the political control of the slave power, were able to protect their persons and maintain their rights as Senators and freemen. The most flagrant insults were daily offered. A notable illustration of this was given by Senator Gwin's sneer at Mr. Wilson as "a cobbler," replied to effectively by Mr. Wilson immediately questioning the insulter, as to whether it was not better to be called a cobbler than a thief? The obvious inference was not unwarranted. It is a cheap piece of detraction to sneer at Mr. Wilson's personal courage, as since his death a well-known journalistic "scold" has done with perfect impunity. The evidence of his contemporaries, as well as of the public records, form the fittest answer. Theodore Parker, a man of moral and physical courage so cool as never to be questioned, said in 1857 these words:

"Last spring, you know what honorable service he performed after his generous colleague had been so foully assaulted. His own life was in peril. I should not dare tell you how imminent his bodily peril was, nor how he was defended; nor do I care to remember what other Northern men trembled and turned pale. Remember this—he cannot now go to his place in the Senate without a revolver in his pocket."*

Mr. Wilson's career as a statesman fairly begun at the memorable session of 1860–61. On the National party assuming control of the Government and becoming the majority in the Senate chamber, by the rebel withdrawals, Mr. Wilson was made chairman of the military committee thereof. There is no need to pronounce the duties it performed most onerous, or the chairman's labors herculean in character. The persons most competent to do this have long since given expression to their estimate of the extent and quality of his work.

On the floor of the Senate he was untiring. The *Congressional Globe* teems with his legislative exertions. To his initiative was due the passage of the article of war which forbade the army from being employed to return fugitive slaves; several acts under which colored men were enlisted into the military service, their wives and children made free, their full pay and finally bounty secured to them.† He offered the first prop-

* Anti-Slavery speech at Boston, Jan. 30, 1857.

† Mr. Wilson offered on the 8th of July, 1862, a bill which became law on the 17th thereof, by which, as it passed, colored men were allowed to enter the service as laborers or for such other military duty as they might be found competent for. On the 20th of July, Gen. Jas. H. Lane of Kansas was appointed a recruiting commissioner to raise several regiments of infantry; among them one or more to be composed of "men of African descent." The first officer appointed was Richard J. Hinton, at Leavenworth, who was mustered in August 4, 1862, as First Lieutenant and Acting Adjutant. The first recruit was enlisted August 6, 1862. This was the earliest LEGAL organization of colored troops, and the fact is historically worth preserving.

fishing within such distance of such coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors, it shall be forfeited, together with its cargo and everything on board. Third, It was lawful for American fishermen to enter such bays or harbors for shelter or to repair damages, or to purchase wood or obtain water, but for no other purpose whatever—subject, nevertheless, to such restrictions as might be necessary to prevent such fishermen from taking and curing fish therein. Fourth, That if any person, upon requisition of the Governor of Newfoundland, or person exercising the office of Governor, shall refuse to depart from such bays or harbors, or neglect to conform to any regulations in force, he shall forfeit the sum of two hundred pounds. For a few years the fishermen pursued their trade in quiet, but in 1823 two British men-of-war appeared in the Bay of Fundy and elsewhere in the waters of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, an event which threw the fishermen into dismay. This molestation by British men-of-war seemed not to have arisen from a sudden emergency, but to have become a permanent part of the proceedings. Some vessels were seized and the voyages of others ruined. Protests and depositions concerning the wrongs of Americans were transmitted with memorials to the President, and the subject was taken up by the Department of State. The demand was for indemnity and reparation. On the other hand, the British functionary required the punishment of the transgressors for the act of violence perpetrated (in recovering two vessels that had been seized) on persons bearing his Majesty's commission while in discharge of their public duties. No results followed. The President, however, caused inquiry to be made, and afterwards the attention of Congress was directed to the disputes by a member from Maine. Any punishment by the United States for the offense alleged was out of the question. The strong feeling excited toned down in the course of time. And it is possible that the British Commander had exhibited overzeal in the cause, for his successor did not imitate his example. A long period of quiet was at length broken. The British *Chargé d'Affaires*, at the instance of the colonial

authorities, called the attention of the Secretary of State to repeated acts of irregularity committed by fishermen of the United States, which led to the issue of instructions to collectors of ports to notify persons engaged in the fisheries to observe the limits of the treaty. Nova Scotia affected to have been injured by the fishing of Americans, and passed an act of great severity in some of its provisions. Officers of the revenue and others were empowered to go on board any vessel or boat hovering within three miles of any of coasts and stay on board as long as she remained within that distance. If a vessel, bound elsewhere, hovered for four and twenty hours after the master had been required to depart she might be taken into port to search her cargo, and the master might be examined under oath, or failing to answer forfeit one hundred pounds; and if any prohibited goods were on board, the vessel and cargo were to be forfeited. If the vessel was foreign and not navigated according to the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, and was found fishing within three miles of the coasts both vessel and cargo were also liable to forfeiture. Other sections of the act related to suits, the suing out of writs, the damages and costs, &c. One provision was that if any suit was brought against any person on account of a seizure, and judgment was given against him, and the judge or court should certify that there was probable cause for the seizure, the plaintiff, besides the thing seized or its value, should not receive more than two pence damages, nor any costs of suit, nor should the defendant be fined more than one shilling.

The next proposition of the Nova Scotian House of Assembly embraced a plan of protection by the employment of steamers on the part of the home government and of a preventive force on the part of the government of the colony, the latter of which was adopted. Then colonial politics came into play. Political leaders in the colony had their plans. A joint address of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly was transmitted to the Queen, complaining of habitual violations of the convention of 1818 by Americans, and praying for an additional naval force to put an end to these aggres-

sions. Lord Glenelg, the British Colonial Secretary, remarked in a dispatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, in reply to this address, that the subject had engaged the serious attention of her Majesty's government, and it had been determined to send during the fishing season an armed force on the coast of Nova Scotia, to enforce a more strict observance of the treaty by American citizens, and the American Government had been invited to give its friendly co-operation. Orders had accordingly been issued to the naval commander of the West Indian and North American station to detach, as soon as the fishing season should commence, a small vessel to the coast of Nova Scotia and another to Prince Edward's Island, to protect the fisheries. Although the instructions to this officer were not to overstep the bounds of the treaty in the support of British rights, it was quite natural that seizures of vessels should follow. In March, 1839, the consul of the United States at Pictou reported to the Secretary of State that these British naval vessels would be stationed as decided. Much of the outcry which had been made he knew to have had its origin in the disappointed feelings of Nova Scotia fishermen, on seeing themselves outstripped in the successful pursuit of so valuable a branch of commerce by the superior perseverance and skill of American enterprise; yet a tempting shoal of fish was sometimes, through ignorance or excitement, pursued across the prescribed limits. But it may be asked, if the fish were not captured by American fishermen, who were on the spot to take them, would they have put themselves in the way of the British vessels, where the fishermen were probably bemoaning their ill luck, hard fate, or empty nets? Where was the harm, then, if British fishermen would not in any way have caught the fish, because their boats were not there, for Americans to bless their stars and take advantage of the situation? A shoal before an American boat was not to be lost because British fishermen, half a mile away in their vessel, saw a specimen of American activity in which they did not participate, and could not by reason of the distance. If Americans did not take them from the sea the fish would have remained

there. Then why complain of those occurrences which could not have been overruled, and which, if American fishermen had failed to profit by, would not have enriched their British co-laborers? Many seizures of American vessels were made by the cruisers during the year. But it was a great hardship to find that the effect of the complaints of the colonists of the island of Grand Menan had caused the British commanders to refuse shelter to our flag even in stormy weather. Nearly a hundred vessels had been driven from positions secured them by the treaty to seek refuge in an American harbor; and so exasperated were the fishermen that they generally went armed. Elsewhere there was much difficulty. Masters of vessels, at sea or at anchor, felt themselves unsafe. They were molested along the entire coast of Nova Scotia, and many became dispirited, adjusted their affairs, and retired at the end of the season. There seemed an evident intention to drive American fishermen from the Bays of Fundy and Chaleurs, and other large bays, by drawing a line from headland to headland, and to deny resort to colonial ports and harbors for shelter and to procure water, except in cases of actual distress; to dispute the right to fish on the shores of the Magdalene islands, and thus to render the treaty stipulations valueless; and to close against us the Strait of Canso, unless the voyage was made dangerous by being compelled to round the island of Cape Breton, when bound to or from the Gulf of St. Lawrence. These were among the pretensions of Nova Scotia in the year 1839, and from the inquiry of the American commander in those waters, and who performed his duty efficiently, it was observed by the Secretary of State that "the injustice and annoyances suffered by our fishermen had so irritated them that there was ground to believe that violence might be resorted to" before another season. The Assembly of Nova Scotia was still persistent. In March, 1840, another address to the Queen was passed, in which her Majesty was reminded of the grievances of the colony. But at last the condition of affairs became intolerable, and the American government communicated to its Minister at the Court of St. James on the subject,

directing him to make a statement of our wrongs. No instructions were given; for the language of the treaty was clear, if fairly interpreted. Thus the matter with all the questions involved reached a channel which would bring it to the notice of the British government, which would have to deal with it on its merits alone.

Statement of the Codfishery of the United States, exhibiting the tonnage employed, bounty paid to fishing vessels, imports of salt, exports of dried fish, and the value of the same.

Year.	Tonnage.	Bounty.	Salt imported.	Dried fish exported.	Value of exports.
			<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Quintals.</i>	
1789.....	19,185	None.	1,250,255	.....	.....
1790.....	28,348	None.	2,355,760	.....	.....
1791.....	32,542	None.	1,850,479	383,237	.....
1792.....	32,060	.....	1,779,510	364,898	.....
1793.....	50,163	\$72,965 32	2,027,332	372,825	.....
1794.....	28,671	93,768 91	2,958,411	436,907	.....
1795.....	30,934	66,280 47	2,233,186	400,818	.....
1796.....	34,963	76,889 63	3,975,922	377,713	.....
1797.....	40,629	80,475 76	2,674,251	406,016	.....
1798.....	42,746	94,684 30	2,891,453	411,175	.....
1799.....	29,978	128,605 87	2,471,969	428,495	.....
1800.....	29,427	87,853 45	3,095,807	392,726	.....
1801.....	39,381	74,520 92	3,282,064	410,948	.....
1802.....	41,521	104,447 92	3,564,605	440,925	.....
1803.....	51,813	117,173 57	3,862,804	461,870	\$1,620,000
1804.....	52,014	145,986 73	3,479,878	567,828	2,400,000
1805.....	57,466	152,927 72	3,652,277	514,549	2,058,000
1806.....	59,183	162,191 99	3,941,616	537,457	2,150,000
1807.....	69,306	161,254 17	4,671,628	473,924	1,896,000
1808.....	51,988	142,911 89	1,300,177	155,808	623,000
1809.....	34,486	47,166 11	No returns.	345,648	1,123,000
1810.....	34,826	3,406 44	No returns.	280,864	913,000
1811.....	43,233	None.	No returns.	214,387	757,000
1812.....	30,459	None.	No returns.	169,019	592,000
1813.....	20,878	None.	No returns.	63,616	210,000
1814.....	17,855	None.	333,344	31,310	128,000
1815.....	36,938	1,811 74	2,020,131	103,251	494,000
1816.....	48,126	84,736 26	6,854,821	219,991	935,000
1817.....	64,807	119,919 51	2,884,504	265,514	1,003,000
1818.....	69,107	148,915 65	3,678,526	308,747	1,081,000
1819.....	76,076	161,623 35	3,874,852	280,555	1,052,000
1820.....	72,040	197,834 68	4,711,329	321,419	964,000
1821.....	62,293	170,052 91	3,943,727	267,305	708,778
1822.....	69,225	149,897 83	4,087,381	241,228	666,730
1823.....	78,253	176,706 04	5,127,657	262,766	734,024
1824.....	77,446	208,924 08	4,401,399	310,189	873,685
1825.....	81,462	198,724 97	4,574,202	300,857	830,356
1826.....	.....	215,859 01	4,564,720	260,803	667,742
1827.....	.....	206,185 55	4,320,489	247,321	747,171
1828.....	94,756	239,145 20	3,962,957	265,217	819,926
1829.....	101,797	261,069 94	5,945,547	294,761	747,541
1830.....	98,529	197,642 28	5,374,046	229,796	530,690
1831.....	106,188	200,429 39	4,182,340	231,577	625,393
1832.....	102,454	219,745 27	5,041,424	250,544	749,909
1833.....	111,445	245,182 40	6,822,672	249,689	713,317
1834.....	117,485	218,218 76	6,038,076	253,132	630,384
1835.....	.....	223,784 93	5,375,364	287,721	783,895
1836.....	63,306	213,091 03	5,088,666	240,769	746,464
1837.....	80,552	250,181 03	6,343,706	188,943	588,506
1838.....	70,064	314,149 00	7,103,147	206,028	626,245
1839.....	72,248	.....	6,061,608	208,720	709,218
1840.....	76,036	.....	8,183,203	211,425	541,058

CHAPTER VI.—FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY—PRINCIPLES PLAIN AND EASY TO BE UNDERSTOOD—THOSE ON WHICH OUR FOREIGN TRADE IS CARRIED ON—DEFINITION OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY—UTILITY—VALUE—GRAIN AND THE KOH-I-NOOR DIAMOND—LABOR IS THE SOURCE OF WEALTH—SOCIETY EVIL OVERRULED FOR GOOD—MORAL LAW OF PRODUCTION—ECONOMIC LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE—DIVINE RESTRAINT—INTERNATIONAL VALUES—EXCHANGES—EXCESSIVE IMPORTS—COMMERCIAL CRISES—BILLS OF EXCHANGE—EXPORTS PAY FOR IMPORTS—FUNCTION OF MONEY—BALANCE AGAINST US—EXCHANGE OF EQUAL VALUES—METHODS OF ADJUSTMENT—ADJUSTMENT OF PRICES—SUPPLY AND DEMAND—THE PRICE OF A THING IS ITS MARKET VALUE—COST OF LABOR IN PRODUCTION—EXCHANGEABLE VALUE—ARTICLES OF LUXURY—NECESSARIES OF LIFE—TOOKE—MILL—PRINCIPLES TO BE REMEMBERED—COST OF FOREIGN PRODUCTS—ADVANTAGE OF INTERCHANGE WITH NATIONS—LABOR AND CAPITAL AT HOME—LABOR AND CAPITAL ABROAD—BARBADOES—SUGAR AND MOLASSES—PROVISIONS—POLITICAL ECONOMY IN PRACTICE.

The foreign commerce of the United States is too important a subject to be treated in a cursory manner. It deserves the close attention, not only of the politician and merchant, but of all who desire to possess an intelligent opinion where intelligence may be of public value. The system upon which our foreign trade is carried on cannot be referred to without making reference also to political economy. There is a science of political economy almost as exact as mathematics. But there are various theories of political economy which have their different advocates; and certain terms which ought to have a fixed and definite meaning but which have not. Nevertheless, there are common truths or principles of political economy which the best thinkers admit, and which may be stated from the works published with so much plainness, that all who desire to understand them can do so with little risk of failure.

One writer says that the science of political economy was not the creation of one, but of many minds; and the discovery of principles, or of the application of principles, has enlarged its scope and increased its efficiency. Political economy may be defined as a science of human nature, as much so as morality, civil polity, jurisprudence, or psychology. It relates, not indeed to the individual man, as ethical science does to a considerable extent, but to men collected in society, and acting and competing with each other in the pursuit of wealth. It is not a science merely of the production of wealth; for if there were but one man in the world,

though by the labor of his hands he might surround himself with the comforts and even the luxuries of life, and might thus be properly accounted wealthy, no such science as political economy would be conceivable. He would estimate the things around him in proportion to their *absolute utility*, or their fitness to satisfy his wants and desires—not in proportion to their *value*, as that term is considered by economists. Value consists in the estimation of men, and must in a certain sense be arbitrary or conventional. A bushel of grain is more useful than the Kohinoor diamond; but the diamond is more *valuable* than many bushels of grain, and may be exchanged for many. Value is founded upon exchangeableness, and therefore requires the existence of two or more persons. Political economy is a generalization of the motives, habits, and dispositions of men, so far as these are manifested in the pursuit of wealth. Mill says, it is the science relating to the moral or psychological laws of production and distribution—the moral or psychological laws as distinct from the material or mechanical. The distinction may be thus illustrated: The process by which crude iron ore is manufactured into table-cutlery, though it is a production of wealth, does not at this point concern the economist; it is the business of the metallurgist, the smith, the artisan. The economist looks only to the estimate which men form of the comparative value of iron ore and finished cutlery, as manifested by the proportions in which they are willing to exchange them for each other. In political economy the init

and fundamental principle is that all wealth is created by labor. This principle is more extensive in its scope and more beneficent in its operation than most others; and it is a rule directed against an unwise interference of Government with the fiscal concerns and industrial habits of society. It is also a truth in another science; and when rightly understood has a singularly interesting application. With a slight paraphrase of the language of Holy Writ, it may be said that "God has appointed the wickedness of man to praise Him, and that the remainder of wrath He will restrain." What may be called the economical laws of human nature, in their general effects upon the well-being of society, manifest the contrivance, wisdom, and beneficence of the Deity just as clearly as do the marvelous arrangements of the material universe, or the natural means provided for the enforcement of the moral law and the punishment of crime. The lowest and most corrupting passions of mankind, cupidity, avarice, and selfishness, while they bring their own penalty on the individual who indulges them, are still overruled for good in their operation upon the interests of society. Nay, they are made the most efficient means of guarding it from harm and advancing its welfare. Consider the manner in which the inhabitants of a great metropolis are supplied with food and all other necessities of life, without wastefulness and yet without stint, each family receiving every day just what it wants, and as much as it wants, and being admonished through the price to limit or economise its consumption of any article, whenever a failure in the harvest or of the supply, or even the prospect of such failure, renders economy essential—all this being accomplished without any general organization, but through the efforts of thousands of dealers, each one of them regarding only his own good, and not the general good of the community, and such one acting, not in intentional concert with his fellows, but in open and often hostile rivalry with them. No social machine contrived by man, and no beneficent device of human government could perform so difficult a task at once so faithfully, so certainly,

and so incessantly as is performed by an agency which even the most sceptical mind must pronounce divine. This is but one instance to illustrate the universal working of that law of the Creator and Governor of the world which everywhere compels the cupidity and selfishness of individuals to contribute to the general good. In the vast circle of employments in civilized society there is not one in which a person can profitably exert himself without at the same time profiting the community in which he lives, and lending aid to thousands of human beings whom he never sees. Without wishing it, or knowing it, all men are servants of one another; all are co-operating with one another as busily as bees in a hive; and each individual effort is needful to the general prosperity. To study the operation of this delicately and divinely constituted machine is the business of the political economist. He finds that human governments often interfere with it, and do more harm than good. They do harm when they attempt to limit competition, to establish prices, to pass sumptuary laws, to sanction monopolies. Whatever discourages or becomes an impediment to industry is sure to be followed by paralysis of trade. It would seem that effort should be directed to the removal of impediments which accident, prescription, or the rivalry of other governments have thrown in the way of that general freedom of commercial and industrial enterprise which is a law of the moral universe. Political considerations or government necessity may justify an interference in one quarter which needs to be balanced by some action in another. The necessary exceptions will be found to confirm its spirit and principle. All duties on imports, and even all internal taxes, are a departure from the rule, but a necessary departure for the sake of a greater good, namely—the support of the institutions of Government. But if these imposts are large, it may be necessary to direct some of them, not with a view to revenue, but to protection, in order to counterbalance a burden which others have laid upon domestic industry.

So clear an exposition of what is generally

considered as a very complex subject is the fruit of much reading and of careful reflection. It gives also the groundwork of Congressional action in relation to industrial enterprise. And as legislation is but the expression of national wants and wishes, which have been called into existence by experience, the more immediate application of the principles of political economy to our commercial intercourse with other nations will be shown. A writer says that the theory of international values and exchanges is a valuable part of economic science. On its first being demonstrated it convinced those who were urging the universality of the doctrine of free trade, without regard to the condition of a country, that the importation of foreign manufactures may be excessive, and continue for a longer or shorter period. The truth of this will be made evident in another part of this work, when new taxes were required to increase the revenue. An excess of imports must inevitably depress the prices of our exports in all foreign markets, for all the advantages of this country for producing the articles exported is neutralized by the American exporter being compelled to exchange them for foreign goods upon the most disadvantageous terms. But excessive importation tends to depress the prices of domestic products, cripple domestic industry, and bring on commercial crises, which are equally disastrous to our agricultural and manufacturing interests. To effect domestic exchanges expedients are resorted to which obviate the necessity of using actual silver and gold coin for money, and a paper currency takes the place of the metallic, in the shape of notes, bills of exchange, &c. A merchant in New York has debts due to him in London for cotton, flour, tobacco, and other American products which he had sent there to be sold. Another merchant in New York owes money which he has to pay in London for manufactured cotton, silk, iron, &c., which he has received from England, and consumed or sold in America. The transactions on both sides are represented by bills of exchange, and it is evident that, in the long run, our exported goods must exactly pay for our imported goods, and the account of the two must balance each other.

If the account did not balance, if our exports were not equivalent in value to our imports, the deficiency would have to be made up by sending specie abroad. The exports of any country must exactly balance its imports—for the same reason that when two individual producers of different articles trade exclusively with each other, they must really barter merchandise for merchandise, exchanging equivalent values of different kinds—money serving no purpose between them but that of facilitating the exchanges of goods. This, in fact, is the only office that money, as such, ever performs. It is one that diminishes the friction of exchanges. But money and bills of exchange cannot help the merchants to pay their debts. They only represent and facilitate the operations out of which those debts have grown. Thus, in 1836, the imports into the United States were about \$190,000,000, and the exports even less than \$129,000,000, showing apparently a balance against us of \$61,000,000. We ran deeply in debt that year and had to suffer for it afterwards. In 1838 the balance was \$5,000,000 the other way, and in 1839 it was \$41,000,000, which, together, amounted to \$46,000,000, and probably paid off, or nearly paid off, the balance against us in 1836.

As a general proposition, the foreign trade, say with Great Britain, is really a barter of merchandise for merchandise, equal values being exchanged, and money playing only a subordinate part. Foreign trade is only a long and heavy account current of one nation with all the rest of the world, charges on one side being set off by charges on the other, and the account being finally adjusted by the transfer of a sum in cash to represent the balance. But our trade is not confined to England. It extends to every nation of the earth, and to every isle of the sea. The account is not balanced with each nation separately; far from it. In the case of China, our purchases very much exceed our sales; in the case of Great Britain, our sales very much exceed our purchases. One case is set off against the other. Our debt to China is paid by transferring to her a part of the debt due to us by England, i

of bills of exchange on London sent to China direct. Again: Our annual exports to the British West Indies greatly exceed our imports. The West India planters may pay in bills of exchange for the articles of provision from the United States by transferring a part of the debt due to them for the sugar, molasses, spirits, &c., which they have sent to England. And the very bills of exchange might be used in paying our debts to China for tea. One article of merchandise is really paid for with another, though the one is obtained from Canton and the other is sent to Jamaica. A single shipment of half a million of dollars may suffice to balance an immensely long account, opened with England, the continent of Europe, China, and both Indies, amounting in the aggregate to sixty or seventy millions, so little money is used in the whole circle of transactions.

But how is the price of the articles exchanged adjusted in the interchange of commodities between two countries? The general principle is, that the price so adjusts itself that the demand shall be just equal to the supply. If the supply be too great, if the market be overloaded with the article, the price must fall; and this fall of price will bring the commodity within the means of a larger class of consumers. That is, the demand for it will be increased so much as to take off the quantity which is a drug in the market at the higher price. The fluctuations of price constantly operate to make the demand just equal to the supply. Now, the *price* of a thing is its *market value*, or temporary exchangeable power *reckoned in money*. Its permanent, or natural, exchangeable *value* will depend on the *cost of production*, or the amount of labor that is needed to produce it. Some articles may for a time, from unforeseen circumstances, sell below their cost; but less will be produced, and the price will rise again. The market value is perpetually

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adjusted as to make the demand equal to the supply; while the true or exchangeable value is always regulated by the cost of production, or the amount of labor needed for the creation of the article. The price, however, does not vary in the same ratio with the excess or deficiency of the supply. If the commodity be an article of luxury, a deficiency of a third in the amount offered for sale will not make the price one third larger; people will do without it rather than pay too high. But if the article is a necessary of life, which the people must purchase, a deficiency of one-third may increase the price to double, triple, or quadruple. Mr. Tooke says: "The price of corn in England has risen from one hundred to two hundred per cent., when the utmost computed deficiency of the crops has not been more than between one-sixth and one-third below an average, and when that deficiency has been relieved by foreign supplies." To what point, then, will the increase of price, whether of luxuries or necessities, be carried? Mr. Mill says: "To that point, whatever it be, which equalizes the demand and supply; to the price which cuts off the extra third from the demand, or brings forward additional sellers sufficient to supply it."

These principles should always be borne in mind in considering the subject of the foreign trade and international values. And perhaps it may be well to recapitulate:—We really purchase commodities with commodities. We pay for our whole imports with our whole exports. If in our traffic with any one country, say China, our imports much exceed our exports, the balance is not paid in money, but by transferring to China the debt due to us from another country, with which our trade is such that our exports exceed our imports. It is only the balance of the immensely long account of our trade with all countries whatsoever which is paid in money. For instance, the official returns for the year ending June 30, 1848, show that our total imports for that year amounted to one hundred and forty-four millions, while the specie we sent abroad was less than three millions. Our total exports of domestic produce for that year exceeded one hundred and thirty

millions, and all the specie we received from abroad was less than six millions. The actual cash balance that year, of course, was the difference between these two sums of specie—about three millions of dollars.

The cost of domestic products is the labor that is expended upon their production. But the cost to us of foreign products is, not the labor which has been expended upon their production, but the labor which we must expend upon the articles that are given in exchange for those products. Mr. Mill claims that the advantage of an interchange of commodities between nations consists simply and solely in this—that it enables each to obtain, with a given amount of labor and capital, a greater quantity of all commodities taken together. This it accomplishes, by enabling each, with a quantity of one commodity which has cost it so much labor and capital, to produce a quantity of another commodity which, if produced at home, would have required labor and capital to a greater amount. To render the importation of an article more advantageous than its production it is not necessary that the foreign country should be able to produce it with less labor and capital than ourselves. We may even have a positive advantage in its production. But if we are so far favored by circumstances as to have a still *greater* positive advantage in the production of some other article which is in demand in the foreign country, we may be able to obtain a greater return to our labor and capital by employing none of it in producing the article in which our advantage is least, but devoting it all to the production of that in which our advantage is greatest, and giving this to the foreign country in exchange for the other. It is not a difference in the *absolute* cost of production which determines the interchange, but a difference in the comparative cost. An excellent illustration is furnished by Barbadoes. The inhabitants of Barbadoes, favored by their climate and soil, can raise provisions cheaper than we can in the United States, and yet Barbadoes buys nearly all her provisions from this country. Why? Because, though she has the advantage over us to raise provisions cheaply, she has a still

greater advantage in her power to produce sugar and molasses. If she has the advantage of a quarter in raising provisions, she has an advantage of one-half in regard to products exclusively tropical. She can thus, by trading with us, obtain our breadstuffs and meat at a smaller cost of labor and capital than they cost ourselves. Say, a barrel of flour costs ten days' labor in the United States, and only eight days in Barbadoes, her people can profitably buy American flour if they pay for it with sugar which cost them only *six* days' labor; and the people of this country can profitably sell them the flour, or buy the sugar, provided that the sugar, if raised in the United States, would cost *eleven* days' labor. This is a striking example of the benefit of foreign trade to both the countries which are parties to it. If Barbadoes produced both commodities with greater facility, but greater in precisely the same degree, there would be no motive for the interchange.

Here then, in a small space has been gathered much valuable information on the system adopted by nations in carrying on their foreign trade. There are principles underlying every movement which must be recognized if commercial transactions are to be attended with profit. A knowledge of economic science is necessary to the merchant. It is required not only as a guide to operations, but in order to lay the groundwork for successful calculation. The bold speculator may sometimes carry off a large prize, and the spirit of speculation is an element that must pervade all commerce. But speculation must be subject to control if the investment is to turn out fortunate. The merchant prince whose name is heard and respected in every foreign port is a man who has mastered the subtle details of the science, and knows how to take advantage of every market, and reap a profit from every dealing. In the course of years, hundreds of millions of dollars in specie are sent abroad to be used in the settlements of the foreign trade. But the years which bring the largest profit to the merchant are those in which the imports and exports balance each other. And that the supply

may not exceed the demand in any of the world's markets requires the most careful vigilance, and that kind of active wisdom which when it discovers that the cargo of a

ship which has sailed would glut a market if landed, changes the destination of the vessel to a port where her cargo is needed and may be profitably sold.

SLAVONIAN EUROPE.

The want of neighbors may selfishly affect the character of a nation, as a witty writer has recently asserted of our own, by making it indifferent to the welfare of others. As a rule, however, it would seem, judging by the experiences of old-world countries, that it is too much neighborhood that curses most of them. France and Germany have certainly found it so, as have Austria, Denmark, and Italy during the last fifteen years. Turkey, constantly broiling, has kept the rest of Europe on the alert, for fear that the conflagrations might extend beyond her own kitchen. Count Andrassy, the Hungarian premier, may well sigh for the immunity which our continental isolation affords.

The Austro-Hungarian statesmen can be pardoned if they should deem the outbreak in the Herzegovina a *contretemps* to be deplored by them. The rallying points in the Austro-Hungarian empire, not only for its own progress, but for the regeneration of the curious ethnographical compound that besets it, interiorly and exteriorly, are, without question, the German, the Czech or Bohemian, and the Magyar populations. Together they do not exceed eighteen millions, of whom the German is less than half. But these are the most advanced and the most stable. With the lead that the Magyars now have, and which later the Czechs will obtain, a few more years of the active growth that has been going forward for ten years past might well enable the Austrian Cabinet to settle, more equitably than is now possible, some of the future relations of the heterogeneous populations in its own midst and in Turkey also. It may well be doubted if there is a single point beyond Hungary itself in all the region (almost a *terra incognita* to Americans) known as Eastern Europe, sufficiently advanced to make a common center for the Slavic populations of the Danubian valley and its tributaries. If there is it must be found in Servia.

Modern politics, as they relate to Eastern Europe, offer an interesting study. A brief sketch will attract even the general reader. A shrewd Englishman who has traveled widely and observed closely characterizes the "sick man" comparison as untrue when applied to Turkey. "He is alive and full of life, too; for all the craft, cunning, and talent of one of the craftiest races in existence combine with all their energies to sustain him. The Greeks themselves are his most zealous supporters." The *Neologes*, Greek newspaper at Constantinople, urges an alliance between Greece and Turkey, and declares also that there is no future for Hellenism in the advance of Pan-Slavonic influences. The Turks themselves, in Europe, do not much exceed two million persons. The remaining Mahometans, on the east side of the Bosphorus, are Slavs and Wallachs—principally the former. These Musulmen are the descendants of the feudal spahis and landed proprietors of the western divisions of European Turkey, whose ancestors early adhered to the crescent, in order to preserve their lands. It is these people who are the worst oppressors of the Christian populations, as well as the most bigotted of the followers of Mahomet. It is upon them, too, that the Porte most largely depends in the suppression of the Christian Slavs now in arms in the Dinaric Alpine region.

The Turkish Empire in Europe can be arranged for present purposes into three divisions: First, the tributary provinces, Servia and Roumania, the latter being again subdivided into Moldavia and Wallachia. Second, the subordinate districts, or *eyelats*, now more or less affected by the Herzegovinian rebellion. Besides that province, those adjacent, Bosnia with Turkish Servia and Croatia, are more or less disturbed. The third division embraces Bulgaria, originally a Greco-Italian colony, but now quite Slavonic in its character, except as to the degree of

hostility felt toward the Sultan's government. South of Bulgaria are the *eyalats* or provinces that include Rumelia, (embracing Thrace and Macedonia,) Thessaly, Salonica, Albania, and Epirus. The Greeks usually speak of the inhabitants of these provinces as of Hellenic stock. They are, in fact, Slavic, with an admixture of Wallachs, Jews, Gypsies, and the old Italian element, belonging to the Roman colonies, and later, when they formed part of the Eastern Empire. In fact, there is very little Hellenic blood left in Greece—the Slavic and Dacian-Gothic stock seems to have stamped itself on that famous peninsula. In Epirus and Albania there is a considerable adhesion to Mahometanism, mainly from the same motive that induced the conversion of the Bosnian Slavs who were landed proprietors when the Osmanlis conquered the Greek Empire.

The general political interest must, in the main, center in the tributary provinces, that in regard to present complications depends, of course, on the insurrection itself. Servia is the pivotal point. Prince Milano is a rather good-looking, not over-gifted princeling of twenty years of age or so, who has been educated chiefly under Austrian influences, and came to his present place through the assassination of his uncle by conspirators identified with the "Young Servian" party. Milano hardly seems to have the capacity for a bold and vigorous leader. He has been enervated by the influences of that confluence of semi-barbarisms—a stuccoed Paris—which is termed *Vienna*. The Servians themselves are now the most promising of the Southern Slavonian communities.

Individually and collectively, the Serb is handsome, brave, and poetic—a peasant-race following its leader well, but with that singular democratic freedom of manners which is characteristic of such stock, and is always a social mark of primitive peoples. The Servians are decidedly ambitious; their country is at present pastoral, but with railroads would rapidly develop into a grain-growing region. They have commenced a fair system of free schools, practice manhood suffrage, and a compulsory military service, like that of Switzerland, by which an army of at least 130,000 men tolerably well drilled

for such a warfare as they would necessarily pursue, also quite well equipped and organized, could be put in the field. Two or three good railroads, and ten years more of developing peace, would make of Servia the best possible nuclei for the probable southeastern Slavonian nationality, which the near future seems to hold among its possibilities.

Moldavia and Wallachia, the two provinces united as Roumania, are also tributary. The inevitable Prussian is here in the person of a Hohenzollern cadet—Prince Carl or Charles, who graduated from a Prussian lieutenancy of dragoons into the seat of one of the promising minor sovereignties of Europe. Roumania is of later and different origin than Servia. The latter was cradled by a long and stormy insurrection; the former was born of the ill-conjoined (for Turkey) Crimean war and the subsequent Congress of Paris, where a large slice from the breast of that unfortunate was served up as a new national dish. The real purpose was to create a barrier between Constantinople and Russia. By placing these provinces under the guarantee of the seven contracting powers that signed the Treaty of Paris in 1856—England, France, Prussia, (now Germany,) Austria, Italy, Russia, and Turkey itself—it was of course expected that they would grow gradually into a national ambition of their own—not at all likely to accept absorption into Russia as a finality. Whatever may be said as to the fairness of this way of dealing with Turkey, by her own allies, too, the scheme was a promising one in sense. It has worked pretty well. The constitution and government of Roumania is quite liberal; the rapid development of the railroad system has made the progress of these provinces. The people are not to all appearance stock, or possessed of as "staying" as are their neighbors of Servia. Prince Carl seems to be a fair ruler, but least, has not developed any of the "iron" qualities of his house. The Roumania is about equal to them and quite as well organized.

Servia lies south of the Danube, north thereof. This makes, under present conditions, a factor

political and military importance. Her southwestern frontier is not far removed from that portion of Herzegovina where the present insurrection begun. The southern extremity of Bosnia, very narrow thereabouts, is inhabited by a sparse population in full sympathy. It is cut up by easily defended defiles of the Dinaric mountain system, and separates active and independent Serbia from insurgent and fighting Herzegovina.

The Herzegovina field is easily defended. If the insurgents have means they may readily be supplied with arms, as Austrian Dalmatia, with its Adriatic seaboard, lies along the western border of the mountain bowl in which the insurrection is progressing. The Bosnian peninsula cannot well be occupied to advantage by the Turks, while semi-independent Serbia and Turkish Serbia, lying east, are in full sympathy, and within a day or two's march, through mountain defiles easily traversed by insurrectionary bands, and as easily held against military forces attacking them, with Montenegro, independent and under Russian protection to the south, whose people hate the Turks and are always "spoiling for a fight" with them.

To all intents and purposes, then, Roumania can be counted out. Should the fight go on it will undoubtedly be the policy of Berlin to hold back the Hospadar until the period when his moving can effectually decide an issue.

There are some interesting facts in relation to the Herzegovina movement which seem to give it a more formidable aspect than preceding insurrections against Turkey have assumed. The population is estimated at from 260,000 to 300,000, of whom 112,000 are set down as Greek Catholics, 35,000 to 45,000 as Roman Catholics; while of the remainder about 110,000 are Mahometans, and the balance Jews and Christians known as Paterenes or Paulists. This sect has a memorable history. Filibe, a city in Rummelia, is the present head-center of the sect founded by the famous schismatic, Basil, the Armenian theologian, whom in the twelfth century the Greek Emperor, Alexis Comnenus, burnt for his heresy. His followers became known as Paulinists, Paulicians, and at present as Paterenes. Their doctrines

have deeply marked the history of Western Europe, being the foundation of the Albigenses in France and Spain, and later of the Waldenses in Italy. They gave rise to the English Lollards, the Bohemian Hussites, while Eastern Nestorians and Western Calvinists can claim a doctrinal sympathy with Dr. Basil. This sect has a strong hold in the Herzegovina, and also in Bosnia and Turkish Serbia. The Franciscan friars were early sent to combat them, and these monks are the only celebrants of the Latin service in the insurrectionary provinces. For the first time in the history of Slavic-Turkish outbreaks the Greek and Latin Catholics appear to act in harmony.

Outside of European Turkey itself there are two great powers directly interested in the solution of the Slavonian question on the Danube. These are Russia and Austria. France has lost her role of general intermeddler in European affairs, and must perforce content herself with looking after her own matters. There are blessings unawares, and this is one of decided benefit to France. Germany has plucked her robes and wears them with lofty pride. It remains to be seen whether they will prove as great a curse to the Teuton as they have been to the Frank.

Great Britain's chief interest is in the shekels she has loaned to Turkey and their repayment. Her only other interest is to keep the road open to India. That, may necessitate the occupation of Egypt; a contingency now much discussed by the European press. A few years more and the Khedive's power will have become so well consolidated that he might not only make himself independent of Constantinople, but of Lombard and Downing streets also. If the present trouble does not produce a general complication, the Khedive of Egypt will yet rule over an African empire extending to the equator.

Practically the solution of the Slavonian question in Eastern Europe lies between Austria and Russia. Whatever may be said of or by the latter power it may always be regarded as certain that her agents and treasury are busily engaged in fomenting Turkish disintegration so as to promote Rus-

sian interests. If they do not seem to work as earnestly as in the past, it is not because they are not at work, but, in reality, because Czarism, or the present system, is on trial in Russia, perhaps even on the eve of disrapture, and the "powers that be" do not find themselves, as formerly, wholly untrammelled by home complications. Recent reports indicate the partial discovery of another one of the great revolutionary conspiracies which have been continually forming in Russia ever since the Napoleonic wars.

The Empire of Austria seems to have the largest stake in seeing maintained the *statu quo* in Turkey. Successful disrapture now would throw the game into the hands of Russia. Berlin would probably aid St. Petersburg. Peace and internal development for Servia and Roumania must permanently bring advantages to the Austro-Hungarian government. The railroad system developing in the Danubian provinces must link them more closely to Austria. The chief obstacle to the coalition of the Turkish Slavs, the Servian and Roumanians, with those in Austria, is to be found in the difference of religion, as the latter are nearly all Latin Catholics, while the former are of the Greek Church. The "Young Servia" party—that of action—hopes to make that country the leader, now and hereafter. The Roumanians are of the same general mind, with a Germanic influence in the Government, while in Moldavia, its northern province, a decided Russian propaganda is always in active eruption.

Inside the Turkish Empire in Europe there are various forces fighting to maintain the *statu quo*; outside of it are others even more potent still. In dealing with those inside, there must be set down as foremost the practical alliance with the Sultan's government of the great body of the Greeks—about one million strong. They are and have always been the chief merchants and traders, the manufacturers and the priests, the bankers, also, and in later years the diplomats. They are the journalists of the Levant, as well as of European Turkey. During the past thirty years or so there has been a good deal of new blood infused into the leading Phanariote and Levantine families. The

former designation embraces the Greek colony at Constantinople, from which the Turks have always recruited their chief allies; those who have long absorbed control of the Greek-Christian interests, temporal and theological. Next to these allies, the right hand of the Osmanlis minority in controlling their heterogeneous Christian subjects, comes the religious differences and ethnographical distinctions which have been so fruitful of division and consequent subjection.

As the majority of the Christian populations are of the Greek Church, the Greek, who in reality has neither race or national identity, but is only a keen-witted, subtly-ambitious, money-making, intriguing individual, seeking personal advancement, has again been the useful instrument of the Turk. The Sultan's government has long been known as more liberal and equitable in dealing with the Christian churches under its control than are those churches in dealing with each other. Mahometan fanaticisms and outbreaks are local, not governmental.

After all, the serious question in all this discussion is the impending presence in eastern Europe, as an immediate and direct influence, of the Slavonian race. There are seventy millions of this stock. They outnumber either the Germanic and the Roumanic or Latin peoples. There are twenty millions in the Austrian Empire; those in European Turkey with the Poles of Prussia make another ten or twelve millions. The balance are Russian. That Empire is under the control of a curious admixture. The Czar and the Imperial family influences are all Germanic in character. The ruling church influence is Greek and Eastern—neither Slavonic or Asiatic. The people are Russian, *i. e.*, Slavonian. The rich merchants and the artizans—the men of the towns—are "old Slavs" in character and politics. The men of the "Land Commune"—the peasants, twenty millions of whom were emancipated in 1861—are a people old in stock, but fresh, young, and primal in their cosmo-political aspects.

The most important point in connection with the possible, aye, the probable consummation of this dream is the fact that the

nian is essentially democratic, and what is so dreaded by those who take their opinions ready-made and to order—Communitic in character. The common ownership of the soil, with co-operative cultivation and communal government of the peasants, are the distinctive and apparently ineradicable marks of the Russian Slav. One of the least understood, but most interesting of historical studies is that of this fundamental institution of Slavonic life. Everywhere it is to be seen, though in Russia it exists in its most distinctive form. In Poland the Commune was uprooted in part by the enforced grafting of a feudal system. Among the Southern Slavs, however, it is to be found. Their social idea or germ is evidently handed down from the earliest forms of Aryan life. The Slavs settled in villages and cultivated in common. All inside was *zagon*, and belonged to the Commune; all outside was *sudo* and foreign; each village was *swoboda* or free. The old men were the rulers, selected by the whole village. The cottage and garden land belonged to the family. The rest was worked by all, and the harvest belonged to all. This is to-day essentially the Russian Commune. Every effort has

been brought to bear to stimulate individual ownership and occupancy since emancipation. The failure has been so marked that in suppressing the last formidable Polish outbreak the Government deliberately established the Communal system in Lithuania for the purpose of permanently separating the Polish peasantry from the nobles—therefore allies against Russia. The policy seems to have worked well. Without the Commune, Russian emancipation would have either resulted in reaction or a revolution.

The transfer of this great race to the Golden Horn; from the frozen Neva to the sunny Bosphorus; from the inhospitable Baltic to the classic Ægean sea; to regions where the soil is already ripe for the consideration of the momentous questions embraced by the Russian or Slavonic land system, might result in making the western and not the eastern half of that continent the "sick man of Europe." All these issues are bound up in the present contest, or the one sure to come, whether it shall be waged in the near future on the Danube, in the Servian, Bulgarian and Moldavian plains, or as now among the Dinaric Alps by the Bosnian and Herzegovian mountaineers.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

In reviewing the anti-slavery revolution now drawing to a close, it is remarkable to observe how closely the Democratic party has followed in the track of Southern resistance. When we elected Mr. Lincoln and aimed to restrict slavery, the South seceded and made war. Gen. McClellan's platform was, stop the war. When we re-elected President Lincoln and abolished slavery, President Lincoln was assassinated. Mr. Seymour's platform was virtually the Blair letter repudiating the anti-slavery amendments. When we elected General Grant and confirmed reconstruction on the plan of impartial suffrage, the Ku-Klux rising took place. Mr. Greeley's platform was reconciliation with that part of the Southern people represented by the Ku-Klux. When we re-elected President Grant and decided that the recent amendments should be enforced, the White League made its appearance. And it is fair to pre-

sume that the prevailing sentiment of the Democratic Convention next year, will be sympathy with the White League.

A secret object of aversion with the White League is the common school, and especially the colored school; and this is not only likely to interfere with the subordination of the working class, but also on the ground of unwonted expense. The expense of a modern popular State is in the best of times much greater than that of an aristocratic slave State. Government by the whole people, in the interest of the whole people, involves many public burdens inseparable from modern culture and enlightenment, among which one of the most characteristic is the maintenance of common schools, in order that every citizen may have intelligence enough to discharge his duties in the State in which he has a voice.

On the other hand, in an old-fashioned

slave State, governed by a wealthy class with a single eye to the interest of that class, the functions of government could be reduced to their lowest terms, and they were performed by members of the privileged class who were directly interested in keeping down the expense. The working class, without property or freedom, knew the Government chiefly as a police, and even this function was more limited than in a free State, being largely supplied by the control of the master and overseer.

Now, if a well-rooted free Government is naturally more expensive than the government of a slave State, much more is this the case with the first establishment of free government in a country where the greater part of the people lack the preparation of early instruction and the habit of public responsibility, while those who are otherwise most competent to take part are bitterly hostile to the new order of things. The waste and dishonesty that have been incidental to reconstruction and enforcement under these circumstances have aggravated the necessary burdens, which would in the best of hands have been severely felt by those who had just been impoverished by war and emancipation. This has afforded a pretext for still further resisting the inevitable, and thus postponing that honest and thorough acceptance of the logical results of this great revolution which alone can give the South lasting peace and her rightful share in the common prosperity.

The danger, then, in those States which are controlled by the White League or kindred organizations is that the dominant party there will not stop with the reformation of abuses, but will go on to restore as far as possible the old political régime, and that they will not only check waste, but so cut down the legitimate expenses of modern popular government as to cripple its beneficent energies at a time when a broad foundation should be laid, and nothing omitted to secure a safe and prosperous future. In the eyes of the old South, nothing is more extravagant, not to say pernicious, than a thorough system of public schools, without any denial or abridgment of the right to common instruction on account of

race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This view has already led to deplorable results in Texas and Arkansas, and the same thing is now to be feared in Mississippi.

In the North the Catholic hierarchy is, for reasons which it is not necessary to discuss, as hostile to common schools as the old South; and both look to the Democratic party for aid and comfort. President Grant's speech, therefore, on the eve of the late elections, was an instance of his happy faculty of hitting the nail on the head, and not only understanding his times in general, but seeing the critical point in the battle. Governor Hayes declares he owes his election to the school question; and the defeat of Tammany Hall, as well as the reduction of Governor Tilden's majority to a manageable quantity, was largely owing to the popular feeling on this subject. In New York, it will be remembered, there was no financial issue.

The party that holds the initiative shapes the opposition it encounters. In the approaching Presidential canvass Republicans must expect to encounter the condensed resistance to the previous four years' progress. Once fairly overcome, that resistance will cease to endanger the results of what may probably be regarded as the last aggressive anti-slavery administration. The revolution then will be complete in its main outline, and the details must, in the nature of things, be left to time and the growth of a new public spirit throughout the South.

Reconstruction and its enforcement mean simply the establishment, in spite of lingering resistance, of modern popular States on the ruins of the old slave States. The last effective resistance to the principle of impartial suffrage was overcome by the resolution of President Grant, and there is now being encountered, under one form or another, secret or avowed hostility to that which alone can make universal suffrage anything but a peril or a mockery. Free suffrage logically implies free schools, and all opposition to the system, whether from class interest or clerical prejudice, must be crushed out if we desire to make the anti-slavery revolution complete, or to maintain the integrity of American institutions.

It is an issue which the people can understand as soon as pointed out, and the importance of which they can readily estimate. The best of platforms in other respects, and the best of candidates, cannot save the Democratic party from another defeat unless it

can free itself from complicity with Southern and Northern designs upon the common schools. But it is difficult to see how that party can escape the logic of history, which has made it the natural ally of all who cherish such designs.

THE REVISED STATUTES. *

When Charles Sumner first entered the Senate one of the early public measures introduced by him was a proposition to revise and consolidate the general statutes of the United States. This greatly needed measure was pressed upon the attention of the Senate year after year by Mr. Sumner, until finally, in 1866, Congress took the requisite action, and a commission for this purpose was authorized. The gentlemen first appointed upon the commission, (among whom was our present minister to Spain,) though eminent in their profession as practicing lawyers, made little progress with the work during their term of office. In 1870 the commission was reorganized by the appointment of Judge C. P. James, of Ohio, Judge V. C. Barringer, of North Carolina, and Benjamin V. Abbott of New York. These gentlemen prepared the revision of the statutes of a general nature, constituting substantially the first volume of the present work as the same was presented to Congress (though then in an unfinished state) in December, 1872.

The resolution prescribing the duties of the commissioners authorized them to suggest to Congress such changes in the law as they might deem essential to its harmony and completeness. This power was exercised sparingly and with great judiciousness, but it was the subsequent opinion of Congress that no departure whatever from the strict meaning of the original law should be embraced in the revision. Accordingly the work as reported by the commissioners was referred to the Joint Committee of the respective houses of Congress on the Revision of the Laws, with instructions to cause the same to be completed in conformity with

this view for presentation to Congress at the opening of the succeeding session. The Joint Committee selected the Hon. Thomas J. Durant, of Washington, who has been not inaptly styled "the greatest civil lawyer in America since Roselius," to perform this important service. The eminent judicial ability and conscientious devotion in the discharge of public duty for which Mr. Durant is distinguished was a guaranty that the work committed to him would be properly and faithfully performed. Under his personal supervision each section of the commissioners' report was compared with the original law as found in the Statutes at Large, and the revision in its present form was submitted by him to the Joint Committee in December, 1873, and duly reported to Congress. Meanwhile, copies had been sent to the several United States judges, district attorneys, and other prominent persons throughout the country, requesting notice of any errors or discrepancies which might be discovered in the work. Pending the final passage of the revision, the Committee on the Revision of the Laws on the part of the House of Representatives, consisting of Judge Poland of Vermont, Judge Hoar of Massachusetts, Judge Lawrence of Ohio, Judge Duell of New York, Hon. J. Allen Barber of Wisconsin, Hon. James M. Pendleton of Rhode Island, Hon. W. S. Moore of Pennsylvania, Judge Cason of Indiana, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Hon. C. W. Kendall of Nevada, and Hon. Robert M. Knapp of Illinois, made a further and final examination of the work. This labor, the most onerous as well as the most important which could be performed by a committee of Congress, was executed by these gentlemen with a diligence, thoroughness, and painstaking care which entitle them to all praise. The work was appor-

*Revised Statutes of the United States. Parts I and II. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1875.

tioned among the several members of the committee, each of whom received the matter assigned him, testing its accuracy by a reference to and examination of the Statutes at Large in every instance. The committee further availed themselves of the experience and knowledge of officers of the executive departments of the Government respecting matters with which such officers were especially familiar.

Few persons are aware of the vast amount of labor involved in these repeated examinations of the whole seventeen volumes of the Statutes at Large for the purpose of insuring the correctness of the revision, but it will readily be perceived from the brief history here given of the precautions taken in this regard, that the revision contemplated as accurate a reflex and embodiment of the original law as was possible to be made, and that certainly no room remains for any reasonable presumption of an intentional departure from pre-existing legislation.

In describing the processes by which the Revised Statutes came into existence, this particularity of detail has been adopted because some attempts have been made by the Opposition press to discredit the revision through allegations of its being at variance with the original law, especially with respect to that portion relating to customs duties.

That such allegations have been made under a total misapprehension as to both the prior and the present state of the law there is no more doubt than there is that the same allegations have been reiterated without any attempt to verify them, but solely with a view to the disparagement of a work undertaken by a Republican Congress.

The earliest statements respecting the alleged inaccuracy of the revision of the customs laws which were brought to public attention appeared in an article published in the New York *World* while the revision was being prepared for the press. General Butler, the former Chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws on the part of the House of Representatives, forwarded a copy of the *World's* statement to Mr. Durant, with a request for an examination and re-

port. The result of Mr. Durant's examination was duly communicated to General Butler, and by him laid before the committee. It appeared that out of a list of some twenty articles subject to duty mentioned by the *World* as bearing a different and increased rate under the revision than had formerly been imposed, not more than two or three were found to be specifically mentioned either in the revision or in the original law, and that these were articles embraced in the last tariff act that preceded the revision, (the act of 1872,) which placed an additional duty of ten per cent. upon certain importations. As to these articles, therefore, the misstatement of there having been an unauthorized increase of duty was clearly shown. As to the articles not specifically named in the law, the compiler of the list as published in the *World* may have been misled by a comparison of a late with some former set of *Treasury Regulations* into assuming, without an examination, that the law had been changed. That no examination of the law could have been made as a basis for the statement of alleged variations was apparent from the facts in respect to the articles included in the list referred to, which were specifically named in the tariff schedules. Had the writer in the *World* examined either the Statutes at Large or the revision itself he would have discovered the amended law, or the reference thereto. That he did not do so is the only alternative against a presumption of intentional misstatement. There is no desire to presume the misstatements intentional, but no doubt can exist that they must have arisen without proper inquiry into the facts.

The larger portion of dutiable goods are classified under general heads. It is often very difficult to determine in which class any particular article of manufacture belongs, and that changes in classification sometimes become necessary is merely an incident of the administration of the customs laws which cannot be avoided. Besides, every amendment to the law, by subsequent legislation, renders a revision of the Treasury regulations necessary as to all articles embraced in the amendatory act or affected thereby i

the status of their classification. The presumption therefore that any change possibly found at any time in the Treasury regulations denotes an unauthorized change of the law in the Revised Statutes is wholly unwarranted.

It is apparent that all the charges which have been made alleging a change in the rate of duties under the Revised Statutes have no better foundation than such as are here indicated. It is within the power of any person, having access to the Statutes at Large and to the Revised Statutes, to satisfy himself as to the correctness or incorrectness of any particular section or matter in the revision if he will take the trouble to do so. That duty has been performed before pronouncing the present judgment. Care has been taken, not only to examine each instance which has been brought to public notice where an increased rate of duty is alleged to have been imposed under the Revised Statutes, but to make a thorough comparison in detail of all that portion of the revision relating to customs duties with the prior tariff acts of Congress, and this with no predilection in favor of the revision, but solely for the purpose of ascertaining the exact facts in the case. The result is an utter failure to find the allegations referred to, whether general or special, sustained in any particular. On the contrary, it has been found that the Revised Statutes relating to customs duties are simply the reduplication, in consolidated form, of the exact terms of the tariff acts previously in force as contained in the Statutes at Large.

It is possible that error may occur in any revision or repetition of a law, and that such error may be overlooked in a very careful examination. But that any error of moment exists in the revision of the tariff schedules would seem from the thorough investigations which have been made to be highly improbable. Of course, any errors which may at any time be found to exist in any part of the Revised Statutes can be, and doubtless will be, at once corrected by an amendatory act of Congress. This consideration should of itself dispel any attempted reflection upon the integrity of the revision.

It is also not only possible, but a circum-

stance hardly to be avoided in a work of the magnitude of the Revised Statutes of the United States, that some incidental omissions of law should occur. In making a comparison of the work of the revisors with the original statutes it was no part of the reviewer's duty to ascertain whether everything in the statutes was embraced in the revision, but only whether everything in the revision was, or seemed to be, justified by the statutes to which reference was made. The same remark is true as to the labor of the committee in the examination of the reviewer's report. An examination of the original statutes for the discovery of possible omissions would, in either case, have involved going over the whole ground of a new and independent revision, which was, of course, impracticable in the time allowed. The only remaining method of determining the entire accuracy of the revision was by the test of its practical operation. This was certain to bring to light all errors or discrepancies of whatever character. Then such errors or discrepancies, if found, and, as discovered, could be corrected by an act of Congress. This was the understanding and expectation of the committee and of Congress at the time of the passage of the revision. Hence it is that any inaccuracy or omission, or any supposed inaccuracy or omission, should be brought to the notice of the proper committees of either House of Congress for due examination and correction, instead of being made the basis of a superficial attack upon the general character of the work.

In respect to the literary execution of the Revised Statutes, we are free to say that this branch of the work is open to fair criticism. It was Mr. Sumner's wish that a uniform, dignified, and polished style should be adopted in the revision. The revisors did not feel authorized to incur the risk of giving an incorrect interpretation of the law by restating it in different language than that employed in the original acts, where any essential change could be avoided. They contented themselves, therefore, by striking out the more manifest phrases of surplusage where a consolidation of acts did not involve a rewriting, but preserved the general form, and, as far as practicable, the language of

the original statutes, irrespective of the minor faults of syntax. In this the revisors unquestionably pursued the safe course, since correctness of the text rather than purity of style was the important object to be attained.

The sectional arrangement of the Revised Statutes, and other work of special editorial nature, might, however, have been improved. The revision bears the marks of some disjointed labor, doubtless consequent upon the employment of many different persons in its original preparation, and the apparent absence of one harmonizing head to the whole. In many of the titles there is a want of consecutiveness in the order in which the sections appear relative to the subdivisions of the subject under treatment, and in several instances sections are found in one title or chapter which would seem to more properly belong to some other title or chapter. In the latter respect a difficulty naturally occurs, since the same law frequently relates to several subjects, and it is not always easy to determine the more appropriate head under which a particular section should be placed.

Still, there are instances in the revision in which a transposition of certain sections might have been made with advantage to the clear presentation of the law.

The cross references, rendered necessary by the unavoidable distribution of sections bearing upon one subject among several special titles, are not as complete as they might have been made. It is evident that conflicting ideas as to the utility of this branch of the editorial service governed its execution. The result is that in consulting the Revised Statutes it will not always do to assume that one's attention is directed by the sectional references to all the law upon the subject under examination. Other relevant titles, if any such there are, as well as other portions of the same title, may sometimes be advantageously searched.

These are the principal defects of the revision. The grouping of sections in their subdivisional order is not sufficiently compact, nor are the cross references sufficiently numerous. It is doubtless from these facts that many errors in the revision have been

presumed which do not in reality exist. The index does not wholly cure the difficulties here pointed out, for while voluminous, and as a whole far superior to the former indexes to the statutes at large, it is still quite uneven, and in some portions, especially as relating to the operations of the Treasury Department, it is not as complete as might be desired.

Among minor points of criticism to which the Revised Statutes are properly subject, may be noted some want of compliance with the rule laid down in section 10, which says that "section's" should be confined, as nearly as may be, to single propositions. A more general adherence to this rule would have contributed to the perfectibility of the revision.

There is also evidence of some want of deliberation in the annotations to sections in many portions of the work. Sometimes concise, sometimes redundant, the method of statement employed in the marginal notes lacks uniformity, while the principal subject-matter of the text is not always as clearly indicated as might have been possible. But the faults of literary and editorial execution as here alluded to do not affect the general merits of the revision, and are none of them of a serious character, while, taking the revision as a whole, it is eminently a creditable, as it is practically a most invaluable work of national and permanent importance.

The Revised Statutes of the United States are published in two volumes. The first volume, or the Revised Statutes proper, embraces the laws "of a general and permanent nature" which were in force on the first day of December, 1873. This is the volume, or part, which is distinctively entitled "The Revised Statutes of the United States," and it is to this volume that reference is uniformly made when such title is used. It is to this part, also, that the foregoing remarks are particularly applicable.

The second volume, or part, contains a revision of the laws relating exclusively to the District of Columbia, a list of post roads in the United States, and a very carefully edited compilation of the public treaties made with foreign powers from July 4, to December 1, 1873. This part was included in the work of the original co-

sioners, but was subsequently prepared under the direction of Mr. Durant, the work of revising the statutes relative to the District of Columbia having been chiefly performed, and the preparation of the treaties made under Mr. Durant's supervision, by Mr. J. W. Le Barnes, of Washington, who has made the laws governing the District a matter of especial study, and who had been associated with Mr. Durant in his previous work upon the general revision.

The District revision, or "The Revised Statutes relating to the District of Columbia," embrace all the acts of Congress of a general and permanent character in reference to the District from the period of the selection of the District as the seat of Government of the United States to December 1, 1873. This revision supplies a want long felt in legislating for the District as well as in the administration of the local laws, and it presents in a compact and perspicuous form the whole body of Congressional law existing in force at the last named date.

All the law relating to any general subject, except as otherwise embraced in the Revised Statutes proper, is here found under its particular head, while the sections in every chapter are so arranged as to follow each other in their logical order of sequence. The exact law in reference to any special matter is therefore clearly presented, and the cross references to correlative sections, both in the same work and in the general revision, are full and complete. An exhaustive index accompanies this revision.

The revision of the District laws appears to have been made with a scrupulous fidelity to the original enactments, the substance of these being preserved in the consolidated statutes with minute detail. In the volume examined a few verbal errors and one or two omissions are noted for future correction, no reprintings for this purpose having been had, the volume appearing in final form as it left the revisors hands in the first instance.

It is perhaps a matter of regret that Congress should have required the District laws, the post roads, and the public treaties to be embraced in one volume, since these several subjects have no relation to each other. The post road list can have no purpose of utility

unless for the use of the Post Office Department, while the District revision is of a local nature, and should have been separately bound. The dignity of our foreign relations, as well as convenience of reference, would also make desirable a single volume of the treaties unincumbered by any other matter. The editor of the second volume, apprehending the possibility of such change of form, took the precaution to so change the several subjects by separate paging and indexing that a division of the parts can be made in future editions simply by a separate binding. No expense for rearrangement will therefore be required in order to make a separate publication hereafter.

Both volumes of the Revised Statutes as now published were prepared for the press under the general direction and supervision of the Secretary of State, whose signature, and the seal of the United States, attest their authenticity.

Each volume contains about 1440 large octavo pages, superbly printed upon paper manufactured expressly for the purpose, and substantially bound in law calf. The typographical appearance and general mechanical execution of these volumes fully authorize the Government Printing Office to lay claim to a just superiority over private establishments in the publication of works of such magnitude, while the low price at which the volumes are sold to the public attest the vast economies of associated labor under Government supervision.

That the Government Printing Office should be able to do a better quality of work, when desired, than ordinary publishing houses is not to be wondered at when it is considered that the Government can command the best obtainable material, facilities, and skill, as also the most abundant supply of either. That the Government Office should be able to do a greater amount of work in a given time than can elsewhere be performed is also easily seen for the same reasons. To any other establishment in the United States, probably to any other in the world, it would be a marvel, impossible of realization, to present the whole proceedings of a day's session of Congress, after lasting until midnight, at an early hour the following morn-

ing. Yet this is the feat regularly performed by the Government Printing Office.

In addition to a capacity for superior skillfulness, and to the means for unrivaled rapidity of execution, that the Government Printing Office should also present an example of marked economy in the performance of public work is a fact not so generally known. Indeed, strenuous efforts are systematically made, both by interested persons and for partisan purposes, to create a different and widely incorrect opinion. No arguments are equal to facts. The Revised Statutes are sold to the public through the office of the Secretary of State for three dollars and seventy-five cents per volume, which price covers the whole cost to the Government and ten per cent. additional. The uniform estimate of experienced publishers is that if printed at private establishments the retail price would be fifteen dollars. The binding alone, if done by private parties would cost as much as the complete volume now sells for. By being done at the Government Office, lawyers and other purchasers are saved the sum of eleven dollars on each volume, while the saving to the Government on the volumes required for public distribution is relatively as great.

This example does not constitute an exceptional instance of the great economy to the Government and to the purchasing public in having the public printing performed directly by the Government without the intervention of private contracts. Under the former contract with Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, the cost to the Government of the several editions of the Statutes at Large was double the amount of their present cost as executed in handsomer form at the Government Office. The difference in the cost to the purchasing public is still greater. The regular price of the paper-covered volumes of the session laws, as published under the former arrangement, was \$2.50. The same volume as now printed at the Government Office sell at from 75 cents to \$1.10. The average cost to the purchaser is less than one dollar per volume, including postage, against the former price of \$2.50. And yet the new volumes are printed upon paper costing one-third more than the paper pre-

viously used, and the Government edition is, besides, superior in all other respects of mechanical execution, as well as of editorial arrangement, to the former editions. With respect to the bound volume of the Statutes at Large the same rules hold good, and similar economic results are shown.

It is undoubtedly true that the saving to the Treasury on the work performed at the Government Printing Office amounts to no less than from one to two millions of dollars annually. Under a return to the system of private contracts this whole sum would be annually diverted from the Treasury into the pockets of the private employing printers, the wages paid for labor would be reduced, an inferior quality of work would be performed, and the contractors only would be benefited. The secret of the annual Democratic attacks upon the Government Printing Office, as well as the motive for making the usual fictitious charges of "corruption," "centralization," &c., is to be found in the facts here related of the public saving effected under the existing arrangement, and the private profits which might be realized if the Government Office could be broken down. Possibly the same motives have something to do with the clamor raised in certain quarters for the purpose of creating a distrust of the correctness of the Revised Statutes. If the preparation of a new edition could be ordered on the ostensible ground of its necessity for the correction of errors, and the publication be given to private firms or awarded under contract, the lawyers of the country and other purchasers would be compelled to pay the full price of \$15 per volume, and several fortunes might be realized by the promoters of the scheme. Perhaps in view of all the facts, a Republican Senate will decide to let the Revised Statutes stand for the present, making any needed corrections by supplemental act, and also effectively interpose to prevent the contemplated raid upon the Treasury involved in the withdrawal of the public printing from the Government Office.

Six British frigates, now at the East Indies, will shortly leave for the Mediterranean via the Suez Canal.

CHURCH AND STATE—PRESIDENT GRANT'S AND MR BLAINE'S PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Among the important propositions that have been made in consequence of the active discussion now in progress over the school question is one embraced by the following letter from the Hon. James G. Blaine. Its date shows it to have been written shortly after the Ohio election, and to have been addressed to a friend in that State :

AUGUSTA, ME., *October 20, 1875.*

MY DEAR SIR: The public school agitation in your late campaign is liable to break out elsewhere, and, occurring first in one State and then in another, may keep the whole country in ferment for years to come. This inevitably arouses sectarian feeling, and leads to that bitterest and most deplorable of all strifes, the strife between religious denominations. It seems to me that this question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way; and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for non-sectarian schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards and at any cost. The dread of sectarian legislation in this country has been felt many times in the past. It began very early. The first amendment of the Constitution—the joint product of Jefferson and Madison, proposed in 1789—declared that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” At that time, when the powers of the Federal Government were untried and undeveloped, the fear was that Congress might be a source of danger to perfect religious liberty, and hence all power was taken from it. At the same time the States were left free to do as they pleased in regard to “an establishment of religion,” for the tenth amendment, proposed by that eminent jurist, Theophilus Parsons, and adopted contemporaneously with the first, declared that “all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.” A majority of the people in any State in this Union can, therefore, if they desire it, have an established church—under which the minority may be taxed for the erection of church edifices which they never enter, and for the support of creeds in which they do not believe. This power was actually exercised in some of the States long after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and although there may be no positive danger of its revival in the future, the possibility of it should not be permitted. The auspicious

time to guard against an evil is when all unite in preventing it.

And in curing this Constitutional defect all possibility of hurtful agitation on the school question should be ended also. Just let the old Jefferson-Madison amendment be applied to the States by adding the following to the inhibitory clauses in Section 10, Article 1, of the Federal Constitution, viz :

“No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations.”

This, you will observe, does not interfere with any State having just such a school system as its citizens may prefer, subject to the single and simple restriction that the schools shall not be made the arena for sectarian controversy or theological disputation. This adjustment, it seems to me, would be comprehensive and conclusive, and would be fair alike to Protestant and Catholic, to Jew and Gentile—leaving the religious faith and the conscience of every man free and unmolested.

Very sincerely yours, J. G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine may have laid too much stress upon the tenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, to which he refers in connection with the first—the joint work of Jefferson and Madison. There can now be little doubt that the Supreme Court would be undivided as to the application partially made by Mr. Blaine. The prime question that necessarily enters into such a discussion must be, whether or not the establishment of any form of worship as an established State religion, by one or more of the States of this Union, would not be an act in contravention of Republican guarantees, and therefore against both the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution, as well as directly opposed to public policy and the common weal. Much more than the letter of the Theophilus Parson amendment must of necessity enter into the argument. It involves all the historical facts, as well as intentions, connected with the foundation of the Federal Union. No student, statesman, or jurist would undertake to assert at this time that the First Congress, by whom the first

twelve amendments were adopted and then submitted to the State Legislatures, intended for a moment by the tenth amendment to accord to any State the privilege of establishing that institution which they expressly prohibited the General Government, through Congress, from doing.

The contemporaneous discussion is full of interest, especially that which took place in Virginia at the time. When the Colony declared itself independent, the establishment of the Episcopal form of worship as a State Church was strongly advocated by several prominent persons. Mr. Jefferson, as well as Mr. Madison, were especially active and successful in opposing it. Mr. Jefferson, as President, did not issue proclamations for either public fasts or thanksgivings, on the ground that the State ought not to recognize any religion or religious ceremony, even of such an unsectarian a character as are those indicated. But the value of Mr. Blaine's proposition for a Constitutional amendment inhibiting any State or States from establishing a public form of worship, or of dividing the public moneys among any sect, or using the same for any sectarian purpose, is not limited by the fallacy which it would seem he has fallen into, in basing the need of such an amendment upon what he regards as a failure to directly restrict the States from doing that which the Federal Union is prohibited from doing. The argument for adopting such an amendment rests upon broader grounds.

President Grant has solemnly emphasized the position assumed in his speech at Des Moines, at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, by presenting to the country, in formal propositions, through his seventh annual message, the deliberate convictions he entertains. He has expressed himself quite freely since the Ohio election, and and in conversation with personal and political friends has heretofore announced his approval of an inhibitive amendment embracing, in substance at least, the latter portion of the amendment proposed in Mr. Blaine's letter. It is eminently satisfactory to find these distinguished public men agreeing so distinctly.

The argument of the President, as well as

the suggestions he submits, are of a broader cast—more inclusive and comprehensive in character than the single important point presented by Mr. Blaine. The President says, with great sincerity and clearness of expression, when speaking of the dangers to which the Republic may be liable, that—

“Under such a form of government it is of the greatest importance that all should be possessed of education and intelligence enough to cast a vote with a right understanding of its meaning. A large association of ignorant men cannot, for any considerable period, oppose a successful resistance to tyranny and oppression from the educated few, but will inevitably sink into acquiescence to the will of intelligence, whether directed by the demagogue or by priestcraft. Hence the education of the masses becomes of the first necessity for the preservation of our institutions. They are worth preserving, because they have secured the greatest good to the greatest proportion of the population of any form of government yet devised. All other forms of government approach it just in proportion to the general diffusion of education, and independence of thought and action. As the primary step, therefore, to our advancement in all that has marked our progress in the past century, I suggest for your earnest consideration—and most earnestly recommend it—that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birth-place, or religions; forbidding the teaching in said schools of religious, atheistic, or pagan tenets; and prohibiting the granting of any school funds, or school taxes, or any part thereof, either by legislative, municipal, or other authority, for the benefit, or in aid, directly or indirectly, of any religious sect or denomination, or in aid, or for the benefit of any other object of any nature or kind whatever.

“In connection with this important question I would also call your attention to the importance of correcting an evil that, if permitted to continue, will probably lead to great trouble in our land before the close of the 19th century. It is the accumulation of vast amounts of untaxed church property.

“In 1850, I believe, the church property of the United States which paid no tax, municipal or State, amounted to about \$83,000,000. In 1860 the amount had doubled. In 1875 it is about \$1,000,000,000. without check, it is safe to say thi

will reach a sum exceeding \$3,000,000,000. So vast a sum, receiving all the protection and benefits of government without bearing its proportion of the burdens and expenses of the same, will not be looked upon acquiescently by those who have to pay the taxes. In a growing country where real estate enhances so rapidly with time, as in the United States, there is scarcely a limit to the wealth that may be acquired by corporations, religious or otherwise, if allowed to retain real estate without taxation. The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to without taxation may lead to sequestration, without constitutional authority and through blood.

"I would suggest the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation, exempting only the last resting place of the dead; and possibly, with proper restrictions, church edifices."

The two distinct propositions thus embodied, in conjunction with others, are again repeated at the close of this admirable State paper—certainly the most significant and sagacious of the seven annual messages which President Grant has sent to Congress. The President says, in the following weighty words, that—

"As this will be the last annual message which I shall have the honor of transmitting to Congress before my successor is chosen, I will repeat or recapitulate the questions which I deem of vital importance which may be legislated upon and settled at this session."

He then urges that amendments, among others, shall be framed, providing—

"First, that the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits.

"Second, no sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the State, Nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community. Make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read or write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on grounds of illiteracy who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

"Third, declare Church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within their proper spheres; and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation."

That the country will heartily respond to these wise suggestions there can be no doubt. Embodied in the fundamental law

of the land, they will fitly and justly crown the close of our first century with a policy which will certainly make the future greater with beneficent results than even the glorious past has been of garnered deeds.

The need of setting at rest this vexatious issue cannot be denied. For the American Republic there is but one method, and that is fully stated by the President. He is sustained by the conclusion, to which all modern history points, that it is quite certain that mere abstention by a State from any direct prohibition of sectarian alliances or connections—that the mere declaration on its part of the purely secular character of its functions and policy—does not prevent interference therewith on the part of any church organization which assumes fundamentally that its duty, as well as right, is, the shaping of all human affairs, secular or otherwise, in direct accordance with its own philosophy, doctrine, and polity. The Roman Catholic Church organization is such a body. It only obeys the law of its existence in demanding control of all means of guiding the intellect and molding the conscience of mankind. The policy of abstention or total non-interference does not meet the all-pervading danger to the free and secular State, which is found to be a necessary consequence of its pervading propaganda and polity. There may be other sacerdotal organizations in the future bearing the same danger to the State, but at present the Vatican alone centralizes and embraces this antagonism—the aim under consideration. A policy so subtle—a power so mobile, yet so much in earnest—so full of zeal and so thoroughly sincere—believing so utterly in its divine right to control opinion and shape and direct all human institutions—is not to be stayed in its course by mere declarations that liberty of conscience is assured by the State. Stronger conditions must be created—safeguards so constructed as to insure that liberty of conscience is not destroyed under the broad ægis of liberty, and by means of the very declaration that is meant to insure its existence. Those safeguards are found in the practical direction indicated both by the President and Mr. Blaine. The passage of such inhibitory amendments as they pur-

pose would set at rest the legal aspects, at least, of the subject. Such amendments ought to be accepted by men of all parties. An opportunity of testing this has been offered by the President's propositions. It cannot be doubted that he will have for the amendments proposed the undivided support of all Republicans in Congress. The same may be fairly hoped from the Democrats. At any rate they must be required to meet the issue.

It is of interest at this time to take note of the Constitutional provisions already in existence. In addition to the inhibition so distinctly embraced by the first amendment to the Federal Constitution, an examination of the several State constitutions will show that the following States have followed directly in the same line:

Alabama has the simplest and most positive provision. It declares "that no religion shall be established by law." It also provides, as do all the others, in more or less elaborate declarations, that no person shall be deprived of the right to worship "according to the dictates of his own conscience." Connecticut declares "that no preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect, or mode of worship." The italics are not in the original. Delaware emphasizes its prohibition by declaring that "no preference can be given by law to any church, sect, or mode of worship." Florida provides that "the free exercise and enjoyment of all religious profession and worship shall be allowed in this State." The following States have put into their constitutions provisions similar in intent and substance to those quoted: Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—27 in all.

The other States—Arkansas, California, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New York, and Rhode Island, content themselves with broad declarations of the right of every citizen to liberty of conscience, and the large majority

of both groups also declare that no civil rights shall be denied or abridged on account of any religious opinions. In Pennsylvania, under the old constitution there was a disqualification as to holding office against all persons who denied the existence of God or disbelieved in future rewards and punishments. It is, however, practically obsolete. A similar provision is found in the constitutions of Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Mississippi, so far as the belief in God is concerned. Much of the language used in the older constitutions apparently looks to the free exercise only of the Christian faith in some one of its forms, but the spirit of our political system, and of the general declaration of liberty of conscience which is found in all such instruments, has always governed the interpretation of other clauses.

A general uniformity would, however, be desirable, and that result could hardly be better secured than by the adoption of the amendments proposed in the seventh annual message of President Grant, which includes the qualified one contained in Mr. Blaine's letter.

EDUCATION.—The number of schools in the empire of Japan now amounts to 12,597, exclusive of those of the six *ken*; 7,998 of these belong to the Government or are national schools, and the rest are private. The total number of scholars amounts to 1,182,968, one-third of whom are girls. The population of Japan is estimated at 32,794,897. The United States, with an estimated population of about 45,000,000, has an enrollment of 8,099,981 in the public schools, and an average daily attendance of 4,521,564 pupils.

It is reported that after January 1, 1876, the European companies controlling the ocean cable lines propose to transmission only such messages legitimate English words. This to do away with the use of *c* which are often employed for secrecy, and which frequent mistake made in their transmission disputes, usually terminating law. They also propose to charge rates for words containing no letters.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

One of the most gratifying evidences of the progress of genuine reconstruction in the former slave States is presented in their several State reports on the public schools. It is true, that just as fast as the Democracy resume control of the ex-rebel States there follows a more or less deliberate attempt to impair the efficiency of the common schools, if not to destroy them entirely. . But the seed sown by the sower—Freedom—falls to the ground, takes root, grows and brings harvest in due season. All things conspire for its growth—"the winds carry afar and re-sow, and the rains and the snows nourish."

So, in despite of the opposition of its fatuous enemies, the ideal of Republican government emerges in yearly growing glory and splendor. The common school system in the South, planted by the Union, and fed from every grave of those who died to maintain it, asserts its vitality and grows to larger usefulness. Even its enemies cannot wholly destroy, nor unwise friends do more than temporarily injure. A striking evidence of this is seen in the recent report (1874-75) upon education, made by the Reverend Dr. W. H. Ruffner, the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Vir-

ginia. It exhibits commendable progress. According thereto the total school population, in 1875, is as follows: Whites, 280,149; colored, 202,640; total, 482,789. The school age is between five and twenty-one years. According to the United States census of 1870 there were in the State of Virginia 441,971 persons of the same age. This shows an increase in 1875 of 40,818, or at the rate of one in three, a total of 122,454 persons on the whole population.

The number of enrolled pupils in the public schools for the year was 184,486. Of this total, 129,545 were white and 54,941 colored. This shows a percentage of about one in every two and one-twelfth of the white, and of a little less than one in three of the colored school population. It is a tolerably fair test of the extent to which accommodation is provided, and of the spirit that controls the system.

The average daily attendance falls considerably below the enrollment. It stands as follows: Whites, 74,056; colored, 29,871; total, 103,927. But meagre as are these figures in the light of the necessities, they still offer great encouragement over those of preceding periods. Dr. Ruffner gives the following figures:

	Attendance in all schools	Population.		Total.
		White.	Colored.	
1850.....	51,808	894,800	526,861	1,421,661
1860.....	67,024	1,047,299	548,907	1,596,206
1870.....	58,974	*712,089	512,841	1,224,920
1875.....	207,871	.....	.....	†1,347,374

*West Virginia is enumerated separately. It was embraced in the figures of 1860.
†This total is estimated—122,454 being added on account of increased school population and the total increase of exhibits.

These are significant figures. The later ones are by no means equal to the measure of existing necessities. Achieved results seem to be almost munificent by the side of the beggarly tyranny that in earlier and more prosperous days robbed the working people of Virginia of all opportunity of education.

Dr. Ruffner with just pride calls attention

to the remarkable growth in the total pupilage of the State, as compared with the preceding years given. The common school system provided for by the amended Constitution of 1870 went into operation in 1871. The report of the National Bureau of Education for 1874 gives the following figures, (those for 1875 were added from the State report under consideration :)

Comparative statement showing the condition of the school system for the year ended August 31, 1874, as compared with its condition for the three years which preceded.

	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.
Whole number of public schools.....	3,047	3,695	3,696	3,902	4,185
Whole number of graded schools		107	123	155	.....
Whole number of pupils enrolled.....	131,088	166,377	160,859	173,875	184,486
Whole number of pupils in average attendance.....	75,722	95,488	91,175	98,857	103,927
Percentage of school population enrolled.....	31.8	40.5	37.9	39.8	38.2
Percentage of school population in average attendance.....	18.8	23.2	21.5	22.6	.....
Percentage of average attendance on enrollment.....	59.0	57.4	56.6	56.8	.....
Number of teachers in public schools.....	3,084	3,853	3,757	3,962	4,262
Number of school-houses owned by districts..	190	504	764	1,034	*1,256
Value of public school property.....	\$211,166	\$389,380	\$524,638	\$682,500	†\$757,181
Average number of months schools were taught.....	4.66	5.72	5.22	5.40	5.59
Cost of tuition per month per pupil enrolled..	\$0 74	\$0 70	\$0 75	\$0 74	‡\$0 70
Average monthly salary of teachers.....	29 86	29 81	32 00	32 64	.....
Whole cost of public education for current expenses.....	587,472	816,812	814,494	873,145	\$924,118 47

*The total number of school-buildings reported is 4,561; 2,101 are built of logs; 1,617 of frame; 129 of brick, and 38 of stone.

†The value given is that of property owned by districts.

‡The whole cost of the public schools for 1875 is 89 cents per capita.

§The total cost was \$1,021,396 68.

The whole number of pupils attending school, public and private, excluding colleges, and those over twenty-one, is 207,771. 1,880 (all white) attended the colleges of the State last year; and 581 over twenty-one years old attended the public schools, of whom 385 were white and 196 colored. The number of pupils supplied during the year with text-books, at public expense, was 4,025. The current expenses for the year were \$924,118.47; for permanent improvements, including real estate, furniture, school apparatus, &c., \$97,278.21; total, \$1,021,396.68. The amount received from general taxation was \$478,750.46; from local taxation \$465,414.09. The balance was from the Peabody Fund, and other private sources.

Of the total number of public schools, 3,121 are for white scholars, and 1,064 for colored ones. The average number of months taught the past year was, in cities, 9.69, in country, 5.42; average in cities and country, 5.59. The number of pupils enrolled was 184,486, and of these 129,545 were white and 54,941 colored. The average daily attendance of pupils during the year was 103,927, or 74,056 white and 29,871 colored. The per centage of school population enrolled is, white, 46.2; colored, 27.1; total, 38.2. There are 3,723 white teachers, of whom 2,360 are males and 1,363 are

females; 539 are colored, of whom 351 are males and 188 are females. The total number of children between five and twenty-one years of age attending private schools is, 23,285, or 19,466 white and 3,819 colored—with 1,229 white teachers and ninety colored.

The State Agricultural and Mechanical College, which receives the income from the proceeds of two-thirds of the public lands appropriated to Virginia for educational purposes, has been in operation for three years. The first year the pupils numbered 132; the second year 197; the third year, 222. A great majority of these are sons of farmers and mechanics. They represent eighty counties and cities of the State, and ten are from other States.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, (for colored students,) of which General S. C. Armstrong is the founder and Principal, receives the income from the proceeds of one-third of the public lands appropriated by Congress to Virginia for education. It has been open over seven years, and during that time has had 563 pupils, of whom 342 were males and 221 females. Of the graduates 151 have engaged in teaching. 103 being males and 48 females. The last session there were 243 scholars, of whom only 152 were from Virginia, the remainder being from other States. Among the female

teachers of this institute are four graduates of Vassar College.

These are all encouraging facts. They offer the best tribute to the energy and good will of the Superintendent, while they afford conclusive evidence of the difficulty which the majority of the freed people encounter in availing themselves of the advantages intended to be at their disposal. An addition of 10,611 to the school attendance, and of 238 to the number of schools, during the year past, is satisfactory evidence of progress. Dr. Ruffner says :

“As a means of educating the people, the superiority of public over private instruction is sufficiently demonstrated by the recent history of education in Virginia. Previous to 1870 the people were dependent chiefly upon private schools for primary instruction. Many poor children had their tuition paid from the Literary Fund, and there were nine counties where there were some public schools. For higher instruction the State supported two institutions.

“The largest attendance in proportion to population was in the year 1860; but how small was that in comparison with the number in 1875. Our population in 1870 was about the same as that of 1860. There has, no doubt, been some increase of population in the last five years, which should, of course, be remembered; but observe the wide contrast in school attendance: In 1860, 67,024; in 1875, 207,771. If the colored pupils be thrown out of the calculation we have, in 1860, (all white,) 67,024; white pupils, public and private, in 1875, 149,011.”

In former years the State paid the expenses of about half the children attending private schools. In 1860 the number so cared for was 31,516. In order to obtain such aid, parents had to plead their inability to pay for tuition. The same rule existed throughout the South. To obtain education free, pauperism had to be avowed. In Virginia the children so aided were known as “poor scholars;” in the majority of slave States the term was applied to the schools themselves.

Mr. Jefferson denounced this dependence upon private tuition as sure to place Virginia in a degraded condition. He was a strenuous advocate of a common school system equivalent in character to that which Republican endeavor has placed among the permanent institutions of the “Old Dominion.”

How nearly the prediction of Mr. Jefferson was fulfilled may be seen by the following statement of illiteracy in Virginia, according to the United States census of 1870 :

Total population over ten years, 890,056

Males 427,455

Females 462,601

Total population of the State..... 1,224,920

Total illiterates over ten years, 445,893

Of these, 211,330 are males, and 234,563 are females. The proportion of illiterates to the total population is 50.10 per cent. The females rate at 50.77 per cent. The proportions are not greatly altered, as yet, though it is fair to presume that the larger proportion of the 334,864 persons who were under ten years of age in 1870 have received some educational training.

That the beneficent changes now being seen in Virginia are due entirely to the great political organization which not only successfully resisted the efforts of the Southern Democracy to destroy the Union, but repaid that base endeavor by creating new conditions and institutions in the South which are sure to bring peace and prosperity in their train, may be seen from a brief examination, among others, of the Constitutional provisions affecting education.

No educational provisions whatever were introduced into the Constitution of 1776, nor in the revision of 1830, when the policy of gradual emancipation came within a very few votes of being successful.

In 1851 the following was adopted :

Article IV—Subdivision of Taxation and Finance.

SECTION 24. A capitation-tax, equal to the tax assessed on land of the value of two hundred dollars, shall be levied on every white male inhabitant who has attained the age of twenty-one years; and one equal moiety of the capitation tax upon white persons shall be applied to the purposes of education in primary and free schools; but nothing herein contained shall prevent exemptions of taxable polls in cases of bodily infirmity.

The above section was continued in the revision of 1864, made at Alexandria, in which it is numbered as § 22 of Article IV.

Under the Constitution—revised in 1868–9, in accordance with the Reconstruction policy, and amended again in 1870—the present

common school system was adopted. Articles VII and VIII provide for State and local superintendents of schools, and also for the formation of schools. The first provides that—

“Each township shall be divided into so many compactly located school districts as may be deemed necessary: *Provided*, That no school district shall be formed containing less than one hundred inhabitants. In each school district there shall be elected or appointed annually one school trustee, who shall hold his office three years: *Provided*, That at the first election held under this provision there shall be three trustees elected, whose terms shall be one, two, and three years respectively.”

The political or municipal township was abandoned, but the form is maintained for school purposes, and the act of Congress, approved January 26, 1870, (the work of a Republican majority,) contains the following stipulation: “That the Constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the Constitution of said State.”

Article VIII (*Education*) provides for a State superintendent of public instruction, to serve four years, elective by the General Assembly; also for a board of education, composed of State officers. It contains the following sections:

“§ 3. The General Assembly shall provide by law, at its first session under this Constitution, a uniform system of public free schools, and for its gradual, equal, and full introduction into all the counties of the State by the year 1876, or as much earlier as practicable.

“§ 4 The General Assembly shall have power, after a full introduction of the public free school system, to make such laws as shall not permit parents and guardians to allow their children to grow up in ignorance and vagrancy.

“§ 5. The General Assembly shall establish, as soon as practicable, normal schools, and may establish agricultural schools and such grades of schools as shall be for the public good.”

In addition to the “literary fund” of the State the proceeds of all public lands donated for school purposes by Congress of escheated property, of all waste and unappropriated lands, and the proceeds of all fines and for-

feitures, are to be set apart for common school purposes. An annual tax of not less than one nor more than five mills on the dollar, shall be levied for the support of the school system. County and school districts may also levy taxes, not to exceed five mills in any one year, for the same purpose. The Constitution also requires that the system shall be in fair and equal force by the year 1876. To do so, still requires the organization of more than a thousand district schools.

Under all the conditions of antagonism, growing from prejudice and ignorance, it must be allowed that a fair degree of progress is exhibited. Had the system been administered by its friends the results would have been more satisfactory. This comment is not designed to detract from the merits of the efficient State superintendent. His work must necessarily be hindered by the local hostility that fades so slowly from the minds of a dominant class, trained to control things from an entirely different standpoint.

Republicans may fairly and honorably congratulate themselves and their party associates, in or out of office, on the multiplying proofs that are to be seen of the good results already flowing to the South from the principles they maintained at such bitter cost, and through the institutions which they demanded to be sustained as guarantees against future treason to the Union and hostility to free institutions. Chief among these is the common school system, still so bitterly denounced. It will ere long come to be regarded as the best of blessings. That it must be guarded, however, and vigilantly, too, is evident from such utterances as these, copied from a Mississippi Democratic paper two days after that party had, by a successful dragoonade, captured the State. The *Meriden Mercury*, November 4, says:

“The free-school system, a Yankee importation, is a monster evil. Once the superintendent of this county received \$1,500; now he receives \$900. If the office is continued, \$100 to \$200 is the outside figure he should receive. The whole system should be put in abeyance for the present.”

This demand is the natural result of Democratic triumph in such communities. It has been heard, and its effects are still felt in Vir-

ginia. But the free school is sure to win its way. The principle is right—the hope it offers is almost divine. In spite of all opposition—even because of it—assured victory attends, for it may be said, in words written in the camp, that —

Beyond the tribulation
That drapes these dreadful years of war,
We see a newer nation,
Through balmy days of greatening power
And rights of calm ascension,
Expand into the perfect flower
Of God's divine intention !

AN IMPORTANT MEASURE.

Among other important resolutions adopted by the "American Public Health Association," at its recent session in Baltimore, was the following, suggested by Professor E. B. Elliott, of the Treasury Department :

Resolved, That the Executive Committee is instructed to memorialize, in the name of this Association, the Congress of the United States in favor of such legislation as will bring about a proper co-operation between the General Government of the United States and the several State Governments for a uniform and efficient system for the registry of deaths, births, and marriages of the population.

Mr. Elliott holds that the Government of the United States, the several State Governments, and the Association by which the resolution was adopted are each interested in the proposed measure.

This association is interested in securing exact information as to the relative salubrity of localities and the distribution of disease.

The General Government is interested in ascertaining the condition, and changes in condition, of its resources, and especially with reference to its population, the most important of all its resources. To the attainment, in part, of this end, a system of decennial censuses was established from the very organization of the Government; and later, in connection with the enumeration of the population, were associated inquiries relative to the deaths which had occurred during the twelve months prior to the time the census was taken.

But these records of deaths, taken in connection with the census, are necessarily very defective, it being impossible in general for the person from whom the information is obtained to state with accuracy the number of deaths, and the circumstances under which they occurred, during the precise period of twelve months immediately preceding the date of the census.

Again, the General Government is interested in having under its control the means

of obtaining full and accurate information respecting the laws of mortality which prevail, and of presenting the results in tabulated form, so as to be readily applied in determining the values of life and reversionary interests in estates, legacies, and pensions, and in showing the mean future lifetimes of the population variously classified.

The State Governments have—in addition to the points of interest specified for the General Government and for the Health Association—the further incentive of securing for their citizens permanent and accessible records of the events of birth, death, and marriage, because useful, and not unfrequently essential, as an aid in determining the descent of heritable property.

In each of several of the States a system has been established for the continuous registration of these events; but in the most accurate of these systems, the returns are defective to such an extent as to abridge their usefulness. For instance, the laws of certain States very properly require the registrar or town clerk to obtain and record the particulars respecting every case of death that occurs in their respective localities. But the bill for fees of the registrar is not unfrequently audited and paid when it is known that he has performed but a part of his duty; that is, when he has obtained and made return of the facts respecting only a portion of the deaths which have taken place in his district, thus rendering his report of little or no value to the community or the general public.

It is evident to the careful observer that the time has come, and the people are ready, for the adoption of measures which will secure a general and complete organization for procuring exhaustive returns of the facts and circumstances which illustrate the important events specified in the resolution.

LABOR IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

In a previous article, based on Dr. Young's valuable work on Labor, an attempt was made to trace the development of free labor from the earlier periods of the world down to the present time. In the present paper it is proposed to present in tabular form the rates of wages paid in Europe, and more especially in Great Britain, together with the cost of living and the habits of the people.

In a single article much of course must necessarily be omitted that would be valuable in the study of political economy. For more full details, the reader must have recourse to the volume under review.

SKILLED TRADES IN LONDON.

The following table shows the established rates of wages obtained per week in London in 1871 by members of the various trade-societies. The British pound (£) sterling is computed at \$4.84, and the shilling at 24 cents:

TRADES.	Number of members.	Rate of wages.	
		Summer.	Winter.
Bakers		\$3 87	\$5 08
Basket-makers		3 63	4 84
Boatbuilders		8 47	7 26
Bookbinders	702	7 26	7 26
Brasscock-finishers		8 47	8 47
Brass-finishers		8 47	8 47
Bricklayers	2,386	*16	*16
Brush-makers	400	(†)	(†)
Cabinet-makers	500	7 26	7 26
Cabinet-makers, deal	450	7 99	7 99
Carpenters	4,740	9 14	9 14
Carvers and gilders	50	4 84	4 84
Coachbuilders	25	9 68	9 68
Coachmakers	320	9 68	9 68
Coachsmiths	200	4 84	12 58
Coach trimmers and makers		6 05	6 05
Compositors	3,550	4 84	8 47
Corkcutters	100	7 26	7 26
Cordwainers	3,678	(†)	(†)
Curriers	1,900	8 47	8 47
Engineers	33,539	{ *16, *18	{ *16, *18
Farriers	220	9 68	12 10
French-polishers	30	7 26	7 26
Hammermen	80	5 81	5 81
Iron founders and molders	7,372	9 20	9 20
Letter-press printers		7 26	7 26
Painters, house		*14	*14
Pianoforte-makers	400	*16	*16
Plasterers		*14	*14
Plumbers		*18	*18
Pressmen, printers'	60	7 26	7 26
Skinners	225	7 26	7 26
Steam-engine makers	100	{ *16, *18	{ *16, *18
Stonemasons	17,193	9 14	7 82

* Per hour. † Piecework. ‡ Uncertain.

WOOLEN MANUFACTURE.

The following is the average earnings per week for spinning, weaving, &c., in the woolen manufactories of Dewsbury, Leeds, and Manchester. The hours of labor are sixty per week; the wages, partly piece-work and partly day-work:

OCCUPATION.	Dewsbury.	Leeds.	Manchester.
Layers on for scribblers, women	\$2 90	\$2 17	.....
Card-setters or cleaners, men	4 11	.....	\$4 11
Sliver-minders, girls	2 17	.....	.....
Condenser-minders, girls	1 69	.....	.....
Card-feeders, women	.....	.....	3 14
Woolyers, men	3 87	4 84	4 11
Woolyers, foremen, men	5 08	.....	.....
Self-acting mule-minders, men	3 63	.....	2 90
Self-acting mule-piecers, boys	1 69	1 45	1 21
Rag-grinders, men	4 84	.....	.....
Enginemmen and stokers	4 84	.....	.....
Warpers	3 63	.....	3 38
Power-loom tuners, men	8 47	.....	.....
Power-loom weavers, women	3 38	2 90	3 38
Wool-sorters, men	6 05	6 05	.....
Fulling-millers, men	5 08	.....	5 32
Wool and piece dyers, men	5 32	.....	.....
Cloth-dressers, viz., raisers, cutters, pressers, tenterers, drawers	5 80	5 32	5 08
Burlers, women	2 42	1 21	.....
Riggers and stumpers, men	5 08	.....	.....
Menders and stumpers, women	3 14	.....	.....
Oil-extracters, men	5 80	.....	.....
Mechanics and joiners, men	7 26	.....	.....
Rag-pickers, women	1 93	.....	.....
Hand-spinners, men	6 77	.....	.....

CARPET MAKING.

In Glasgow the woolen carpet makers, working sixty hours per week, receive the following average weekly wages:

OCCUPATION.	Glasgow.
Assistant dyers, men	\$4 47
Assistant dyers, boys	1 53
Hand-loom weavers and beamers, men	4 96
Hand-loom weavers and beamers, boys	1 93
Mechanics	6 29
Pattern-drawers, men	6 05
Pattern-drawers, boys	2 42
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, men	5 32
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, boys	1 45
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, women	2 35
Warehouse-workers, tenters, and sewers, girls	1 69
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, men	4 59
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, boys	1 69
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, women	2 17
Croppers, cutters, and cleaners, girls	1 08
Winders and reelers, women	2 17
Winders and reelers, girls	1 21

FLAX MANUFACTURE.

In Leeds the following wages are paid per week to manufacturers of flax :

OCCUPATION.	Leeds.
Overlookers	\$4 84 to \$9 68
Warehousemen	3 87 to 4 35
Roughers	4 84 to 6 05
Hacklers.....	1 21 to 1 57
Sorters	4 84 to 6 05
Preparers, women and girls....	1 45 to 1 75
Spinners, women and girls	1 51 to 1 75
Doffers	1 21 to 1 57
Reelers, women.....	1 93 to 2 42
Makers-up.....	4 35 to 6 05
Enginemen	4 84 to 6 05
Mechanics	4 84 to 7 28

SILK MANUFACTURE.

The average weekly earnings paid in Yorkshire and Manchester are as follows :

OCCUPATION.	Yorkshire.	Manchester.
Silk-boilers, men....	\$4 35	.....
Silk-dressers, men...	6 29	.....
Silk-preparers, girls.	2 17	.....
Silk-spinners, girls..	2 17	\$1 93 to \$2 42
Silk-doublers, girls..	2 17	1 93 to 2 42
Silk-reelers, girls....	2 17	1 93 to 2 42
Mechanics, men.....	6 29	.....
Joiners, men.....	5 08	.....
Engine-drivers, men	4 35	.....
Warpers, men.....	.....	5 80
Children, half-timers	.....	60

BOOT AND SHOE MANUFACTURE.

In London and Leeds the following are the average weekly wages :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.	Leeds.
Riveters, best class.....	\$7 26	\$2 90 to \$8 47
Riveters, second class....	4 84	2 90 to 8 47
Finishers, best class.....	9 20	5 08 to 9 68
Finishers, second class....	6 05	5 08 to 9 68
Clickers, males.....	.....	6 05
Machinists, females.....	.....	1 94 to 3 39
Fitters, females.....	.....	1 69 to 2 90
Last-makers .....	.....	4 84 to 7 28
Cloggers.....	.....	.....
Cutters.....	.....	.....

TOBACCO AND CIGARS—LONDON.

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.
Cutters	\$6 05 to \$8 47
Dryers or pan-men.....	4 36 to 7 26
Women-strippers.....	2 90 to 3 63
Boy-strippers.....	1 69 to 4 84
Spinners	6 05 to 8 47
Packers	3 63 to 6 05

MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING.

Average prices paid per week in London. The ordinary hours of work are from 8 A. M. to 8 P. M., but the average is less than sixty per week :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.
Overlookers, men	\$10 17
Cutters, men.....	9 20
Basters, females, first-class.....	2 30
Basters, females, inferior.....	1 47
Machiners, females, first-class	3 41
Machiners, females, inferior	2 90
Sewers, females, first-class	2 96
Pressers, men, first-class.....	6 61
Pressers, men, inferior.....	4 24

DRESS MAKING.

The following are the average prices paid per week in London. Hours, 8 to 8 :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.	Remarks.
	Each.	
Two managers.....	\$18 55	
One dressmaker.....	7 42	With board and lodging.
Two dressmakers.....	6 53	do.
One dressmaker.....	6 05	do.
One dressmaker.....	2 78	do.
One dressmaker.....	1 03	do.
One dressmaker.....	6 53	Tea only; no lodging.
One dressmaker.....	6 05	do.
Two dressmakers	5 57	do.
One dressmaker.....	4 84	do.
Three dressmakers	4 36	do.
Three dressmakers.....	4 11	do.
Seven dressmakers	3 87	do.
Three dressmakers	3 51	do.
Two dressmakers.....	3 39	do.
Two dressmakers	3 14	do.
Thirty-four dressmakers..	2 90	do.
Two dressmakers	2 66	do.
Fourteen dressmakers	2 42	do.
Five dressmakers.....	2 18	do.
Four dressmakers.....	1 94	do.
One dressmaker.....	1 69	do.
Three dressmakers	1 45	do.
One milliner.....	6 05	With board and lodging.
Two milliners	4 64	do.
One milliner.....	3 51	do.
Three milliners.....	2 34	do.
One milliner.....	2 22	do.
One milliner.....	1 85	do.
One milliner.....	1 49	do.
One milliner.....	1 39	do.

Women are paid much lower wages than men. Compare the last with preceding tables and this fact will be more apparent. While the cost of living in the cities of England is about the same as in our American centers of trade, the wages in many branches are from fifty to one hundred per cent. higher here than in England.

LETTER-PRESS PRINTING.

The following are the prices paid for jobbing and newspaper work. Average 58½ hours. Overtime, average 13 cts. per hour:

TOWNS.	Jobbing.	News.
Barnsley	\$6 29	\$6 29
Blackburn	6 78	6 78
Bradford	6 29	6 78
Chesterfield.....	5 81	5 81
Derby	6 29	6 29
Dewsbury	6 29	6 29
Durham	5 81	5 81
Guildford.....	5 81	6 53
Halifax	6 53	6 53
Hartlepool.....	5 81	5 81
Huddersfield.....	6 29	6 53
Hull.....	6 29	6 53
Lewes.....	7 02	7 02
Leeds.....	7 26	7 26
Manchester.....	7 26	7 50
Newcastle-on-Tyne.....	6 78	6 78
Scarborough.....	5 81	6 29
Sheffield	6 78	6 78
Sunderland.....	6 29	6 29
York	5 81	6 05

MECHANICAL AND FARM LABOR.

The following are the average rates of wages paid in Durham, England, in 1874:

MECHANICS.	Durham.
Blacksmiths	\$1 30 per day.
*Bricklayers and masons.....	1 44 per day.
Cabinet-makers.....	1 32 per day.
Carpenters.....	1 32 per day.
Coopers.....	1 10 per day.
Miners.....	1 46 per day.
Mechanists.....	1 36 per day.
Painters.....	1 32 per day.
Plasterers	1 42 per day.
Shoemakers	90 per day.
Stonecutters.....	1 44 per day.
Tailors.....	1 20 per day.
Tanners.....	.....
Tinsmiths.	1 20 per day.
Wheelwrights.....	1 32 per day.
FARM LABOR.	
Experienced hands. { Summer..	84 per day.
{ Winter...	64 per day.
Ordinary hands..... { Summer..	64 per day.
{ Winter ..	40 per day.
Common laborers at other than farm-work, for six days only..	70 per day.
Female servants	4 86 per mo.
PRICE OF BOARD.	
October, 1874. { For workmen....	3 40 per week
{ For workwomen	2 40 per week

* Working five days only, and for the sixth day 72 cents.

RATES OF WAGES IN SHEFFIELD.

The following are the average rates of wages paid per week to mechanics and other laborers in Sheffield, England, in 1872:

CLASS OF LABOR.	Wages.
Mechanics:	
Blacksmiths.....	\$6 53
Carpenters	7 26
Masons.....	7 74
Painters.....	6 53
Plasterers.....	7 02
Shoemakers	5 32
Boiler-makers.....	6 53
Wheel and mill wrights.....	7 74
Carters.....	5 08
Clerks in railway offices.....	6 05
Slaters, 7d. per hour, 53 hours per week.	7 26
Slaters' assistant, 5d. per hour, 53 hours per week.....	5 32
Table-cutlery:	
Table-blade forgers.....	7 19
Table-blade grinders.....	6 69
Table-blade hafters.....	5 34
Pocket-cutlery:	
Pocket-blade forgers.....	6 69
Grinders	7 26
Hafters.....	6 05
Saws:	
Sawmakers	7 02
Sawgrinders.....	8 47
Handlers.....	6 78
Rubbers, women	2 18
Scissors:	
Forgers.....	6 05
Grinders	8 83
Filers.....	6 41
Putting together.....	6 41
Burnishers, women.....	1 94
Edge tools:	
Forgers.....	10 16
Strikers.....	7 74
Hardeners	6 78
Grinders	10 29
Engineers' tools:	
Forgers.	7 87
Grinders.....	7 62
Filers.....	6 53
Hammer-makers:	
Forgers.....	9 68
Strikers.....	7 26
Razors:	
Forgers.....	7 26
Grinders	9 44
Hafters	6 78
Girls, assisting, putting up, etc....	1 63
Silver-plated ware:	
Silversmiths.....	7 87
Chasers.....	7 87
Engravers	9 68
Burnishers { Women.....	3 03
{ Girls, 12 to 16 years...	1 82
Buffers.... { Women.....	3 39
{ Girls, 12 to 16 years....	1 82
White-metal ware:	
Spinners	8 83
Putting together.....	7 02
Castors and stampers.....	7 50
Buffers.... { Men	6 41
{ Women	2 90
Women casters.....	2 42
Girls, buffers and cleaners.....	1 45
Women in warehouse.....	2 54
Burnishers, women.....	2 90
Files:	
Forgers.....	13 31
Strikers.....	9 68
Grinders	12 71
Cutters.....	7 26
Steel:	
Melter	12 10
Puller out.....	7 02
Cokers.....	4 86
Pot-maker	9 68
Converting furnace men.....	4 88

HAT AND CAP MAKING.

In London the weekly average of wages paid is as follows. Hours, 60 per week :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.
Machiners, hands.....	\$3 68
Clerks.....	4 84
Boys.....	1 21
Needlewomen.....	2 42
Hat-trimmers, women and girls	2 90
Finishers, men.....	\$7 26 to 9 68
Bodymen.....	7 26 to 9 68
Shapers, men.....	9 68 to 14 52
Feltmen.....	
Hatters.....	

LOCOMOTIVE ENGINE MAKING.

The following are average weekly wages for 57 hours work :

OCCUPATION.	Glasgow.
Fitters and finishers.....	\$6 06
Turners, shapers, planers & glotters	6 06
Drillers.....	3 87
Erectors and boiler-mounters.....	6 53
Pattern-makers.....	6 77
Iron and brass moulders.....	7 00
Coppersmiths.....	6 77
Grinders.....	7 50
Boiler-makers.....	6 25
Smiths.....	6 25
Forgemen.....	8 47
Laborers.....	3 63
Hammermen.....	4 11

SHIPBUILDING AND MARINE ENGINEERING.

Weekly wages paid in Glasgow :

OCCUPATION.	Glasgow.
SHIPBUILDING-YARD :	
Blacksmiths.....	\$6 05
Angle-iron smiths.....	6 29
Hammermen.....	3 75
Riveters.....	\$5 08 to 5 32
Platers and fitters.....	5 80 to 7 01
Calkers.....	5 32
Helpers or laborers.....	3 38
Rivet-boys.....	1 69
Carpenters and boat-builders..	6 53
Joiners.....	6 53
Blockmakers.....	5 80
Painters.....	7 32
Riggers.....	6 29
Machinists.....	5 68
Borers.....	3 98
ENGINE-WORKS :	
Draughtsmen.....	8 22
Pattern-makers.....	6 41
Joiners.....	6 59
Blacksmiths.....	6 53
Hammermen.....	3 87
Fitters and finishers.....	5 86
Iron-turners.....	6 05
Machinists.....	5 50
Laborers.....	3 32
BOILER-WORKS :	
Platers and fitters.....	6 47
Riveters and calkers.....	5 44
Blacksmiths.....	6 29
Hammermen.....	3 75
Holders on and laborers.....	3 44
Rivet-boys and blowers.....	

CABINET MAKING AND UPHOLSTERING.

The following average wages are paid per week of 60 hours in Manchester and London :

OCCUPATION.	Manchester.	Metropolis.
Cabinet-makers....	\$7 74 to 8 22	\$7 26 to 10 89
Upholsterers.....	7 98	7 26 to 12 10
French polishers...	6 77	7 26
Painters.....	14cts. per hr.	8 47
Gilders.....	7 26 to 7 74	7 26 to 8 47
Upholstery sewers.	2 90	3 38
Turners.....		7 26 to 10 89
Chair-makers.....		7 26 to 12 10
Joiners.....		9 19
Carvers.....		7 26 to 12 10
Decorators.....		9 19

BUILDING TRADES.

In the London and Manchester columns the figures indicate the number of cents paid per hour for work. In the Bradford column the figures indicate the average weekly wages :

OCCUPATION.	Metropolis.	Manchester.	Bradford.
Joiners.....	16	14½	\$6 61
Masons.....	16	15	7 26
Bricklayers.....	16	....	7 26
Plasterers.....	16	....	....
Laborers.....	9½	7½	4 84
Superior laborers and scaffolders.	10½	8½	....
Painters.....	15	14	....
Plumbers and glaziers.....	....	....	6 61
Slaters.....	....	....	6 77

With this table, in connection with those which preceded it, the reader will be in possession of information that will afford a general knowledge of the remuneration of labor in England, and it may be added in the United Kingdom, though variations occur in different localities. On the Continent the average pay of the working classes rules even lower than in England. Mechanics and laborers are paid not over 75 per cent. of the average remuneration received in England ; but provisions and clothing also rule somewhat lower in cost.

COST OF RENT, PROVISIONS, GROCERIES, ETC., IN ENGLAND.

The work is very complete in its details, showing the cost of living in England. The following condensed statement will enable the reader to judge of the general results :

BIRMINGHAM.—Rent of kitchen and two rooms above, in rear of house, 4s. a week; in front, 5s. Bread 8d. for 4-pound loaf. Meat, 1s. per pound. Cheese, good American, 7d. per pound. Rent of three rooms, about 3s. 6d. per week for back, and 4s. 6d. for front; average about 4s. House-rent in suburbs lower than in the city—4s. to 4s. 6d. for house of four rooms; 6s. for six rooms.

SHEFFIELD.—Rent of rooms, ordinary price, 4s. per week for four rooms, or about 1s. per room. Good rooms rent for more. A respectable small house may be had for 6s. a week. Meat in Sheffield is good. Workingmen buy the best, and they can afford it. Excellent beef and mutton 10½d. per pound; good at 8½d. American bacon, 7d. to 9d. Butter, from 1s. to 1s. 2d.

MANCHESTER.—Leg of veal, 9d.; best fillet, 6d. Leg of mutton, 9d. Good beef, for stewing, 7½d.; for roasting, 9d. to 9½d. Tea, very good, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.; best, 3s. Good white sugar, 4d.; best 4½d.; brown, 3d. to 3½d. Flour, 2s. to 2s. 1d. per stone. Bacon, 7d. to 9d. Cheese 6d. to 8d. Dry goods, low. Rent of rooms, 4s. for four rooms. In another part of the city rents are 3s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 4s. for four rooms. Good cheese, 8d., chiefly American, which is very good, and occasionally better than English at the same price. Good tea, 2s. 8d.; best, 3s.

HALIFAX.—Four rooms in upper part of house, from £8 to £9 per year. Better houses, built by Crossleys, two rooms on a floor, larger frontage, at 10 guineas a year, and poorer at lower rates.

BRADFORD.—Rent of houses, five or six rooms, for clerks, £18 to £20 per year.

NOTTINGHAM.—Rent of three to four rooms, average 4s. per week. Some nice houses in a good street rent for the same. Within the walls of the old town four to five rooms including taxes, 4s. to 4s. 6d. Price of provisions much the same as in other western towns. About 10d. to 1s. for the best beef; 8d. to 10d. for very good; quite good at 9d. Veal 10d. by the leg; 13d. for cutlets; and much less for the poorer pieces.

HUDDERSFIELD.—Price of board, for workmen, 10s.; for workwomen, 7s. per week.

CORK. (From Mr. Derby's notes.) Prices in a provision store: Beef and mutton, 10d. to 1s. per pound; pork and bacon, 9d.; corned beef, 9d.; smoked hams, 10d. to 1s.; cabbages, 1d. each.

LONDON WHOLESALE PRICES IN 1872.

From the monthly statement of the wholesale prices of the following articles in the London markets during each month of the year 1872, the average, expressed in United States coin, has been computed, and the average *pro rata* price stated per pound:

	Per cwt.	Per lb.
Pork: Hams, smoked.....	\$26 59	\$0 23.7
Lard.....	17 03	15.2
Butter.....	29 24	26.1
Cheese	15 98	14.3
Rice.....	3 29	2.9
Coffee, Jamaica middling.....	25 84	23
Sugar, good brown.....	8 77	7.9
Molasses, West Indies.....	3 08	2.7

COST OF CLOTHING.

In the foregoing tables the cost of provisions and of house-rent per week has been given, also the price of various articles of dry goods and of boots, thus furnishing some data for computing the cost of living in the United Kingdom as compared with the United States. While the prices of the principal articles of subsistence are on the whole as high in the former as in the latter country, the rental of rooms and the price of clothing are only about one-half as much as in the United States. From a careful computation made in London, it is believed that clothing can be purchased there at 50 per cent. of the gold and 56 per cent. of the currency prices in New York. From a tailor in High Holborn, who makes more clothing for citizens of the United States than any other in London, the following prices were obtained:

Good business suits, made to order of good and fashionable material, cost from 58s. to 60s.; the lowest price of similar quality in New York, ready made, being \$28 to \$30. Suits of fine blue cloth, 82s. 6d., (\$19.96,) which it is believed could not be obtained anywhere in the United States for \$40. Fine black cloth dress vests, 10s.; dress-trousers of the best black doeskin, 30s.; frock-coats of the best black cloth that could be purchased in London, silk lined, 80s., (\$19.-36;) overcoats from 50s. to 60s., the latter of good beaver-cloth, with silk-velvet collar.

CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The volume under review is very full in its details under this head. The following condensed statements contain only a fraction of what is said in reference to the drinking habits of the people.

In proof of the statement that the habit of drinking to excess extends to the middle and upper classes, the testimony of Dr. Anstie is presented. The following appeared in the *Practitioner* for 1872:

We must notice the fact that many girls

of the wealthy middle and of the upper classes, especially the former, are of late years taking to consume all kinds of wine, and particularly champagne, to an extent which used never to be permitted. At many modern ball suppers champagne flows like water; and the attentive observer will soon perceive that it is not the men, by any means, who do the larger part of the consumption. These same young ladies who have so freely partaken of champagne over-night will next day at lunch take plenty of bottled beer, or a couple of glasses of sherry. Dinner comes round, and again either champagne or hock or port or sherry is drunk, not less than a couple of glasses being taken. And then the evening very often brings a party of some kind with the inevitable champagne or sherry. *We are speaking of things which we have seen when we say that many girls who live among rich (especially nouveau riche) and gay society are in the habit, during six months out of the twelve, of taking (in the shape of wine, &c.) a daily average of two, two and a half, or three ounces of absolute alcohol, a quantity which, if expressed in cheap beer, would be equal to six or seven pints.*

Referring to the drinking habits of the working classes the United States consul at Manchester informed the author that—

The working-classes consume an enormous quantity of intoxicating liquors, principally beer, though very many partake largely of spirits and of the cheaper wines. Intemperance seems to be on the increase, especially among the women, not only of the working-classes, but also of the middle and upper middle classes.

General Fairchild, United States consul at Liverpool, under date of November, 1873 writes :

The increase of drunkenness, and all dissipation which follow idle hours, is alarming.

The *Westminster Review* of January, 1874, says :

Liverpool has the unenviable notoriety of being the most drunken town in the United Kingdom.

Dr. Trench, the able and well-informed medical officer of the health department of Liverpool, remarks :

The working-classes of Liverpool are extremely intemperate, even when compared with similar sections of the community in other large towns of Great Britain.

His able official report for a previous year contains the following on the same subject

The amount which is spent in drink is as-

tonishing. One or two instances of the worst kind, occurring in the same street, may be cited.

A man earns 27s. regularly, and spends as regularly 21s. in drink; his four children are in rags. In another instance the wages are 30s. a week regularly; the father and mother are both drunken, and three children are half starved and in rags. In another house is a copper-ore worker, earning 27s. a week, all of which is spent in drink by himself and his wife. The children are in rags and filth, and look idiotic. In the same street there are sober men, earning only 20s. and 23s. a week, who are living in comfort.

The landlord of a small public house, who had lived for years in the district, and knew intimately the habits of the people, said, "For one man who did not drink there were fifty who would take their share; they starve their wives and children, and must beg if they want a bit."

Mr. Jenkinson, the consul of the United States at Glasgow, in reference to the increase of intemperance, wrote as follows :

That drunkenness prevails to an alarming extent among the working-classes cannot be denied; that it has increased as their wages have been increased is also true. Many have, no doubt, been benefited by such increase of wages; but most, it seems, outspend their extra earnings in extra quantities of whisky.

Dr. Webster, United States consul at Sheffield, thus writes, January 22, 1874 :

From inquiry and my own observation, I believe that far the larger part of the loss of time and the reckless waste of money is the result of the drinking habits which prevail so generally. It is painful to see how the weekly wages are squandered by the thousands who throng the drinking places on Saturday, Sunday, (at certain hours,) Monday, and Tuesday, and, indeed, on all the days of the week.

There are in Sheffield 1,400 public houses, licensed places for the sale of beer and spirits. At each of these, at a low estimate, an average amount of £10 is spent weekly, making an aggregate of £14,000 of weekly expenditure for a population of 240,000.

Mr. Consul Jones, of New Castle-upon-Tyne, in his report on the moral and social condition of the working classes, says :

Many of them are very improvident and fond of drink; a feast of food and stimulants in the early part of the week, at the expense of an insufficient supply at the end, is very frequently the case among the sons of toil on the Tyne. Excessive drinking has undoubt-

edly increased in this district since the short hours and advanced wages have prevailed.

It was said boastingly by English statesmen that *the nation had drunk itself out of the Alabama claims by the increased income from the tax on intoxicating drinks during the past year.*

From these statements the condition of the working classes may be pretty clearly contemplated. Drinking is the bane of English society and the destruction of the working classes. In our own country this evil

is broad and bad enough, and according to those who have investigated that subject, it is claimed that the drinking habits of the people are increasing annually the number that fall victims to the evil and fill drunkards' graves. Is there no remedy, or is the degraded condition of the working-classes in England, through intemperance, to be the fate of our own work-people, a few generations hence, through the same habit of habitual drinking? *Is there no remedy?* SOMEBODY IS RESPONSIBLE.

THE DEMOCRATIC HOUSE.

Ever since the elections determined that we should have a large Democratic majority in the lower house of the Forty-Fourth Congress the minds of politicians have been disturbed as to what will be the result. That camp followers from a region long starved out politically would look upon it as a mere question concerning the paltry offices in its gift was natural enough. The few intelligent leaders, while they humored this idea, shrugged their shoulders and scratched their noses, and felt that the Democratic party had drawn an elephant. The first day's proceedings in the Forty-Fourth Congress did not tend to disabuse their minds of that idea.

It has been customary for the Democrats to bewail the decadence of statesmanship. They represent the Republicans as political *parvenus*—men who had been lifted out of their sphere and above their capacities by the accidents of the civil war. Antiquity has always a vague and dim religious light about it. The Democratic party, having no modern virtues it cared about parading, was fain to fall back on the things of the past, which, like the age of the currier's horse, was lost in the mists of antiquity.

For the first time in eighteen years there was a change. The Democrats of to-day stood face to face with the Republicans of to-day. The latter have just come out of a struggle the greatest of ancient or modern times. They hold in their grasp a free and united Republic. They met a Democracy which scarcely knew itself, and which nobody else recognized. It is true that they

have a majority in one branch of the legislature. They come in with a flourish of trumpets, and much boasting. The first day's work teaches them that they have met statesmen not unworthy of the great work they have done. Meeting them the Democracy succumbed.

The first day of this Congress illustrated what the last will illustrate, that the election that clothed the Democratic party with power in the lower house was gained by false pretenses. Before the people they denounced "dead issues." Even the glory of the war to suppress the rebellion was to be blotted out. They were enthusiasts for the "questions of to-day." No honest man will deny that these, undoubtedly, were the pacification of the country—the currency question, and the tariff. On the latter two of these questions the Democracy were not as well united as the Republicans. On the former there was a smouldering fire of hostility ready to burst forth. Their election pretensions to-day stand forth as dishonored promises. They wallow in the mire of "State Sovereignty." They fight the Government at Washington just as they did in the rebel army. They drag up the Louisiana question before the Democratic baby was fairly washed and put in clean linen.

A year ago a compromise was effected on the Louisiana matter by a temperate concession on both sides, which prevented the prompt, perhaps the bloody suppression of a civil war. We had "peace." The attempt to reopen this question exhibited bad taste and worse judgment; to fail was still

more unhappy, as that indicated imbecility.

The distinguished gentleman from New York, who *was* a candidate for Speaker, aspires to the higher honor of being leader of the House. An early career, somewhat turbulent and checkered, has induced him to settle into that frigid respectability which, like his mustachios, appear to have frozen into a rigid hoar frost. The question as to who should marshal the cohorts of "reform" and "living issues" to victory was an undetermined political problem. The gentleman from New York is a little—just a very little—slow. He had felt the potency of the extreme Southern wing in the contest for Speaker. It is true, that it was a little late in the day—the "day after the fair"—but as it was his first opportunity he made a great bid to that prejudice by dragging up the Louisiana question. Instead of earning the gratitude of his countrymen as a "leader," he fell under ban as a "mis"-leader.

His colleague, the genial and witty, is too nice a man, and too funny, to be criticised. He, in a rash moment, might consent to sacrifice his party, or his country, but never his joke. The new Speaker persists in calling him "the gentleman from Ohio," a fearful innuendo as regards "carpet bagging," to which we desire to call the attention of the statesman from Indiana. This gentleman from New York is, pre-eminently, a scholar, a citizen of the world, and a wag. That any one should have seriously contemplated his election as Speaker seems scarcely probable. Even the large vote he got does not relieve one's mind from doubts about it. He is no admirer of his very bland colleague; still, in the attempt of the latter at leadership he followed. The result was simply the old story, "when the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

The gentleman from Mississippi occupies a somewhat different position from the other would-be Democratic leaders. Tall and handsome, dignified in his demeanor, even elegant in his manners, he loomed up in the Democratic ranks, in the eyes of an expectant country, as the coming "Admirable Crichton." The occasion of the Sumner eulogies was the occasion for magnanimous words, which the country hoped would be

the prelude to magnanimous statesmanship. There was scarcely another man, North or South, who had so promising a future. The first day's proceedings in the House dispelled what the violence of Mississippi had left. He supported the motion of the gentleman from New York with eloquence and zeal; but in doing so proved to the country that he lacked patriotism and judgment. Even in the Republican ranks his failure was witnessed with profound regret.

There is a gentleman from Indiana, who is one of the most rigid of Democrats, but who did not sympathize with the performances. He was formerly, while his party was not in power, the great objector. A bill of any kind was to him what a red rag is to a bull, his tail went up and his horns down, and he made a charge at it. There used to be another gentleman on the Republican side who divided with him this inestimable responsibility. The latter, alas! has gone, and leaves the patriotic mind in a tremulous fear as to whether the gentleman from Indiana, with all his new cares, shall prove equal to the emergency.

As has been remarked, the gentleman from Indiana is a rigid Democrat. We think it likely that he would be regarded as a finished specimen of a Democrat, but for one thing. Providence, in organizing him for his sphere in the world, in a moment of absent-mindedness, gave him a rather astute judgment. Some malicious persons in his own party have suggested that this feature in his character grew out of the "I object!" experience; and it is even alleged that this has grown hereditary in his family, and will go down to latest generations, no matter what party is in power. Such an idea is unworthy of consideration. He saw the hole the Democratic party was going into, and cried, "hold!" The halt was come to in a somewhat hesitating and promiscuous manner. They did not halt all at once. It ran through several votes, but was final and moderately respectable when, on motion of the leader of the Republicans, the gentleman from Louisiana appeared and was sworn in.

Seriously speaking, the first blunder of the Democracy is not merely a mistake for lack of experience; it is an inherent and

fatal defect. On the question of peace and security to the country, of tariff, of money, they have nothing to offer, and nothing on which they can unite. They carried the North by professing living issues, and acceptance of the situation. They carried the South by appeals to the rebel intelligence and power, and crushed the growing elements of Republican liberty. They are together; let them—simmer. The same thing that has occurred before will occur again. Does any man in the United States feel that he can safely trust the government of this

great republic to such unstable and unreliable elements? This may be said even if you give them the benefit of all their professions.

As to the Democratic "leaders," we are sorry for them. In their first unwise rush they found plenty of enthusiastic followers, but in the end, like Jim Gunter's membership in the old Baptist church, it "petered out." The question now is, "Who are the leaders of the Democratic party?" Echo answers, "Who?" As for those who wanted to be, the curse of Reuben is on them all.

"Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel."

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The President's Message to Congress is accepted by the press and the people as a very satisfactory State paper. It is more fully reviewed in another part of the present number of *THE REPUBLIC*.

The following are the closing paragraphs of the Message:

As this will be the last annual Message which I shall have the honor of transmitting to Congress before my successor is chosen, I will repeat or recapitulate the questions which I deem of vital importance which should be legislated upon and settled at this session.

First—That the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits.

Second—No sectarian tenets shall ever be taught in any school supported in whole or part by the State, nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon any community. Make education compulsory so far as to deprive all persons who cannot read and write from becoming voters after the year 1890, disfranchising none, however, on grounds of illiteracy who may be voters at the time this amendment takes effect.

Third—Declare church and State forever separate and distinct, but each free within their proper spheres, and that all church property shall bear its own proportion of taxation.

Fourth—Drive out licensed immorality, such as polygamy and the importation of women for illegitimate purposes. To recur again to the centennial year, it would seem as though now as we are about to begin the

second century of our national existence would be a most fitting time for these reforms.

Fifth—Enact such laws as will insure a speedy return to a sound currency, such as will command the respect of the world.

Believing that these views will commend themselves to the great majority of the right thinking and patriotic citizens of the United States, I submit the rest to Congress.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

SUMMARY OF THE ANNUAL REPORTS.

Secretary Bristow's report is lengthy and valuable, and on the whole quite satisfactory. The following quotations embrace the receipts and expenditures for 1875, and a portion of 1876, and estimates for the fiscal year 1877, together with the public debt during the fiscal year 1875:

RECEIPTS.

The moneys received and covered into the Treasury by warrants during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875, were as follows:

From customs.....	\$157,167,722 35
From internal revenue.....	110,007,493 58
From sales of public lands.....	1,413,640 17
From tax on circulation and deposits of national banks.....	7,268,379 16
From repayment of interest by Pacific Railway Companies.....	882,274 91
From customs' fines, penalties, &c.....	228,870 23
From labor, drayage, storage, &c.....	1,112,500 53
From sales of Indian-trust lands.....	243,071 66
From fees—consular, letters patent, and land.....	1,818,884 29
From proceeds of sales of Government property.....	1,278,693 87
From Marine Hospital tax.....	338,893 78
From steamboat fees.....	260,944 75
From profits on coinage, &c.....	452,657 40
From tax on seal-skins.....	317,494 75
From miscellaneous sources.....	1,228,649 98

Total ordinary receipts..... 284,020,771 41

Premium on sales of coin.....	3,979,279 69
Total net receipts, exclusive of loans	288,000,051 10
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1874, including deposits of coin and United States notes represented by certificates outstanding.....	150,731,694 63

Total available cash..... 438,731,745 73
EXPENDITURES.

The net expenditures by warrants during the same period were:	
For civil expenses.....	\$17,346,929 53
For foreign intercourse.....	1,235,418 23
For Indians.....	8,384,656 82
For pensions	29,456,216 22
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals	41,120,645 98
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery and improvements at navy yards..	21,497,626 27
For miscellaneous civil, including public buildings, lighthouses, and collecting the revenues.....	50,528,536 22
For interest on the public debt, including interest on bonds issued to Pacific Railway companies	103,093,544 57
For payment of award to British claimants.....	1,929,819 00

Total net expenditures..... \$271,623,292 84
Redemption of the public debt.. 19,405,836 48

Total net disbursements..... \$291,029,329 32
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1875. 144,702,416 41

Total..... \$438,731,745 73
This statement shows that the net revenues for the fiscal year were \$288,000,051 10
And the ordinary expenses (including the award to British claimants, \$1,929,819)..... 274,623,392 84

Leaving a surplus revenue, exclusive of provision for the Sinking Fund..... \$13,376,658 26

By reference to the last annual report, page 6, it will be observed that the estimate then made was that the revenues for this fiscal year would reach the sum of \$284,318,285.99, and that the expenditures would amount to \$275,315,489.42.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1876.

The receipts during the first quarter were:	
From customs.....	\$44,233,626 25
From internal revenue.....	28,199,723 50
From sales of public lands.....	308,641 73
From tax on circulation, &c., of national banks.....	3,626,033 83
From repayment of interest by Pacific Railways.....	262,212 87
From customs' fines, &c.....	28,521 75
From consular, patent, and other fees.....	510,427 19
From proceeds of sales of Government property.....	104,273 65
From miscellaneous sources.....	1,722,408 90

Net ordinary receipts..... \$78,995,869 67
Premiums on sales of coin..... 2,160,275 47

Total net ordinary receipts.. \$81,156,145 14
Balance in Treasury June 30, 1865. 144,702,416 41

Total available..... \$225,858,561 55

The expenditures during the same period were:

For civil and miscellaneous expenses, including public buildings, lighthouses, and collecting the revenues.....	\$18,673,072 68
For Indians.....	2,660,474 38
For pensions.....	8,845,927 64
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals	11,391,476 26
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery, and improvements at navy yards..	7,959,037 99
For interest on the public debt, including Pacific Railway bonds	34,517,554 81

Total ordinary expenditures.. \$84,047,543 76
Redemption of the public debt.. 6,838,999 66
Balance in Treasury September 30, 1875 134,972,018 13 |

Total \$225,858,561 55

For the remaining three quarters it is estimated that the receipts will be:

From customs.....	\$112,000,000 00
From internal revenue.....	92,000,000 00
From sales of public lands.....	1,100,000 00
From tax on national banks.....	3,650,000 00
From reimbursement by Pacific Railways.....	350,000 00
From customs' fines, penalties, and forfeitures.....	100,000 00
From consular, patent, and other fees.....	1,300,000 00
From proceeds of sales of public property	600,000 00
From miscellaneous sources, including premium on coin.....	5,200,000 00

Total net receipts..... \$216,300,000 00

For the same period it is estimated that the expenditures will be:

For civil miscellaneous, including public buildings.....	\$49,500,000 00
For Indians.....	4,400,000 00
For pensions.....	21,000,000 00
For military establishment.....	30,000,000 00
For naval establishment.....	12,000,000 00
For interest on the public debt..	67,500,000 00

Total ordinary expenditures.. \$184,400,000 00

From the foregoing statement of actual receipts and expenditures for the first quarter of the current fiscal year, and the estimates of the same for the remaining three quarters, based upon appropriations already made, and also on the assumption that Congress will not increase the expenditures by deficiency or other appropriations, it will be seen that, in the judgment of the department, the revenues will reach the sum of \$297,456,145.14, and that the ordinary expenditures will amount to \$268,447,543.76. This exhibit gives a surplus revenue of \$29,008,601.38. Under existing laws it is estimated that \$32,293,692.32 will be required to be provided for the Sinking Fund for this year. If the statement as here submitted shall prove to be approximately correct, the revenues will fall short by the amount of \$3,285,090.94 of providing for the appropriations made by Congress.

ESTIMATES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1877.

It is estimated that the receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, will be:

From customs.....	\$165,000,000 00
From internal revenue.....	120,000,000 00
From sales of public lands.....	1,500,000 00
From tax on circulation of national banks.....	7,200,000 00
From reimbursement of interest by Pacific Railway Companies..	500,000 00
From customs' fines, penalties, and forfeitures.....	100,000 00
From consular, letters-patent, and other fees.....	1,900,000 00
From proceeds of sales of Government property.....	800,000 00
From miscellaneous sources.....	7,000,000 00

Total ordinary receipts..... \$304,000,000 00

It is estimated that the ordinary expenditures for the same period will be:

For civil expenses.....	\$17,500,000 00
For foreign intercourse.....	1,353,000 00
For Indians.....	7,000,000 00
For pensions.....	29,534,000 00
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals.....	40,000,000 00
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery and improvements at navy yards...	21,000,000 00
For civil miscellaneous, including public buildings and light-houses, collecting revenue, mail steamship service, deficiency in postal revenues, public printing, &c.....	52,000,000 00
For interest on public debt.....	97,000,000 00
For interest on Pacific Railway bonds.....	3,878,000 00

Total estimated expenditures, exclusive of the Sinking Fund account and principal of the public debt..... \$269,265,000 00

It is expected that for this fiscal year the surplus revenues of the Government will amount to \$34,735,000. The estimated amount to be provided for the Sinking Fund is \$34,063,377 40. There is reason to hope, therefore, that the income of the Government for this year will amply provide for all its obligations, including the Sinking Fund. The estimates received from the several executive departments are as follows;

Legislative establishment.....	\$2,865,378 50
Executive establishment.....	18,717,045 40
Judicial establishment.....	3,403,450 00
Foreign intercourse.....	1,352,485 00
Military establishment.....	33,697,178 50
Naval establishment.....	20,871,666 40
Indian affairs.....	5,787,795 64
Pensions.....	29,533,500 00
Public works:	
Treasury Department.....	\$6,152,846 86
War Department.....	19,888,238 44
Navy Department...	1,725,000 00
Interior Department.....	800,500 00
Department of Agriculture.....	21,825 00
Department of Justice.....	3,000 00

28,591,410 30

Postal service.....	9,281,602 19
Miscellaneous.....	13,881,185 79
Permanent appropriations, (including \$34,033,377 40 for Sinking Fund).....	146,629,910 76

Total..... \$314,612,608 48

REDUCTION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

By the monthly statement of the public debt, issued June 30, 1875, the reduction of the debt during the year was shown to be \$14,399,514 84, viz:

Principal of the debt, July 1, 1874.....	\$2,251,690,468 43
Interest due and unpaid, and accrued interest to date.....	38,939,087 47

Total debt..... \$2,290,629,555 90
Cash in Treasury..... 147,541,314 74

Debt less cash in Treasury... \$2,143,088,241 16

Principal of the debt July 1, 1875..	\$2,232,284,531 95
Interest due and unpaid, and accrued interest to date.....	38,647,556 19

Total debt..... \$2,270,932,088 14
Cash in Treasury..... 142,243,361 82

Debt, less cash in Treasury.. \$2,128,688,726 32

Showing a reduction, as above stated, of..... \$14,399,514 84

COMPTROLLER KNOX'S REPORT—THE CURRENCY.

A considerable portion of the report of Mr. Knox, Comptroller of the Currency, is devoted to an elaborate defense of the national banking system, which he thinks should be continued as at present organized. A number of amendments to the banking laws are suggested, embracing among others: (1) Authorizing the Comptroller to appoint receivers of national banks when insolvency becomes evident; (2) for the appointment of a receiver when the charter of a bank is determined and adjudged forfeited by a United States court; (3) providing that if the shareholders of a bank whose capital stock is impaired refuse to pay their assessments after three months' notice, the capital stock of such delinquents shall be sold to make good the deficiency; (4) prohibiting the deposit of more than 10 per cent. of the capital of a national bank with any private banker; (5) the repeal of the 2-cent stamp tax upon bank checks; (6) requiring the words "counterfeit," or "altered," or "illegal" to be stamped on all counterfeit or unauthorized issues.

Altogether the report of Mr. Knox is one of the best in completeness ever issued by the Comptroller of the Currency.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following quotations embrace important suggestions from Secretary Belknap's report :

A marked improvement has taken place in the *morale* of the service. The army is now reduced to twenty-five thousand men. Recruiting was resumed in November, 1874, for the purpose of keeping up the standard number, and under a careful system in the selection of the men the class of recruits now received is of a superior quality. The number of desertions has been largely reduced, being about two thousand one hundred less than during the previous year, while the number of re-enlistments has increased nearly three-fold. The state of contentment thus shown is due, in a great measure, to the excellent system of pay established, which is now graduated by length of service, and affords the soldier an opportunity to deposit his savings with the Government and receive interest for the same until the end of his term.

The Adjutant General, under whose immediate charge the recruiting of the army is placed, has raised to the highest standard of excellence the discipline at recruiting depots, and the recruits are now well instructed and drilled before being sent to join companies in the field.

I renew the recommendation for the enlistment of music-boys over twelve years of age, in order to furnish field-music to companies, and hope that suitable legislation may be had during the next session of Congress to supply this want.

Attention is invited to the accompanying report of the Adjutant General upon the operations of the military prison, so far as they have progressed. The controlling reason for the establishment of a military prison has been that soldiers convicted of military offenses merely should be separated from the degrading influences to which they are subjected when confined with ordinary convicts. There have been 362 prisoners received during the year, and there are now 225 in the establishment. Those prisoners have been employed in various ways on the prison building and about the post, thus saving the expense of employing labor. It is hoped that an appropriation will be made for starting workshops, for it is confidently believed that the prisoners may be made to earn sufficient for their own maintenance, and in time that no appropriation will be required to be made by Congress for their support.

The desertions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874, were four thousand six hundred and six; of re-enlistments, six hundred and ninety-nine; the number of sergeants re-enlisted, one hundred and forty-nine. The desertions for the fiscal year ending

June 30, 1875, were two thousand five hundred and twenty-one; re-enlistments, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-six; sergeants re-enlisted, three hundred and forty-seven. No better evidence can be furnished of the improved condition of the service than by presentation of the foregoing figures.

The general sentiment prevailing, and the interest evinced by the great majority of those whom I met in the performance of their duties properly and well satisfy me that reflections upon the present standard of military discipline are uncalled for, but, on the contrary, that it has constantly improved during each year since the war.

EXPENDITURES.

The actual expenditures of the War Department for the year ending June 30, 1874, including river and harbor improvements, were.....	\$42,326,314 71
The same for the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1875, were.....	41,277,375 28

Showing a reduction of.....	\$1,048,939 43
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The estimates for the military establishment for the ensuing fiscal year ending June 30, 1877, are..	\$33,452,396 50
Those for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1876, were.....	32,488,969 50

Being an increase of.....	\$963,427 00
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The appropriations for that purpose for the current fiscal year were.....	\$28,727,407 99
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Good progress has been made during the year in the preparation of the official records of the war of the rebellion, both in the Federal and Confederate branches. I have placed the general supervision of the compilation of these records in charge of the Chief Clerk of the department, who, under my direction, has organized an efficient force of assistants, selected from those clerks who are best acquainted with the arrangement of the official papers on hand, and who are well adapted to the work for the purpose by experience with department and army records. The estimates of the Superintendent of the Military Academy, which will be submitted to Congress, have been carefully revised by myself in the interest of economy, and make no demand for appropriations beyond those necessary for the maintenance of the military establishment at West Point save what is found to be necessary for the interests of the service. During the past year strenuous exertions have been made to bring the corps up to its maximum strength, but the large number of candidates failing to pass the examination has rendered this action of the department nugatory. As it is generally conceded by those conversant with the subject that the standard of examination is not too high, it seems evident, from the large number of failures each year, that some defect exists in the elementary instruction of those appointed.

The curiosities of the National Park are rapidly being destroyed. How they can be preserved is a problem, but they should be saved: and if authority were given to the War Department to make a survey of routes to, and to station one or two companies of troops in or near the park for the purpose of preventing spoliation, which will otherwise frequently occur, I have no doubt that the result will be satisfactory. Surely everything should be done that can be to protect all that is grand and beautiful in that remarkable region.

The officer designated in pursuance of the President's order of January 23, 1874, to take charge of the contribution to be made by the War Department at the International Exhibition of 1876, has labored to organize the means within the department of making a display of our war materials equal in extent and variety to any similar contribution to like exhibitions in this or foreign countries. Co-operation on the part of the several contributing bureaus has been secured through the medium of officers selected by their respective chiefs, and to whose duties has been superadded that of collecting, arranging, and disposing of the articles and materials designed to be displayed under the direction of the officer referred to. The total expense of making a full and satisfactory exhibit of our war materials has heretofore been estimated at \$200,000. Congress at the last session only appropriated \$133,000 of this amount, and burdened the appropriation with a *pro rata* share of the expense of any building that might be erected for the accommodation of the entire Government exhibit. Experience has shown that the amount thus left for the practical exhibit of the War Department is inadequate, and I recommend that Congress supplement the appropriation already made with a further one, granting sufficient to make up the sum of \$200,000 for the practical exhibit of the department. This amount is set down at \$89,000, which includes an item of \$22,000 as reimbursement for moneys expended in the erection of the Government building at the Exhibition. I believe that the Government, in appearing as a voluntary contributor at this Exhibition, international as it is in character, should avoid the mortification of an inconsiderable or discreditable display.

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S REPORT.

The Quartermaster-General, in his annual report, states that the clothing issued to the troops has proved satisfactory except the campaign hats, and measures are being taken to procure more suitable ones for adoption in their stead. Through the courtesy of Sir

Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, 100 cork helmets, such as are worn by the British troops in hot countries, have been procured, and are being tried in Arizona. Clothing to the value of \$184,041 has been issued to the National Home for Disabled Volunteers. The total cost of animals purchased during the year was \$390,896, and 2,526 animals were sold, for which \$70,901 was received and deposited in the Treasury. The cost of forage was much increased by the ravages of the grasshoppers and drought in certain localities, which consequently increased the expenditures on account of this class of supply.

THE SIGNAL SERVICE.

The Chief Signal Officer, in his report, states that the display of cautionary signals has been systematically made at forty-three different stations, sea and lake ports and cities. Of the total number of cautionary signals thus displayed, 76 per cent. have been afterwards reported as justified. No great storm has passed over any considerable number of the ports of the United States without preannouncement. The watch kept by the service and the prompt transmission in times of danger of a few messages have saved property amounting to more than the cost of the lines. The question of the useful preannouncement of approaching meteoric changes may be considered as determined by now five years of successful service. With each year of labor the paths for improvement open more plainly. What was conjectured became a certainty.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary Robeson says of the Navy: The number of vessels of every class and description now borne on the navy register is 147, carrying 1,195 guns, and 152,492 tons measurement. Of these, many are sailing vessels of little or no value as part of the efficient force for either the cruising or fighting purposes of the present day. The steam vessels as distinguished from iron-clads and torpedo ships, number 95, of which 25 are tugs. Of the remainder, 38 are ready for use when required. Our iron-clad fleet consists of 26 vessels—21 of the monitor type, 2 torpedo-ships, and 3 never launched. All the vessels

(80) are available, including 16 iron-clads and 2 torpedo boats. Details are given of the operations of the fleet on each of the six stations. •

It is gratifying to be able to report that the navy is now in a stronger and more efficient condition than it has ever been at any time, at least since the commencement of your administration. It is not very strong in the number or classes of its ships, but what there are of them are in as good condition as it is practicable to keep such materials of war, under the various and trying conditions to which they are, in the nature of their service, constantly exposed. A far larger proportion than usual of our wooden ships are ready for service; our iron-clad fleet is efficient; our storehouses are fairly stocked with ordnance, equipments, and supplies; we have on hand a fair supply of the best material for the building and repair of ships. The service has been placed in a state of efficiency, compared to what existed a few years ago, by utilizing—except in the case of the eight sloops built under special appropriations—what could be spared from the current appropriations made during the Cuban emergency, and of applying these means practically and steadily towards putting what was worth saving of the navy, as it existed, in as permanent good condition as the state of the ships and the means at command permitted. The wisdom of this policy is, I think, illustrated by the strength of our position to-day. It would also be well, I think, if Congress would afford the means to finish at once the repairs of the five double-turreted monitors. With these added to it, our iron-clad force would, for purposes of defense, present a very substantial barrier to anything which would cross the seas and attempt to enter our ports.

THE VESSELS REFITTED FOR ACTIVE SERVICE DURING THE PAST YEAR.

According to the annual report of W. W. Wood, Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering at the Navy Department, the machinery of the following vessels has been repaired and refitted for active service during the past year: Franklin, Pensacola, Plymouth, Ticonderoga, Ossipee, Tuscarora, Canonicus, Saugus, Gettysburg, Tallapoosa, Jason, Montauk, Nantucket, Palos.

Repairs to the appended are now being made: Monocacy, Comanche, Snowdrop, Benicia, Amphitrite, Monadnock, Terror, Ashuelot, Iroquois, Cohasset, Leyden, Mayflower, Race, Phlox.

Those whose machinery needs repairing are: Colorado, Wabash, Brooklyn, Canandaigua, Congress, Dictator, Lancaster, Shenandoah, Worcester, Juniata, Narragansett, Wyoming, Wachusett, Pinta, Standish, Saco.

Mr. Wood says that since his last report compound engines for the Alert, Alliance, Ranger, Adams, Essex, and Huron have been completed and successfully tried. Compound engines for the Trenton, Enterprise, and the double-turreted monitor Miantonomah are in course of construction, and are being erected on board the two former vessels. Engines for the Marion, Quinnebaugh, and Vandalia have been converted from simple to compound. He refers to his recommendations last year in regard to the discontinuance of the two bladed propellers, and says, from carefully conducted experiments the fallacy of their use on our vessels was made apparent. The four-bladed screws have been restored to several of our naval steamers, and these changes will be continued as opportunities are afforded.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE LAND OFFICE—THE NUMBER OF ACRES DISPOSED OF BY ORDINARY CASH SALES AND IN OTHER WAYS.

The annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal year ending July 30, 1875, makes the following exhibit:

	Acres.
Disposal of public lands by ordinary cash sales.....	745,061.30
Military bounty land warrant locations under acts of 1850, 1852, and 1855.....	137,000.00
Homestead entries.....	2,356,057.69
Timber culture entries.....	464,870.16
Agricultural College scrip locations	9,432.02
Certified to railroads.....	3,107,643.14
Land approved to States as swamp.	47,721.25
Certified for agricultural colleges..	22,321.24
Certified for common schools.....	142,388.11
Certified for universities.....	16,454.04
Internal improvement selections approved to States.....	8,614.25
Sioux half-breed scrip locations....	1,526.45
Chippewa half-breed scrip locations.....	11,181.64
Total.....	7,070,271.69
Disposals of previous year.....	9,530,872.93
Decrease in disposals.....	2,460,601.64

CASH RECEIPTS UNDER VARIOUS HEADS.

Purchase money of land sold.....	\$1,382,281 52
Homestead fees.....	185,970 00
Commissions.....	159,125 80
Timber culture fees.....	36,430 00
Commissions.....	14,572 00
Agricultural College scrip fees.....	236 00
Fees for exemplifications furnished by the General Land Office.....	5,385 95

Total\$1,784,001 27

PATENTS.

During the year ending the 30th ultimo, 21,489 applications for patents were filed and 14,230 patents, including reissues and designs, issued; 42 applications for extensions were made, and 81 patents extended; 3,052 caveats were filed; 2,495 patents were granted, but not issued by reason of non-payment of the final fees; 951 applications for the registration of trade-marks were received, and 993 trade-marks were registered. The number of patents issued during said year exceeded those of the preceding year by 685. The total amount received during the year from fees, etc., was \$732,285.87, and the total expenditures were \$708,874.35, leaving an unexpended balance of \$23,411.52.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The general situation of the Indian service may be regarded as encouraging. At the important agencies of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, in the Dakota or Sioux nation, however, one of the principal elements of success—a productive soil—is wanting. The removal of these agencies to the Missouri river, at some point or points between the mouth of the Cheyenne river and Fort Randall, to be hereafter determined upon, will result in a greater economy and convenience of supply and greater facility to restrain and coerce refractory Indians. The failure of the negotiations for the relinquishment of the Black Hills necessitates the adoption of some measures to relieve the Department of a great embarrassment.

For two years the Government has been appropriating about \$1,250,000 for the subsistence of Sioux of various tribes. It is submitted, therefore, under these circumstances, for the consideration of Congress, whether it would not be justifiable and proper to make future appropriations for supplies to this people contingent on their relinquishment of the gold fields in the Black Hills, and the right of way thereto. It would be beneficial to the Indian service, in my opinion, and would promote its efficiency if the laws preventing the detail of army officers for civil service were so far modified as to allow their employment in the Indian service at the discretion of the President in case of emergency. There are still some roving bands of hostile Sioux in the Big Horn and Powder river country of Dakota and Montana which should be subju-

gated and compelled to cease their raids and depredations upon other tribes and upon the whites. When this is done there will be but little trouble, with a fair degree of tact, intelligence, and force, to control our entire Indian population.

PENSIONS.

The annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions shows that the number of pensioners on the roll continues to decrease. There has not, however, been a corresponding reduction in the annual charge to the Government on this account, for, while the roll has decreased 1,420 in number during the last fiscal year, the total annual rate is \$44,733.13 in excess of that of the preceding year. On the 30th of June, 1874, the names of 236,241 pensioners were borne on the rolls, at an annual aggregate rate of \$26,244,786.46. During the year next ensuing, 11,577 names were added to the roll, and 12,977 dropped therefrom for various causes, leaving the names of 234,821 persons on the roll June 30, 1875, whose pensions annually aggregate the sum of \$26,289,519.59. Of the latter number 210,363 were army pensioners, 105,479 of whom were invalids, and 104,885 widows and dependent relatives; 3,420 were navy pensioners, of whom 1,636 were invalids, and 1,784 widows, etc., and 21,038 were pensioners of the War of 1812, 15,875 of whom were survivors, and 5,163 widows; a total of 234,821 pensioners. During said year the payments from the appropriations for pensions were as follows: To army invalids, \$11,748,433.78; to army widows and dependent relatives, \$15,525,734.30; to navy invalids, \$185,675.82; to navy widows, etc., \$334,672.65; to survivors of the War of 1812, \$1,355,599.86, and to widows of soldiers in that war, \$533,000.21; in all \$29,683,116.63, which amount includes the expenses of disbursement. It is estimated that the sum of \$29,535,000 will be required for the pension-service during the next fiscal year; which amount is less by \$975,000 than the estimate submitted for the current fiscal year.

EDUCATION.

The demand upon the office for information upon special topics has been met, in part, by the publication of eight pamphlets, containing in all 704 octavo pages. A special report is now in course of preparation in regard to public libraries in the United States, including those of schools, colleges, societies, etc., which will furnish interesting statistics, and show their historical development, classification, management, and circulation. The Commissioner alludes to the embarrassment encountered by the promoters of education in those States wherein slavery has been more recently abolished, and recommends the

adoption of appropriate relief measures by the General Government.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

From the report of Postmaster-General Jewell we glean that the earnings of the department for the last fiscal year fell short of its expenditures by something more than six million dollars. Of registered letters sent by mail during the year, 911 have been absolutely lost—stolen, of course—and 683 are missing, but not yet given up as lost. There have been 107 persons convicted of violating the postal laws, and 157 others await trial. The fast mail trains have worked so satisfactorily that the Postmaster-General expects a voluntary extension of that species of service by the railroads at an early date. There is a sensible recommendation that the postage on transient printed matter be reduced to the old rate, one cent for two ounces. The prepayment of newspaper postage has not been found to increase the revenue, but there has been a material saving in commissions, sufficient to prove that the change is profitable to the Department.

THE LIGHT-HOUSE BOARD.

The report of the Light-house Board shows that the Board has made an extensive and careful series of experiments with regard to the merits of the mineral oils of this country for the purpose of light-house illumination and an elaborate and extensive series of experiments with regard to sounds as applied to signals for warning the mariner of his approach to danger in thick or foggy weather, when all other guides become of little use. Even at this stage of the experiments success has been most gratifying, and by pursuing these inquiries the Board hopes to arrive at results not only valuable to science but of practical importance in enabling it better to contend with one of the worst elements of danger which the mariner has to meet on our extended and dangerous coast. The Board asks for \$2,139,600 for the year ending June 30, 1877, as against \$1,899,000 appropriated last year for its general support, and \$789,926 for constructing new light-houses, light-ships, etc., as against \$915,400 appropriated last year.

The Inter-Oceanic Canal.

The idea of constructing a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama has not yet been abandoned by the United States. The vast benefits which would flow from this artificial highway between the two oceans cannot be over-estimated. Our Western coast would be within easy reach of our commercial marine, and the perilous trip

around the Horn would be avoided altogether by those vessels seeking the Pacific ocean. As if conscious of the immense value of this route to the civilized world, Nature presents almost insurmountable obstacles to the successful prosecution of the work. Deadly swamps; deep rivers; dense forests; mountains of flinty rock, seem to have been purposely placed on this narrow neck of land that separates two oceans. For many years the best engineering talent of the land has been trying to find some practicable route over the isthmus. Large sums of money and many lives have been sacrificed in the endeavor to master the natural difficulties which present themselves. During the past year two expeditions were sent out by the United States Government to complete the survey for the inter-oceanic canal.

One was under the command of Lieutenant Frederick Collins, who was instructed to make a careful survey of the Napipi canal route.

Swamps and morasses were encountered for the first five miles of the route. These gave place to hills and mountains as the party neared the Pacific, making the entire line extremely difficult to survey. The route followed by Lieutenant Collins is 32.2 miles long, and the estimated cost for a ship canal is \$98,000,000. By this route the proposed tunnel under the dividing ridge would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long.

The other expedition was under the charge of Commander Edward P. Lull, and its line of survey was near the line of the Panama railroad. The route laid out by Commander Lull runs from the Bay of Aspinwall on the Caribbean Sea to Panama on the Pacific. The length of the line is 41.7 miles, and the estimated cost \$94,911,360. Neither of these routes present any advantage over the one known as "The Nicaraguan Route," hitherto surveyed, and to those who have made the subject a study the latter route is deemed the most practicable for a ship canal. This route begins at Greytown on the Atlantic side, and strikes the Pacific a short distance north of the Rio del Brito. Each subsequent survey of new lines appears to have strengthened the claims of this one, and it is not improbable that before many years the Nicaragua Ship Canal will be one of the accomplished facts of the century.

THE SENATE.

THE HOUSE.

Republicans (marked R.), 167; Democrats (marked D.), 178; Independents (marked I.), 6. One vacancy exists in Tennessee, caused by death. The asterisk (*) indicates members of the last Congress re-elected. The C. stands for colored.

ALABAMA—3.

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|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Jerry Haralson, C. R. | 5 *Jno. H. Caldwell, D |
| 2 Jere. N. Williams, D | 6 G. H. Hewitt, D. |
| 3 Paul Bradford, D. | At { B. R. Lewis, D |
| 4 *Charles Hays, R. | L. { Wm. H. Forney, D |

ARKANSAS—4.

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|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Lucien C. Gause, D. | 3 W. W. Wiltshire, D. |
| 2 Wm. F. Stemons, D. | 4 *Thos. M. Gunter, D |

CALIFORNIA—4.

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| 1 W. A. Piper, D. | 3 J. K. Luttrell, D. |
| 2 *H. F. Page, R. | 4 P. D. Wigginton, D |

CONNECTICUT—4.

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|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Geo. M. Landers, D. | 3 H. W. Blair, R |
| 2 James Phelps, D. | 4 *W. H. Barnum, D. |

DELAWARE—1.

- 1 James Williams, D.

FLORIDA—2.

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| 1 *Wm. J. Purman, R | 2 *Josiah T. Wall, C. R |
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GEORGIA—3.

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|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Julian Hartridge, D | 6 *Jas. H. Blount, D. |
| 2 Wm. E. Smith, D. | 7 Wm. H. Felton, D. |
| 3 *Philip Cook, D. | 8 *A. H. Stephens, D. |
| 4 *Hen'y R. Harris, D | 9 *Benj. H. Hill, D. |
| 5 M. H. Chandler, D. | |

ILLINOIS—12.

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| 1 B. G. Caulfield, D. | 11 Scott Wike, D. |
| 2 C. H. Harrison, D. | 12 Wm. M. Springer, D |
| 3 *Chas. B. Farwell, R | 13 A. E. Stephenson, D |
| 4 *S. A. Huribut, R. | 14 *J. G. Cannon, R. |
| 5 *H. C. Burchard, R. | 15 *John R. Euen, D. |
| 6 *T. J. Henderson, R | 16 Wm. A. J. Sparks, D |
| 7 Alex. Campbell, I. | 17 *W. R. Morrison, D. |
| 8 *G. L. Fort, R. | 18 William Hartzell, D |
| 9 Rich. H. Whiting, R | 19 Wm. B. Anderson, I. |
| 10 John C. Bagby, I. | |

INDIANA—12.

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|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Benoni S. Fuller, D | 8 *M. C. Hunter, R. |
| 2 Jas. D. Williams, D. | 9 Thos. J. Cason, R. |
| 3 Michael C. Kerr, D. | 10 Wm. S. Raymond, D |
| 4 Jephtha D. New, D. | 11 Jas. E. Evans, R. |
| 5 *Wm. S. Holman, D | 12 A. H. Hamilton, D. |
| 6 M. S. Robinson, R. | 13 John H. Baker, R. |
| 7 Frankl'n Landers, D | |

IOWA—9.

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| 1 *G. W. McCrary, R. | 6 E. S. Sampson, R. |
| 2 John Q. Tufts, R. | 7 *John A. Kasson, R |
| 3 L. L. Ainsworth, D. | 8 *Jas. W. McDill, R. |
| 4 *Henry O. Pratt, R. | 9 Addison Oliver, R. |
| 5 Jas. Wilson, R. | |

KANSAS—3.

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| 1 *Wm. A. Phillips, R | 3 Wm. R. Brown, R. |
| 2 John R. Goodin, D. | |

KENTUCKY—10.

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| 1 A. R. Boone, D. | 6 Thos. L. Jones, D. |
| 2 *John Y. Brown, D. | 7 J. S. C. Blackburn, D |
| 3 C. W. Milliken, D. | 8 *M. J. Durham, D. |
| 4 J. P. Knott, D. | 9 John D. White, R. |
| 5 Ed. Y. Parsons, D. | 10 John B. Clark, D. |

LOUISIANA—4.

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| 1 R. L. Gibson, D. | 4 Wm. M. Levy, D. |
| 2 E. John Ellis, D. | 5 *Frank Morey, R. |
| 3 *C. B. Darrall, R. | 6 *C. E. Nash, C. R. |

MAINE—5.

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| 1 *J. H. Burleigh, R. | 4 H. M. Plaisted, R. |
| 2 *Wm. P. Frye, R. | 5 *Eugene Hale, R. |
| 3 *Jas. G. Blaine, R. | |

MARYLAND—6.

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|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Phil. E. Thomas, D. | 4 Thos. Swann, D. |
| 2 Chas. B. Roberts, D. | 5 Eli J. Henkle, D. |
| 3 Wm. F. O'Brien, D. | 6 Wm. Welch, R. |

Republicans, 44; Democrats, 23; Independents, 2; total Senate, 74; Republican majority, 14.

MASSACHUSETTS—11.

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|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 W. W. Crapo, R. | 7 John K. Tarbox, D. |
| 2 *Benj. W. Harris, R | 8 W. W. Warrant, D. |
| 3 *Henry L. Pierce, R | 9 *Geo. F. Hoar, R, |
| 4 Rufus S. Frost, R. | 10 *J. H. Seelye, I. |
| 5 Nath'l P. Banks, I. | 11 C. W. Chapin, D. |
| 6 C. P. Thompson, D. | |

MICHIGAN—9.

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|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 A. S. Williams, D. | 6 G. H. Durand, D. |
| 2 *Henry Waldron, R | 7 *O. D. Conger, R. |
| 3 *George Willard, R | 8 *N. H. Bradley, R. |
| 4 Allen Potter, D. | 9 *Jay A. Hubbell, R. |
| 5 W. B. Williams, R. | |

MINNESOTA—3.

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| 1 *M. H. Dunnell, R. | 3 Wm. S. King, R. |
| 2 Horace B. Strait, R. | |

MISSISSIPPI—6.

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| 1 *L. Q. C. Lamar, D. | 4 O. R. Singleton, R. |
| 2 G. W. Welles, R. | 5 Chas. E. Hooker, D. |
| 3 H. B. Money, D. | 6 *John R. Lynch, R. |

MISSOURI—13.

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|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Edward C. Kehr, D | 8 B. J. Franklin, D. |
| 2 *Erastus Wells, D. | 9 David Rea, D. |
| 3 *Wm. H. Stone, D. | 10 R. A. DeBolt, D. |
| 4 *R. A. Hatcher, D. | 11 J. B. Clark, Jr., D. |
| 5 *Rich. P. Bland, D. | 12 *John M. Glover, D |
| 6 Chas. H. Morgan, D | 13 *A. H. Beckner, D. |
| 7 John Phillips, D. | |

NEBRASKA—1.

- 1 Lorenzo Crounse, R,

NEVADA—1.

- 1 William Woodburn, R.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—3.

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| 1 Frank Jones, D. | 3 H. W. Blair, R. |
| 2 S. N. Bell, D. | |

NEW JERSEY—7.

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|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 C. H. Sinnickson, R. | 5 Aug. W. Cutler, D. |
| 2 *S. A. Dobbins, R. | 6 Fred'k H. Teese, D. |
| 3 Miles Ross, D. | 7 A. A. Hardenburg, D |
| 4 *Robt. Hamilton, D | |

NEW YORK—33.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 H. B. Metcalfe, D. | 18 Andr'w Williams, R |
| 2 *J. G. Schumaker, D | 19 *W. A. Wheeler, R. |
| 3 S. B. Chittenden, I. | 20 *H. H. Hathorn, R. |
| 4 A. M. Bliss, D. | 21 Sam'l F. Miller, R. |
| 5 Edwin R. Meade, D | 22 Geo. A. Bagley, R. |
| 6 *Samuel S. Cox, D. | 23 Scott Lord, D. |
| 7 Smith Ely, Jr., D. | 24 Wm. H. Baker, R. |
| 8 Elijah Ward, D. | 25 E. W. Leavenworth, R. |
| 9 *Fernando Wood, D | 26 *C. D. McDougall, R |
| 10 A. S. Hewitt, D. | 27 E. G. Lapham, R. |
| 11 Benj. A. Wilton, D. | 28 *Thos. C. Platt, R. |
| 12 N. Holmes Odell, D | 29 C. C. B. Walker, D. |
| 13 *J. O. Whitehouse, D | 30 John M. Davy, R. |
| 14 Geo. M. Beebe, D. | 31 *Geo. G. Hoskins, R |
| 15 J. H. Bagley, Jr., D. | 32 *Lyman K. Bass, R |
| 16 Chas. H. Adams, R. | 33 Nelson I. Norton, R |
| 17 M. I. Townsend, R. | |

NORTH CAROLINA—8.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Jesse J. Yeats, D. | 5 Alfred M. Scales, D |
| 2 J. A. Hyman, C. R. | 6 *Thos. H. Ashe, D. |
| 3 *A. M. Waddell, D. | 7 *W. M. Robbins, D. |
| 4 Joseph J. Davis, D. | 8 *Robt. H. Vance, D |

OHIO—20.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Milton Saylor, D. | 11 John L. Vance, D. |
| 2 *H. B. Bauning, D. | 12 Ansel T. Walling, D |
| 3 John S. Savage, D. | 13 *M. I. Southard, D. |
| 4 J. A. McMahon, D. | 14 John P. Cowan, D |
| 5 A. V. Rice, D. | 15 N. H. Van Vorhes, R |
| 6 Frank H. Hurd, D. | 16 *L. Danforth, R. |
| 7 *Lawr'ce T. Neal, D | 17 *L. D. Woodworth, R |
| 8 *Wm. Lawrence, R. | 18 *James Monroe, R. |
| 9 F. F. Poppleton, D. | 19 *Jas. A. Garfield, R |
| 10 *Chas. Foster, R. | 20 Henry B. Payne D. |

OREGON—1.

- 1 Lafayette Lane, D.

PENNSYLVANIA—27.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 C. Freeman, R. | 15 Joseph Powell, D. |
| 2 *Chas. O'Neill, R. | 16 *Sobieski Ross, R. |
| 3 *S. J. Randall, D. | 17 John Reilly, D. |

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 4 *Wm. D. Kelley, R. | 18 Wm. S. Stenger, D. |
| 5 John Robbins, D. | 19 Levi Maish, D. |
| 6 *W. Townsend, R. | 20 Levi A. Mackay, D. |
| 7 Alan Wood, Jr., R. | 21 Jacob Turner, D. |
| 8 *Heister Clymer, D. | 22 Jas. H. Hopkins, D. |
| 9 *A. Herr Smith, R. | 23 Alex. G. Cochran, D |
| 10 Wm. Mutchler, D. | 24 John W. Wallace, R |
| 11 F. D. Collins, D. | 25 Geo. A. Jenks, D. |
| 12 W. W. Ketcham, R. | 26 Jas. Sheakley, D. |
| 13 Jas. R. Reilly, D. | 27 Albert G. Egbert, D |
| 14 *John B. Packer, R | |

RHODE ISLAND—2.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 *Benj. T. Eames, R. | 2 L. W. Ballou, R. |
|-----------------------|--------------------|

SOUTH CAROLINA—5.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 *J. H. Rainey, C. R. | 4 *A. S. Wallace, R. |
| 2 E. W. M. Mackey, D | 5 R. Smalls, C. R. |
| 3 Solom'n L. Hoge, R | |

TENNESSEE—10.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Wm. McFarland, D | 6 John F. House, D. |
| 2 *J. M. Thornburgh, R | 7 *W. C. Whitthorne, D |
| 3 Geo. G. Dibrell, D. | 8 *J. D. C. Atkins, D. |
| 4 Vacancy. | 9 Wm. P. Caldwell, D |
| 5 *John M. Bright, D | 10 H. Casey Young, D. |

TEXAS—6.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 John H. Reagan, D. | 4 *Roger Q. Mills, D. |
| 2 D. B. Culberson, D. | 5 *John Hancock, D. |
| 3 J. W. Throckmorton, D. | 6 Gus. Schleicher, D. |

VERMONT—3.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Chas. H. Joyce, R. | 3 *Geo. W. Hendee, R |
| 2 D. C. Denison, R. | |

VIRGINIA—9.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 B. B. Douglas, D. | 6 John R. Tucker, D. |
| 2 *John Goode, Jr., D | 7 *John T. Harris, D. |
| 3 Gilbert C. Walker, D | 8 *Eppa Hunton, D. |
| 4 *W. H. H. Stowell, R | 9 *William Terry, D. |
| 5 Geo. C. Cabell, D. | |

WEST VIRGINIA—3.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Benj. Wilson, D. | 3 *Frank Hereford, D |
| 2 C. G. Faulkner, D. | |

WISCONSIN—8.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 *C. G. Williams, R. | 5 S. D. Burchard, D. |
| 2 L. B. Caswell, R. | 6 A. M. Kimball, R. |
| 3 H. S. Magoon, R. | 7 *J. M. Rusk, R. |
| 4 W. Pitt Lynde, D. | 8 Geo. W. Cate, D. |

TERRITORIAL DELEGATES.

- Arizona—Hiram S. Stephens, I.
 Colorado—Thomas M. Patterson, D.
 Dakota—Jefferson P. Kidder, R.
 Idaho—Thomas W. Bennett, R.
 Montana—*Martin Maginnis, D.
 New Mexico—Stephen B. Elkins, R.
 Utah—*George Q. Cannon, I.
 Washington—Orange Jacobs, R.
 Wyoming—*William R. Steele, D.

CONTESTED SEATS IN THE HOUSE.

- | State. | Seat. | Contested by |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Alabama | Haralson, R. | F. G. Bromberg, D |
| Alabama | Williams, D. | J. T. Rapier, C. R. |
| Alabama | Hays, R. | Jas. T. Jones, D. |
| Florida | Purman, R. | J. A. Henderson, D |
| Florida | Walls, col. R. | Jesse J. Finley, D |
| Georgia | Hartridge, D. | Jno. E. Bryant R. |
| Georgia | Smith, D. | R. H. Whiteley, R |
| Illinois | Farwell, R. | J. V. Le Moyne, D |
| Illinois | Whiting, R. | Leon'd F. Ross, D |
| Indiana | Hunter, R. | Harris'n J. Rice, D |
| Indiana | Baker, R. | Freem'n Kelley, D |
| Kentucky | White, R. | H. Cockrill, D. |
| Louisiana | Morey, R. | W. B. Spencer, D. |
| Maryland | Walsh, D. | Lloyd Lowndes, D |
| Massachusetts | Frost, R. | J. G. Abbott, D. |
| Minnesota | Strait, R. | E. St. Julien Cox, D |
| Pennsylvania. | Freeman, R. | T. B. Florence, D. |
| Pennsylvania. | Egbert, D. | C. B. Curtis, R. |
| S. Carolina | Hoge, R. | B. H. McGowan, D |
| S. Carolina | Wallace, R. | J. B. Kershaw, D. |
| Virginia | Goode, D. | J. H. Platt, Jr., R. |
| New Mexico .. | S. B. Elkins, R | Pedro Valdez, D. |

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DECEMBER, 1875.

Whole No. 34.

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1876.

Vol. 6.

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It will seek to hold up intelligence as the safeguard to National safety, and will defend the public school system as essential to its preservation.

It will advocate improvements, that experience may commend, in the education of the young; but will oppose all efforts to divide the public-school funds, or to introduce into the schools sectarian influences.

It will advocate the perpetuation of the Republican party as the best, if not the only means to secure the preservation of the Union, and the impartial execution of the laws.

It will labor earnestly to bring about such reforms as the spirit of progress may demand, and in all things seek to present those methods of administration, which the wisdom and experience of a century have confirmed.

It will give to its readers a clear insight into the various branches of Government, by a faithful record of their doings.

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To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

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Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. V. WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER, 1875. No. 6.

CLOSE OF THE FIFTH VOLUME OF "THE REPUBLIC."

With this number THE REPUBLIC closes its fifth volume. For the substantial encouragement received, the publishers return their thanks. They have endeavored to make good their early pledges, and the earnest recognition which has greeted their efforts, leads them to believe that they have exceeded, rather than fallen short, of the measure promised.

The Centennial year will be one of the most important in our history. It will be crowded with incidents worthy of historic preservation, and will give birth to events which will rekindle the loyalty and patriotism of every section. To faithfully record the leading events of the year, to give direction, by wise counsel and earnest suggestions, to the patriotic impulses of the people, to keep in view the best methods of administering government, developed by the experience of a century, and to hold up intelligence as the safeguard essential to the future safety of the nation, will be among the leading features of the work to be accomplished.

THE REPUBLIC will continue to advocate those principles which secure to the citizen the largest degree of personal freedom consistent with the public good.

It will advocate the election and appointment to office, whether Municipal, State or National, of men whose record for honesty, loyalty and ability is above suspicion, believing that these traits are absolutely essential to the public safety.

While it will favor any improvement that wisdom and experience may commend in our Free School System, it will, nevertheless, op-

pose any change that has for its object the division of the public school funds, or the introduction into the schools of sectarian influences.

It will at all times give credit, where credit is due, and friendly criticism whenever or wherever deserved. The welfare of the Nation shall ever be kept in view, and the opinions of individuals, and the policy of parties, will be sustained or condemned according to the influence they exert for good or evil.

It will endeavor to present with each number a faithful record of current political events, departmental doings, legislative proceedings, both State and National, when bearing upon questions of public interest, and such other items as may be worthy of preservation.

The approaching struggle for the Presidency will be one of the most important in our history. The forces of disloyalty, ignorance and partizan malice, will be combined to overthrow the Republican party and the glorious work it has performed. To defeat this combination, the press must be watchful and active, enlightening the people, keeping before them the true issues, furnishing facts and figures that will repel attack, and form the basis of a correct judgment as to the merits of the party assailed.

In this work, THE REPUBLIC will endeavor to show increased activity, devoting its energies to secure the perpetuity of the Republican party, as the best, if not the only means, to ensure an honest and economical administration of government, and an impartial execution of the laws.

THE OHIO ELECTION.

The result of the recent Ohio election presents features worthy of careful study. Casually glancing at a comparative table of majorities, it is difficult to account for the remarkable differences that are seen. A county will be noticed as giving an increased Republican vote and majority. Another, lying contiguous, foots up a Democratic gain. Possibly this county has been Republican, while the other one has been known as disaffected, or even Democratic, for two or three years past. But closer examination solves many of the difficulties. It will be observed that the Republican gains are almost entirely in the old party strongholds, as on the Western Reserve, along all the principal lines of railroad, and in the large cities and towns of the State. Wherever the population is readily accessible; wherever it was easily reached by the open messengers and avenues of intelligence, as the press or political forum, there will be found notable gains for Governor Hayes and the Republican policy of greenback appreciation and financial integrity.

On the other hand, there are many counties in Ohio which show increased Democratic gains. There are Belmont, Hardin, Highland, Mahoning, and Washington, which reversed their former positions, and supported Allen in the recent struggle, as against their vote for Noyes, in 1873. A glance at the accompanying map of Ohio, will show that Belmont, Mahoning and Washington are on the border of West Virginia, and that Highland is but one county removed from the Ohio river, bordering on Kentucky. Hardin is agricultural, and in the west and center of the State. In the counties bordering on Indiana, and on those near West Virginia, there seems

increase in
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contiguous
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flationists in
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the main, Democratic, and are also open from the south to Kentucky reinforcements, as well as to those from Indiana.

The counties thus indicated as giving an increased Democratic vote, foot up more than one-third of the total increase claimed for the inflation policy. The larger proportion of the farmers in these counties are "dyed in the wool" Democrats, being, in the main, descendants of settlers from Virginia and Kentucky. They are, in part, carved out of the old Virginia and United States Military Reservations.

Turning to the southeastern part of the State, and several counties projecting westward into the center and it will be found that the Democracy there, also, show increased majorities. The counties from which they come border on West Virginia, and their industries are largely iron-working and coal-mining. It will be seen, too, that Republican counties adjacent to the river, and also controlled by the same industries, return, in most instances, decreased majorities, when compared with the vote of 1873, or, more distinctly still, with that of 1872.

A portion of the remarkable Democratic increase shown to have occurred in the iron and coal counties bordering on West Virginia, is due to the depression of business, and consequent dissatisfaction; much more is due, however, to proximity to neighboring States whence colonization was easy. But the history of the canvass will also show another thing, and that is, that it was just in these counties that the Republican fight against inflation was most feebly conducted. It is to be observed also that the Republican victory is due to an increased vote in the central parts of the State, and in the more populous counties of Hamilton and Cuyahoga, where the depression of business had been, and still is, most severely felt; but where that fact has led to closer investigation of the causes thereof, and consequently to a more intelligent acceptance and understanding of the principles controlling the situation.

The following official statement of the vote for Governor is valuable for comparison and reference:

Adams
Allen
Ashlan
Ashtab
Athens
Augla
Belmoi
Brown
Butler
Carroll
Champ
Clarke
Clerm
Clinton
Colum
Coshoc
Crawfo
Cuyah
Darke
Defian
Delaw
Erie
Fairfie
Fayett
Frankl
Fulton
Gallia
Geauga
Greene
Guern
Hamil
Hanco
Hardin
Harris
Henry
Highla
Hockli
Holme
Huron
Jackso
Jeffers
Knox
Lake
Lawre
Lickin
Logan
Lorain
Lucas
Madiso
Mahon
Marion
Medin
Meigs
Mercer
Miami
Monro
Montg
Morga
Morro
Muski
Noble
Ottawa
Pauldi
Perry
Pickaw
Pike
Portag
Preble
Putnam
Richia
Ross
Sandus
Scioto
Seneca
Shelby
Stark
Summit
Trumb
Tuscar
Union
Van W
Vinton
Warre
Washt
Wayne
Willis
Wood
Wyand

Major

To exhibit the extraordinary character of the contest, it will only be necessary to state the total votes for several years past, and thus give at a glance the remarkable increase shown in October last:

Total vote of 1872	519,755
" " " 1873	448,878
" " " 1874	467,425
" " " 1875	592,668

These figures show

An increase in 1875 over 1872 of.....	72,913
" " 1875 over 1873 of	143,790
" " 1875 over 1874 of.....	125,243

The vote for 1872, given above, is that for Secretary of State, cast in October of that year. The Presidential vote is a little larger:

Vote of 1875	592,668
Presidential vote in Ohio, 1872.....	526,173
Increase in 1875	66,495

According to the United States census of 1870, the population of Ohio was 2,665,260. The Presidential vote of 1872, may be regarded, from the nature of the issues involved, as the fairest possible test of the voting strength of that State, and of the proportion the voters bear to the whole population. According to that vote, the proportion of voters was within a small fraction of one in four and seven-eighths of all the inhabitants. This is a very remarkable percentage, and shows how very nearly the entire vote of the State must have been cast. Under such a condition it is not probable that there were over fifteen thousand stay-at-home voters. But allowing that the total vote of Ohio in 1872, polled and unpolled, was 542,668. The vote in 1875, being 592,668, would show an increase of 50,000 voters. This is certainly an astounding fact, if it is legitimate, and shows that the increase of population has been much beyond the usual average. The following table of population and the increase at each decade, will illustrate this even more forcibly. The figures given are from the United States census, up to 1870:

YEAR.	
1830.....	.....
1840.....	.....
1850.....	.....
1860.....	.....
1870.....	.....
1875, (estimate	

The estimate for 1875, is based on the proportion of one vote in four and seven-eighths of the whole population, as already shown by the Presidential vote of 1872. If we take this remarkable increase for the first five years of the current decade, as legitimate and use it as an estimate for the population of Ohio in 1880, we shall have the following result :

Total increase on the basis given up
to 1875..... 580,482

Total population..... 3,245,742

If, however, the fractions are left out and put the proportions at one in five, which the general conditions establish as a fair basis for estimating both the total and electoral populations, the following will be the result :

Total population in 1870..... 2,665,260
Total vote reported in 1875..... 592,668
Estimated population in 1875,
(one in five)..... 2,963,340
Alleged increase for five years..... 308,080
For the decade at that rate..... 616,160

It will thus be seen that the gain would be larger than for the ten years between 1830 and 1840, when Ohio was the "Far West" and attention was turned in that direction. The increase of votes is however not an honest one, for it is impossible that there has been anything like such a growth. Closer examination of the counties in which this remarkable increase is most evident, will exhibit the truth of this opinion. Nearly three years of the five that have passed since the last census was taken, have been years of business depression. According to Democratic and inflation oratory, they have been years of great disaster. It is certain that emigration has decreased. It is also certain that Ohio increases, year by year, the proportion of enterprising persons, who go from her midst to seek fortune and position in other States. Most persons would suppose, with no more than cursory examination, that there was nothing whatever in the material situation of Ohio to warrant a belief that she had grown more rapidly than has been the case in the most prosperous of preceding decades. Further analysis will testify to the correctness of this view. How, then, can the large increase of votes be accounted for? Simply enough, when we trace the localities in which it is mostly found.

The counties bordering on Indiana are, to a large extent, agricultural in character. In the second tier east, there are a number of small manufacturing centers. Taking the counties north from Hamilton, and it will be found that of the nine on the Indiana line, five are Democratic; the others, including Hamilton, are now Republican. The next tier east, excluding Clermont, are nine in number, of which six are Democratic. With the exception of Mercer and Putnam in this tier, the other nine Democratic counties of Allen, Anglaize, Butler, Darke, Defiance, Henry, Mercer, Montgomery, Shelby and Van Wert, show a remarkable increase in population, if the gain in the Democratic majorities is any indication.

It is not necessary to tabulate the population in detail. A careful summary of the total will be sufficient. The nine counties indicated had, in 1870, according to the U. S. census of that date, a population of 246,178 persons, or nearly one-eleventh of the whole. Their full vote in 1872 was 49,251. This gives a small fraction within one voter in every five persons.

At the last October election, the total vote was 56,563, an increase of 7,312; showing, at the rate of one voter to every five persons, an additional population in these counties of not less than 36,560. The party gain on either side on the last of the two votes given was as follows :

Democratic October vote 1875..... 32,640
" " " 1872..... 28,072

Gain..... 4,578
The Republican vote was as follows :
October 1875..... 23,923
" 1872..... 21,179

Gain..... 2,744

The Republican increase on the vote is largest in the second tier of counties from Indiana; the Democratic increase is largest in those bordering on that State. The deduction is an obvious one. As to the increase in population there must remain many doubts.

Moving South to the Ohio River, and leaving Hamilton county for separate consideration, there is a group of Democratic counties worth examining, because of their continuity to Kentucky. They are Clermont, Brown,

Adams, Pike and Highland—the last named being a loss to the Republicans, who have heretofore carried it. Adams and Clermont present an increased majority. Brown shows a small loss to the Democracy on the basis of Allen's former contest in 1873, the Democratic majority then being 1,851 against 1,261 in 1875. Pike and Highland, however, give an increased Democratic vote.

According to the census of 1870, the population of these five counties was 140,400—being a little more than one-nineteenth of the whole.

The total vote of 1872 (October) was 24,980, and that of 1875, 26,288—an increase of 1,308 votes, indicating an additional population of 6,967—being on the basis of one voter in every five and one-third persons. The total Democratic vote in 1872 was 12,105, and in 1875 it was 15,104, showing an increase of 5,001. The total voting gain was 1,308. The Republican vote in 1872 was 12,875, and in 1875 it was 11,184, showing a decrease of 1,691. The Democrats increased their total vote to the difference between the votes of 1872-'75—3,310. It is a convenient thing in a sharp contest to have obliging neighbors.

Proceeding further east, and a group of Republican counties will be seen in the Ohio Valley, also convenient to Kentucky and West Virginia, and affected by the depression of business, especially as to coal and iron working. These are the counties of Athens, Gallia, Jackson, Lawrence, Meigs, Morgan and Washington, the last named giving a Democratic majority at the last election. These seven counties contained, according to the census of 1870, one-thirteenth of the whole, or—

A population of.....	194,889
According to the vote of 1875 there were of voters.....	47,594
Ditto that of October 1872.....	32,697
A voting increase of.....	14,897

This is quite remarkable. It establishes a light vote in 1872 when the voter was as one in about six and two-sevenths of the population, or a very remarkable increase in 1875, when it had suddenly grown to the extent of one in four and one-tenth of the whole number of inhabitants. Neither hypothesis is quite correct. Estimating the total vote on the basis of one in five, and in

1872, it would have been 38,978. This last estimate shows an increase of voters in 1875, three years after, to the number of 8,616, or an addition to the population of at least 43,000 persons. As these are among the older settled counties in the State, and as the industries thereof have been severely depressed, it is not at all probable that they would honestly indicate any such sudden growth as these figures imply. But the fact that the group of counties usually give a large Republican majority, and of their contiguity to Democratic States, is proof of the source of the sudden accession to their voting population. The parties were divided as follows:

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
In 1872.....	20,159	12,538	7,621 R.
In 1875.....	22,114	25,480	3,366 D.

According to the above figures, there has been an increase and change of votes to the number of 11,087. Compare that total with the suspicious growth of the vote in its relation to the whole population, and then notice the continuity of Kentucky and West Virginia, and the problem is solved. Going still further east and north, and we come to a group of counties directly under inflation influences. Above Washington, we find Belmont, (a Republican county gained by the Democracy), Munroe, Jefferson, Harrison, (Republican,) and Noble (a county lost in 1873, and now recovered by the Republicans). These counties are iron-working and mining. Business has been, and still is, depressed therein. The total population of the five in 1870, was 133,492, or about one-twentieth of the State total:

The number of votes cast in October, 1872, was.....	25,324
In 1875 it was.....	28,398
Showing an increase of.....	3,074

The total Republican majority, in 1872, (excluding Munroe) was 2,608; in Munroe, the Democratic majority was 1,747; reducing the Republican majority in the group to 861.

In 1875, the Republican majority in Harrison, Jefferson, and Noble, was 962; the Democratic majority in Belmont and Munroe (the first named being a direct loss to the

Republicans), was 2,470, leaving them in the group, a majority of 1,508, or a total change of 2,369 votes. According to the vote of 1872, the proportion of voters on the enumeration of 1870, was as one in five and one-fourth of the whole ; and in 1875, as one in four and four-sixths. The increase of voters, counting them as one in five, would give an increased population for the five counties of 15,370—a more moderate showing than in the adjoining counties, where there is a more decided Republican vote to overcome, and, as a consequence, neighborly sympathy was in demand on the part of Kentucky Democrats.

From these figures it will be seen that everywhere on the border of Democratic States, or counties thereof, that, allowing for a normal increase of population, for the extraordinary interest always felt in such a financial discussion, as results from a business panic or depression, and from the changes produced by the partial cessation of leading industries, and it will still be seen that the percentage of voters, especially on the Democratic side, is suspiciously large. In some localities, the percentage runs down to about one in three and a half, and in none of those counties does it run much above one in four. Yet these, taken as illustration, are among the older and more stationary counties.

On the other hand, let us look at a group of the most distinctive Republican counties in the State—those that make up the Western reserve, or are contiguous thereto. These are the counties of Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Geauga, Huron, Lake, Lorain, Medina, Portage, Summit, Trumbull and Columbiana. They show a total population, according to the last census, of 409,800, about one-sixth of the whole. The votes on which this analysis is based, stands as follows :

State vote of 1872.	
Republican.....	52,261
Democratic	32,645
Republican majority	19,616
State vote of 1875.	
Republican.....	58,891
Democratic.....	35,193
Republican majority	23,698

Total vote 1875.....	94,084
“ “ 1872.....	84,906
Increase in 1875.....	9,178
Increase of Republican vote in 1875	6,630
“ “ Democratic.....	2,548

Of the Republican increase, nearly one-half was cast in Cuyahoga county, where the majority stood, in 1872, at 3,603 ; and in October last, at 6,364. Lorain, Summit and Portage, in which counties the iron interests are strong, gave an increased majority. The Granger element is strong throughout the Reserve ; yet the Democratic calculations on that score were confounded. Columbiana, sandwiched in between Mahoning, and other disaffected counties, decreased its majority somewhat, it being 1,132 in 1872, and 966 in 1875. The Republican vote was increased about 300, and the Democratic over 700. Taking the population of 1870 as the basis, and the vote of 1872 showed the percentage of voters to be very nearly one in four and two-sevenths persons. The vote of 1875, on the same population, would give one voter to every four and one-tenth persons. This establishes, beyond question, the normal character of the increase, for it exhibits the fact that no suspicious looking or sudden accessions to population is shown. In this respect, it contrasts with facts previously made plain.

Proceeding still further, and taking a number of Democratic counties in the interior of the State, with a nearly equivalent population, and it will be at once evident, that there has not been in Ohio, any such rapid increase of population as the large vote would indicate. The counties of Crawford, Coshocton, Fairfield, Franklin, Knox, Licking, Holmes, Muskingum, Ottawa, Perry, Pickaway, Sandusky, Wayne and Wyandott, are all Democratic, and contained, according to the last census, a population of 408,139, or over one-sixth of the total. There are several large towns therein, and the principal lines of communication traverse most of them. The canvass was, as a rule, vigorously managed on both sides. The following figures show the position :

Vote on State ticket, 1872.	
Democratic	48,601
Republican	36,451
<hr/>	
Democratic majority	12,150
Vote on State ticket, 1875.	
Democratic	57,149
Republican	41,353
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Democratic majority	15,796
Total vote in 1875	98,502
“ “ “ 1872	84,952
<hr/>	
Increase in 1875	13,550
Increase of Democratic vote in 1875	8,548
“ “ Republican “ “	4,902

On a population of 1,601, less than that of the Republican counties named, the vote of these Democratic counties shows 4,418 polls more than do the others first named. Taking the enumeration of 1870, and it will be found that in 1872, the voters were as one in every four and four-tenths persons, and in 1875 as one in every four and one-sixth persons. In these counties, the Republican vote was largely increased in all the larger places—as Columbus, Zanesville, Circleville, Dayton, etc. But the large increase remains unaccounted for, unless the fact that all the machinery of the election and returns being in Democratic hands, accounts for it.

In continuation of this comparison, it will be of service to group together the border and river Democratic counties, from Defiance in the northwest, to Washington, Mercer and Belmont, in the southeast. There are eleven of them, having in 1870, a population of 312,908, a little more than one-eighth of the whole. In 1872, the total vote was 52,142, or one voter in every six persons. At that date the counties of Van Wert, Belmont and Washington, were Republican. The Democrats had a majority of 2,460 in the group. In 1875, the total vote was 68,754, an increase of 16,612, making, at the rate of one in six, an increase of population to the number of 99,672, or according to the percentage of the vote of 1875 on the population of 1870 (one in about every five) an addition of 83,860 persons. Going back to the estimate made at the commencement of this article of the additional population that the large vote of October last,

will show, it can be seen that these eleven counties show, at the first estimate, one-third of the total presumed growth; and at the last named figures, a little more than two-sevenths of the whole.

To be more accurate, the counties which in 1870 contained only about one-eighth of the whole population of Ohio, are found in 1875, to have gained so enormously in population as to show, by the vote of October last, that they must have increased their inhabitants to one-third and one-seventh of the total growth which the very large vote of that date shows to have been so remarkable—always providing that the vote was, itself, an honest one. There are only two horns to the Democratic dilemma in the counties indicated, and they are, either the neighborly character of their party friends in adjacent States, or the unexampled pro-creative fecundity of the population in the several counties indicated. There is another notable fact.

The total Democratic vote of October, 1875, was	292,264
That of October, 1872, was	251,780
<hr/>	
An increase of	40,484

According to the figures already given, the border counties named, show an increased vote of 16,612, or more than two-fifths of the whole.

If the reader will turn back to the group of interior Democratic counties which show, by the enumeration of 1870, a population of 408,139, and an increased vote in 1875, over that in 1872, of 13,554, he will have a still more vivid illustration of the remarkable manner in which Democratic majorities can be increased where the territory lie convenient to Democratic States. By the enumeration of 1870, the interior counties contain about one-sixth of the population, against the border counties selected, with about one-eighth of the total. Taking the basis, one in five, and it will be found that the more densely populated counties have increased their population to the number of 67,770—large enough, but still small—as contrasted with those counties that contained, in 1870, 95,231 less persons. These latter have absorbed one-third and one-seventh, according to the vote, of the total.

290,241, while the interior Democratic counties have gained, in comparison, only about four and one-fourth of that total. When compared with Republican counties, the alleged increase in both will be found to be wholly abnormal and fraudulent. But for the purpose of this writing, it is sufficient to contrast the two Democratic groups with each other. The more populous counties show a gain equal only to two-sixths of the whole increase on the vote of 1875 over that of 1872, against the less populous ones of the same faith, which runs up to over two-fifths of the whole.

With one more comparison, this review will be closed. According to the vote of 1872, the Republicans (casting a total poll of 265,930) then represented a population of 1,329,650, estimating it on the basis of one voter in five. According to the same basis, the Democratic vote would have represented 1,258,900 persons, and the Prohibitionists 10,225, leaving unrepresented 65,505 persons, or 13,100 absentee voters. Now, according to the census of 1870, the Democratic counties in 1872 contained a population of 1,354,058, leaving the counties carried by the Republicans, a population of but 1,311,202. The latter carried 47, and the Democrats carried 41 counties. By the vote of 1875, the Democracy carried 45 counties, with a population of 1,252,859; being 58,343 less than in 1872. The Republicans carried 43 counties, with a population of (1870) 1,402,401—a gain of 91,199. This is a remarkable fact, because it shows that the total Democratic increase of votes is nearly equal to its loss of representative population. This is worth re-stating: The Democratic poll of 1875 shows an increase of 40,484 votes; yet it practically represents 58,343 less persons. The Republican poll increased 31,883, while the counties carried by the party shows a population of 91,199 more than the counties carried by it in 1872.

No one accustomed to deal with social statistics, can for a moment believe that the huge increase of the vote of Ohio in October last is an honest one. The conditions are all against such a conclusion. There is no reason whatever for believing that the State has been blessed with any sudden and enor-

mous growth. Yet if the vote was an honest one, the increase of population it implies, would necessarily lead to such a conviction. It may be worth while to see what the normal increase has really been. The decade from 1850 to 1860, shows an addition of 359,182 persons to the total population. There is a decrease of 23,431, in the ratio of increase, during the next decade, which may be fairly attributed to the war and its effects, though the preceding decade shows a much larger falling off from that in 1840 to 1850—not less in fact than 100,680. But the increase shown by the census of 1860, may be taken as the basis for the present one. One half of that, will be 179,591. This total will be 110,650 less than the estimate that has already been made, based upon the increased vote of October last, as compared with that of October, 1872. Taking, therefore, the increase of population in Ohio for the past five years, at 179,591, and estimating the voters as one in five, and the result will be an increase of 35.91 polls. This must be regarded as a fairly liberal basis.

The estimate of increase being made on that of 1850–60, would give Ohio in 1875, a total population of 2,844,851. Though these figures are more or less hypothetical, still there can be no doubt whatever, that they offer an approximately correct estimate. What then is the voting population? Taking our general basis—one in five—and there will be a total of 568,970 polls.

To recapitulate, then. Taking the increase from 1850 to 1860 as the basis for 1870–80, and the total population of Ohio will be

In 1875	2,844,851
The increase for five years being	179,591
The number of polls (estimated at one in five)	568,970
Votes actually returned in October, 1875	592,668
An increase over the above basis of	23,698

This leaves no margin for those electors, who, from sickness or otherwise, did not vote. The total was certainly one-half as great as in 1872, when the estimate was about 13,000. To say, then, that the recent vote in Ohio exceeded any legitimate and honest increase of the electoral population

by at least twenty-five thousand polls, is a fair and reasonable conclusion. The enormous increase in the border and river counties of the total vote, as well as of the Democratic majorities therein, is conclusive evidence of the sources from which it came. The total increase on the Democratic vote of 1875 over that of 1872, is over 40,000. The unparalleled efforts made to get out a full vote, might fairly have increased their vote of 1872 by 10,000, but that increase could not have been honestly quadrupled—nor was it.

The lesson to be learned from this examination, is an obvious one. It proves conclusively that a canvass on the part of the Republican organization must always be conducted, to be successful, on the basis of intelligence, honesty, education and courage. It will be found that just in the degree that the Ohio canvass was bold and thorough, upon the main issues—finance and unsectarian schools—just in that degree did the Republican candidates win votes. In Hamilton and Cuyahoga, in Franklin and other leading and central counties, throughout the Western Reserve, in Lucas county (Toledo) and in the central belt of Democratic counties, the Republican organization pushed its canvass to the utmost. It will be seen clearly that this course won votes. The increase in the Western Reserve has already been shown. Lucas county shows a majority of 1,384 against one of 704 in 1872, with an increased vote of 1,648. Cuyahoga county, (Cleveland,) shows a vote in 1872, of 23,521, with a Republican majority of 3,603. The vote of 1875 aggregates 28,083, an increase of 4,562, with a Republican majority of 6,052, a gain of 2,449. Franklin county, in which the State Capital, Columbus, is located, has always been Democratic. In 1872 the full vote was 11,979; the Democratic majority 2,083; in 1875, the full vote was 14,793; the Democratic majority 1,109, a Republican increase of 1,894 votes. The Democratic vote only increased 920. Hamilton county gave in 1872 a total vote of 42,373 and an Opposition majority of 5,653. In 1875 the total vote was 48,537, an increase of 6,164 polls, giving a Republican majority of 1,295, and a total increase for that party of 6,556 polls. It will be found on comparison that the Republicans polled their full vote,

throughout the Democratic central portion of the State; that their aggregate vote is increased therein; that the full vote was polled in the sections they usually carry; and that allowing for the depression and disaffection in the iron-working counties which were lost—especially Mahoning, Belmont, and Washington—the full extent of the so-called Democratic gains therein, that there was polled or returned against Governor Hayes, and in favor of Governor Allen, not less than 25,000 imported or manufactured votes.

Let us take the three counties just named, captured by the Democracy on the inflation issue, without doubt. In 1872 their full vote was 20,921, divided into 11,173 Republican, and 9,748 Democratic, giving the former a majority of 1,425. In 1875, their full vote was 25,611, divided into 13,165 Democratic and 12,446 Republican, giving the former a majority of 719. The Democratic gain over 1872 was 3,417; the Republicans increased their vote by 1,273. The total Democratic increase, therefore, is 4,690. Allowing this to be an honest increase—and it requires considerable faith to do so—it will still be seen there is at least an illegitimate increase of 25,000 to be accounted for. The Republican State Committee conducted their campaign upon the expectation that Kentucky, Indiana, and W. Virginia, would colonize at least 20,000 Democratic votes.

The foregoing fully establishes the correctness of their judgment. It also proves the strength of the Republican cause, and the wisdom of a bold canvass, where questions affecting the honesty of administration and the integrity of free institution are involved. To educate is the highest function of a party devoted to progress and ordered liberty. In spite of the close calculations of the Democratic managers, it will be seen that they failed to estimate at its full strength, the sterling integrity of a free people, when directly appealed too, to sustain honesty in finance, and stability in administration of Republican government. The legitimate majority for Rutherford B. Hayes would most certainly have been not less than 25,000, if so many of the accommodating Democrats residing in adjacent States had not temporarily migrated into Ohio. There is a lesson and warning in the foregoing facts and estimates, which it will be well to heed.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1875.

The "Long Roll" of the recent campaign was first sounded in Kentucky. At this writing, its reverberations are dying away in Alabama. The struggle has been a vigorous one. Marches and countermarches have followed each other rapidly. The opening assaults were severe and well-contested, resulting in varied fortune. The Democracy appeared in force, and carried, as at Shiloh, the outposts. Our lines were driven in disastrously in California, the camp being divided against itself. The fight waged with fluctuations in Maine, showing an apparent decrease of fighting strength on our part; while in Iowa and Nebraska, there was assured and confident "forward move-

ments." Then came a stroke of "grand strategy," worthy of Sherman himself—only it was as the attack on Johnston's center, at Kenesaw—a failure, which, unlike "Tecumseh," the enemy were unable to rally from by any flanking effort. The defeat in Ohio—their center—was the key to the situation. All that remained to be done, thereafter, was to mass the forces and move all along the lines against the enemy's works. When the electoral campaign for 1875 opened, there was a long list of positions, temporarily lost, to be re-carried. It is worth while seeing how far success has attended Republican efforts. In 1874 the State elections resulted as follows:

VOTE OF 1874.

STATES.	Republican.	Democratic.	Total vote.	Republican loss.	Democratic gain.	Republican majority	Democratic majority.	Increase over vote of 1872	Decrease from vote of 1872.
Indiana.....	164,955	182,053	347,008	21,192	18,421	.....	17,098	.....	2,771
Illinois.....	164,842	197,013	361,855	77,102	12,075	.....	32,171	.....	65,025
Iowa.....	107,256	79,054	186,310	24,310	7,85	28,202	.....	.....	16,452
Maine.....	53,131	41,734	94,865	8,291	12,647	11,397	.....	4,356	.....
Maryland.....	53,385	67,520	120,905	13,375	†167	.....	14,135	.....	13,512
Massachusetts.....	89,344	93,376	182,720	44,128	34,116	.....	4,032	.....	10,012
Michigan.....	111,353	105,710	217,063	27,102	27,355	5,643	.....	.....	253
New Jersey.....	84,050	97,283	181,333	7,606	13,233	.....	13,233	13,221	.....
New York.....	366,079	416,370	782,449	74,657	29,039	.....	50,291	.....	45,568
Ohio.....	221,204	238,406	467,425	60,648	†5,935	.....	17,202	.....	52,748
Pennsylvania.....	272,436	277,195	549,631	77,153	63,154	.....	4,759	.....	11,909
South Carolina.....	80,531	68,864	149,395	*8,241	46,161	11,667	.....	54,402	.....
Virginia.....	76,565	93,685	170,250	16,903	2,031	.....	17,120	.....	14,872
Totals.....	1,845,131	1,948,264	3,793,395	552,467	268,140	56,909	170,041	71,979	232,989

* Republican gain

† Democratic loss.

Special elections were held in the following States and for the purposes indicated:
California, Oct. 20, Election of Supt. of Public Instruction.
Alabama, Sept. 20, Delegates to a Constitutional Convention.
Alabama, Nov. 16, Ratification of Constitution.
North Carolina, Aug. 10, Delegates to Convention.
North Carolina, — Ratification of Constitution.
Nebraska, Sept. 12, Ratification of Constitution.

Oregon, Nov. 2, Election of Representative.
Tennessee,* — Elections of Representative.
Missouri, Oct. 30, Ratification of New Constitution.
Texas, Sept. Delegates to Constitutional Convention.
Texas, Dec. 7, Ratification of Constitution.
New Jersey, Oct. 22, Ratification of Constitutional, Amendment.
Colorado, Oct. 25, Election of Convention Delegates.

* Date is not known.

At the regular State elections during the year past, the following States have voted :

STATES.	Date of Election.	No. of Congressmen elected.	State Ticket and Legislature.	Partial State Ticket.	Legislature.	U. S. Senators to be elected.
Kentucky	Aug. 1.	.....	1	...	...	1
California	Sept. 1.	4	2	...	...	...
Maine	Sept. 13.	1†	3	...	...	2
Iowa	Oct. 12.	.....	4	...	...	3
Ohio	Oct. 12.	.....	5	...	...	...
Nebraska	Oct. 12.	.....	6	...	...	...
Massachusetts	Nov. 2.	1†	7	...	...	...
Maryland	Nov. 2.	.....	8	...	...	...
Minnesota	Nov. 2.	.....	9	...	...	...
Mississippi	Nov. 2.	6	...	1	1	4
Kansas	Nov. 2.	.....	...	...	2	...
New Jersey	Nov. 2.	.....	...	...	3	...
New York	Nov. 2.	1†	...	2	4	...
Pennsylvania	Nov. 2.	.....	10	...	...	...
Virginia	Nov. 2.	.....	...	3	5	...
Texas *	Dec. 7.	.....	11	...	...	5
New Mexico	Oct. 20†	1	...	...	...	...

* The election in Texas was postponed to the date named by the Constitutional Convention.

† To fill vacancies.

‡ Election of a delegate.

The following states voted at the elections indicated on amendments to the State Constitutions: In Minnesota there were four amendments submitted and ratified. The first changes section 4 of article VI. and provides for the formation of judicial district composed of contiguous territory, and the election of judges for a term of seven years, and also provides that every district judge shall reside within the district at the time of his election and during his continuance in office. The second amendment says the Legislature may provide by law that any woman 21 years of age and upward may vote at any election for school officers, or upon any measure relating to schools, and may also be eligible to hold any office pertaining solely to the management of schools. The third amendment directs the Legislature to provide for the safe investment of the principal and interest of all funds arising from the sale of certain lands in United States bonds, or the bonds of Minnesota or other States, issued after the year 1860. The fourth proposition so amends section 3 of article X. as to make stockholders in any corporation (except

those for carrying on a manufacturing or mechanical business) liable only for all unpaid installments on stock owned by them or transferred for the purpose of defrauding creditors.

Kansas voted upon three amendments, which are intended to secure biennial sessions of the Legislature. The first provides that section 25 of article 2, shall be amended so as to read as follows: "All sessions of the Legislature shall be held at the State capital, and beginning with the session of 1877, all regular sessions shall be held once in two years, commencing on the second Tuesday of January of each alternate year thereafter." The second so amends section 3 of article XI., as to provide that at each regular session the Legislature shall make provision for raising sufficient revenue to defray the current expenses of the State for two years. The third to constitute section 29 of article II., reads as follows: "At the general election held in 1876, and thereafter, members of the House of Representatives shall be elected for two years, and members of the Senate shall be elected for four years."

In Mississippi, three amendments were submitted. The first is in the form of an addition of Section 5 of Article XII, and prohibits the payment of what is known as the "Union bank, or Planter's bank bonds." The second is in relation to fines, forfeitures, etc., in support of the public schools, and the third relates to a division of the States into a convenient number of chancery districts. The first is known to have been adopted. The fate of the other two has not been distinctly ascertained.

The result of the late elections has an important bearing. The Presidential election of next year—that of the Centennial—has a significance as deep as that which was felt attended the first election of Abraham Lincoln. As the first table presented shows, the year begun with an apparent reaction—so triumphant as to leave the Democracy in possession of the National House of Representatives, by a majority of over eighty members. The carefully nurtured disaffection within the ranks of the Republican party itself, presented to the op-

position, two grounds for expecting further success. The first was a belief that the "Liberals," called so from their remarkably illiberal way of dealing with all opposed to their puny efforts, held the balance of power, and could dictate reason to the Democracy, while depleting the Republican organization. The second was the hope that the well-pushed charge of administrative corruption was so far impressed upon the mind of the Republican masses as to be an effectual means of disintegration. Last year's returns almost justified these hopes, but those who analyzed closer, saw more clearly that indifference, even more than dissatisfaction, was the cause of the default. It was not a Democratic gain so much as a Republican abstention, that brought about the untoward result.

This year changes the scene almost entirely, as the following summary will show :

STATES.	General Elections.		Special Elections.	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Kentucky .....	.....	1	.....	.....
California (Sept) .....	.....	2	.....	.....
California (Oct.)	1	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas .....	.....	3	.....	.....
Maine	2	4	.....	.....
Iowa	3	5	.....	.....
Ohio	4	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	5	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota	6	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi .....	.....	6*	.....	.....
Kansas	7	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska	8	.....	1a	.....
Missouri .....	.....	.....	1a	.....
Alabama .....	.....	.....	2a	.....
North Carolina .....	.....	.....	2†	.....
Oregon	9	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey	10	.....	3b	.....
New York .....	.....	7†	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	11	.....	.....	.....
Texas .....	.....	.....	3a	.....
Virginia .....	.....	8	.....	.....
Colorado .....	.....	.....	4	.....
New Mexico	12	.....	.....	.....

* In this State, three of the six Congressmen are Republican. (a) States so marked, have had two special elections during the year, to elect delegates and to vote on the Constitutions framed by them; (b) refers to the special election for action on the Constitutional Amendments. Oregon is not quite settled, but the official count, as far as heard from, gives it to the Republican nominee. † New York is practically Republican, the Legislature having been carried by a large majority and the Democratic vote greatly reduced. ‡ The popular majority was Republican in this State.

In Kentucky there was decided gain in the Republican party, General

Harlan, its candidate, making a vigorous personal canvass, while his ability and eloquence put his opponent at so great a disadvantage, as to compel the Democratic leaders to make appeals for support on the ground of party necessities. There was a fine illustration of reciprocity in this election—the first of the campaign. Covington, Newport, and other river towns increased their votes quite largely. The Ohio Democrats, in the counties opposite, had their reward for this neighborly attention. California showed the disadvantage of divided councils. The intense individuality and ambition of Senator Booth and his friends, resulted in a temporary disruption of the Republican party, and permitted the Democracy to carry the State. At the later election, into which, as seems inevitable, the school question entered, the Republican candidate was elected by ten thousand majority. California is a Republican State on a direct issue. All parties here, and in Kentucky, were opposed to inflation. The Arkansas contest had no bearing on the general conflict. As to Maine, it will be found that the Republican victory, though accompanied by a reduced majority, augurs nothing as to the Presidential contest. There is a small Democratic gain, but it is only in the larger towns, and proves that the evils of civic abstention do not accompany the party that secures the dangerous classes and gathers in the ignorant and prejudiced. Maine will give her full majority next year. Both parties in this State opposed inflation. As to the other New England State that voted this fall—Massachusetts—the result is satisfactory, and shows that with the interest sure to be aroused in the Centennial Presidential canvass, the Bay State will give a majority of thirty thousand for the Republican nominee. A remarkable fact is exhibited by the recent State census, in connection with the exercise of the suffrage. The voting population of Massachusetts is stated, by the census of 1875, to be 351,066.

The vote cast for President in 1872 was	192,732	LESS	158,334
For Governor 1874 it was	186,810		164,256
" " 1875 " "	172,809		178,257

In New York the vote fell off largely from

that of last year, which was 23,177 less than in 1872. The official count has not been received at this writing, but the vote will probably be forty thousand less than last year, and sixty thousand less than in 1872. In Pennsylvania it is reported to be over eighty thousand less than at the election of 1872. Massachusetts opposed inflation by the votes of both parties.

Turning to the West, and what is to be seen? An increase of confidence on the part of the Republican masses, and a large gain over last year, wherever a thorough and honest canvass has been made. Iowa gave Governor Kirkwood a majority of over thirty-two thousand, while the average majority on the State ticket was over twenty-nine thousand. The Republicans opposed inflation and urged the policy of appreciation. Ohio has been treated elsewhere at great length. The proven facts justify a claim for an honest majority of twenty-five thousand for the Republican ticket. The Democracy made a bold attack on the whole line, advocating inflation, but were hindered by the allied Catholic attack on the public schools. The Republican party leaders took a moderate position, looking to the careful and honest appreciation of the "greenback" and maintained it steadily; resisting with great vigor towards the close of the campaign, the claim made that inflation of the currency was a remedy for the hard times produced by speculative expansion in other directions. The results in Minnesota and Kansas, like Iowa, must be regarded as offering the most cheering proof of the assured hold had by the national party upon the loyal masses therein. As to Wisconsin, two things are to be deduced. One is, that the lack of an efficient canvass in the sense of completeness, will always tell against the Republican organization. With the materials of which it is largely composed, it is evident that, to paraphrase a well-worn expression, "Eternal vigilance is the price of" political success, as well as "liberty." The other is, that in the "Badger States," the fight made, to break up the Republican party by a movement from within, (compounded of personal motives and some new policies striving to assert themselves, as per the

cheap transportation discussion), has, on a severe test, failed of success. The Legislative majority is increased. Wisconsin may, with every reason, be counted for the Republican nominee in 1876, with a fair majority. Nebraska gave about eleven thousand majority for the Republican ticket. Like the States of Wisconsin, Kansas, and Minnesota, Nebraska planted itself squarely in opposition to inflation.

The result in New Jersey is especially gratifying, reversing, as it does, in regard to the legislature, the vote of last year. The Democratic majority of that election, in both Senate and House, and on joint ballot, is exactly transformed. In the local elections, the honors were fairly divided—the Republicans, however, carrying the larger counties. Pennsylvania is a solid victory—Hartman having about 12,000 majority over Pershing. The prohibition vote was about 11,000. Philadelphia illustrates, at this election, the growth of the absentee evil. There are 160,000 registered voters in the city, but only 113,889 ballots were cast, a loss of over 46,000. In 1868, the poll was 121,333; in 1872, 119,118. The Keystone State showed, by its recent vote, that it, too, could be counted against inflation.

The election in New York, while giving the opposition State ticket a majority of 15,239, really resulted in a Republican and reform victory. The Legislature is Republican by an increased majority. In the city and county of New York, Tammany Hall and the rule of the "Boss" or "one man power" has been effectually broken. The figures will show this:

The majority for Tilden in 1874 was 42,156
That for Bigelow (Democrat) in

1875 is but..... 28,156

Mr. Seward, the Republican nominee for Secretary of State, had 4,465 more votes than Governor Dix.

The total vote was..... 126,902
Divided as follows: Bigelow..... 77,529
Seward..... 49,372

The Democratic vote on a total poll of 126,344, decreased 1,077. The Republican vote increased 4,465, making a total of 5,542—the difference between the vote of 1874 and

1875. The opposition to Tammany combined the Democracy opposed thereto and the Republicans. The result is worth noting :

Anti-Tammany	Tammany
Phelps (Rep)... 75,733	Olney..... 50,853
Hacket (Dem). 75,755	Smythe... 50,314
The majority was—Hacket (D)..... 25,441	
	Phelps (R)..... 24,880

The answer of Tammany through the mouths of John Kelly and Abraham S. Hewitt, was two-fold. Mr. Kelly declared it to be due entirely to the disaffection produced among the corporation laborers, at the reduction of their wages. This was both confession and avoidance. The confession being the fact, that the "boss" or "personal government" plan involves the placating of the laboring masses, by their employment on civic improvements or as armies in older States. The object is corrupt, in both a political and personal sense. It enriches contractors and ring officials, and drills masses of men to support corruption by their votes. It is the system of the Plebiscite in another form. Louis Napoleon and Baron Haussaman—the former the French John Kelly and the latter more akin to Tweed in all probability—played their game for nearly twenty years. They improved Paris, assisted France to railroads and canals, obtained overwhelming endorsements at the polls by the process known to the manipulators of such things, whether in France or Democratic New York, and ended in exile and defeat. The result was—Sedan, the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and—The Commune. Mr. Hewitt, a man of acute intellect and trained intelligence, also fulminated. He cannot see, as a Democrat, any hope for municipal self-government, as applied to large cities, without the intervention of some such agency as that of the Tammany Society. Like all the modern Democratic leaders, he makes open confession of the failure of Democracy—as they understand it. The Procrustean bed on which they lay Government and its methods, is a failure in the face of the complex and multiform aspects of modern society. Inevitably the Democrat turns to the Dictator. The chief of Tammany appeals to the Plebiscite, and whether in City or State, enthrones personal govern-

ment by the aid of masses deliberately corrupted or kept unenlightened, and finally creates a Cæsar—be the same Emperor or "Boss." The Republican sees, on the other hand, that the co-operative government or party "of the people, by the people, for the people"—seeking to translate the average demands into law, while it aims to lift those demands on to the highest plane of which they are capable—that this government or party must have capacity for infinite modification, mobility and adaptation, without once losing its steadfast hold on the underlying, primordial idea—that of government for all, by all, and in the interest of all. It cannot be led by chieftians, as is that of Democracy, pure and simple. The Republic is under the direction of representatives—attorneys—trustees, if you will—empowered to act for the people. But this is aside from the general question, though still germane to the issue.

From the further West, Colorado, New Mexico, and Oregon wheel into line, and as before stated, California returns home. There seems little reason to doubt the election of a Republican member of Congress from Oregon, though the official count must finally decide. Colorado elected her last Delegate, and also a Republican majority in the Constitutional Convention authorized by the enabling act. New Mexico returns her efficient Delegate, Mr. Elkin. From the South, superficial conditions do not appear as hopeful, yet close observation will satisfy the thoughtful person that there is ground for encouragement. Alabama and North Carolina have both made manifest the existence of a live and vigorous Republican party. The popular majority against holding a Convention to revise the Constitution, was 9,245. The arrangement of the districts was such that a minority secured within one of a majority, and the election of that doubtful one to the presidency of the Convention, secured them control thereof. But the work of reorganization is well begun. In Alabama, the Republicans, at a late day, rallied to resist the ratification of the new Constitution, framed by the Democrats, and showed that they were not so demoralized as their opponents supposed. Alabama will probably

head the Republican column next year, while North Carolina is almost beyond peradventure on that side. Texas will be for the Democratic candidate—whoever that may be. The Democracy elected their Convention, framed a new Constitution, and will ratify it, as well as elect State officers thereunder, early in the current month. Missouri has also changed its Constitution, the vote on the ratification being very light, and generally affirmative. The total vote of that State in 1872 was 273,629, while on the new Constitution it was not over one of that total.

The most significant sign in the former Slave States, is the clearage already evident in the border States. It was apparent during the Kentucky canvass, and it was more than distinct in Virginia, recently. The Maryland vote shows clearly that the Bourbon leaders are losing their hold on the Southern whites. There is no doubt that Maryland was honestly carried by the Reform movement, of which the Republicans formed so important a constituent. The total vote was 158,127, with a majority for the Democrats of 12,821. Outside of Baltimore city, the Reformers carried 12 counties with a population of 329,989; the Democrats carried 10 counties, with a population of 193,351. Baltimore city, with a population of 267,354, (making a population represented by Democrats of 460,705) gave a majority sufficient to secure Carroll's election, though but a short time before, it gave 14,000 majority for Gen. Latrobe, the Reform Mayor. The Democratic vote in the city was 36,958, and its majority was very conveniently just 14,995. The total vote shows the ratio of polls to be one in five of the whole population. It shows, however, that the city vote falls one-half per cent. below that ratio. The increase there of Democratic polls, over preceding elections is nearly equal to their majority in the State. The difference between the Reform vote—21,293, in Baltimore on the 2d ult, and the Republican vote cast in 1872, 13,647, is 7,646. Adding these, as being Reform Democrats to the total Democratic vote in the city, and the present total will be 50,605, making an increase over the party vote of 1874, (the highest), that being

29,862, of 20,743. This shows how Mr. Carroll's majority was obtained, for there has been no such normal increase as is indicated. The ratio already given would show an increase of 100,000 to the population. The majority outside of Baltimore for the Reform ticket was 2,181. The official vote was, for Carroll (Dem.), 50,690; for Harris, (Rep.), 48,509. The municipal election indicated that the Reformers had a majority in the city itself. All these things are slowly disintegrating the Southern Democracy, by opening the eyes of that portion of their voters, that gravitated to them originally, because they could not sustain the policy of restricting slavery, or of proclaiming emancipation. They were not Democrats, anyhow, and begin at last to understand this.

The result in Mississippi is not unexpected. It proves the danger of personal politics, and strongly testifies to the need there is of direct action and courageous conduct, on the part of those who have won the confidence of the new citizens. The loss of Mississippi is not a permanent one. It is impossible for the minority to hold the electoral majority for a great while in abject subjection, and the campaign of Seventy-Six will prove this, beyond doubt. What has been won in fraud and violence will surely end in discomfiture and disgrace.

"The mills of the Gods grind very slow,
But they grind very fine."

Looking over the entire field and the Republican party may well feel encouraged. There is no place for complete assurance of triumph, but there is room for confidence in success, if the work to be done is well done; if the standard is lifted high; if the motives are honest and patriotic, and the principles proclaimed are exalted in character.

Three points become prominent in a survey of the field. These are:

1st. The recent struggle was not in reality over hard or soft money *per se*, for or against administrative reform, but in reality for the disintegration and destruction of the Republican organization. The people vetoed that design.

2d. It is evident that the majority of the voters are not prepared to trust the Democratic party with national power once more.

As a matter of political philosophy—a legitimate opposition being a necessary, even essential, condition of representative government—it would be well for the politicians who belong to a different school from the Republican party, to insist upon the disbandment of an organization on which the taint of treason and *decadence* rests, and the re-forming of the opposition under some other name.

3d. It is evident that, as during the days of pro-slavery rule, while the civil war created thereby was in progress, and since, during the perilous days of reconstruction, the Democratic party has always been ready to strike hands with any dangerous movement or voting force, that offers a chance of aiding its recovery of the power it so unworthily used. It allied itself with slavery. It blew hot and cold during the Slave-holders' Rebellion. It has supported the Ku-Klux and endorsed the White League murders. In New York city, it organized plunder on a gigantic scale. During the recent canvass, it has shown itself ready to join with those who, in pursuance of their policy of sacerdotalism, strike at the unsectarian public schools, and in Ohio and Pennsylvania, it has been ready to destroy the public credit, in order to arouse demagogue's appeal, the passions of the poor, the unfortunate, and the unemployed.

New dangers threaten at every turn from the existence of this virulent party. The intelligent American citizen perceives the danger that follows its every step towards a renewal of power, and when the prize appears to be in their grasp, the ballot of the patriot strikes them down as assuredly as their bullets did the Southern wing—that is, the Confederate armies,—during the Rebellion. Republicans! to the front. Close up the ranks. Amend the discipline. Increase your vigilance. Prepare earnestly for a forward movement, and the Centennial year will see another tried and trusted Republican elected to the Presidency.

WISE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.—No one who has studied the career of M. Leon Gambetta, the parliamentary and popular leader of the French Republicans, can for one moment, deny to him the wisdom that is chastened by experience, and the courage that is tem-

pered by the knowledge that brings discretion. He comprehends clearly that the Republican idea is master of the situation, and that it is the old order and not the new conditions, that conspire against order, social and political. In a letter addressed to the Republicans of Lyons, bearing date Oct. 27, M. Gambetta says:

"What victorious majorities, of whatever nature, have especially to fear, is to seek to obtain everything at once at the risk of confounding and compromising everything. The example of these last few years should always be before our eyes. The politics of our days are bound, like all the sciences, to march gradually from the simple to the complex; but more than all other sciences, it requires the spirit of circumspection, prudence, temperament. Politics are not a geometry, all the constructions of which are traced in perfect lines, all the problems of which necessarily receive exact solutions. They ought, beyond doubt, to be inspired by fixed and certain principles, but they are carried on with men and for men, across interests and passions which throng together, in the face of traditions which resist. They ought, therefore, to know how to arrange with necessity, and never to risk the fate of an idea, or a people, for the honor of a hopeless theory. We have had predecessors, we shall have successors; we shall only bequeath them a very imperfect patrimony; for all the conquests we shall have been able to realize will only give the measure of the progress even of political morals, still, alas! much in arrear. Arrived at public life, at the most difficult period of this century, we have but one duty—to maintain, augment, and transmit the heritage to better prepared and more fortunate generations. It is necessary, then, to measure and regulate the march, in order to avoid falls."

Two luminous statements in the foregoing are worthy American attention. Gambetta condensed a volume, when he wrote that, "The politics of our days are bound, like all the sciences, to march gradually from the simple to the complex." Again: "Politics are not a geometry, all the constructions of which are traced in perfect lines * * they are carried on with men and for men, across interests and passions which throng together in the face of traditions which resist." Democracy is simple; Republicanism is complex. Modern life is the most complex of all things, and growing more so daily. Politics are not pure morals. They are not necessarily immoral, because expediences have rightful place. The basis is ethical, and must always be. The practice may often, and most wisely, too, be a compromise.

NAVIGATION LAWS.

CHAPTER III.

LORD CASTLEREAGH—WHAT IS A GENERAL TREATY OF COMMERCE? RECIPROCITY—MONOPOLY—INTERCOURSE DURING THE PERIOD WHEN THE PORTS WERE CLOSED—MR. CLAY, MR. GALLATIN, MR. CANNING—MR. CLAY'S PROPOSITION—ANOTHER ORDER IN COUNCIL—LORD DUDLEY—REGULATION OF THE COLONIAL TRADE BY PARLIAMENT—DUKE OF WELLINGTON—LORD ABERDEEN—BRITISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT CONTEMPLATE ANY REGULATION—VIEWS OF MR. RUSH—A DIFFERENT POLICY—MR. VAN BUREN AND MR. McLANE—A NEW PROPOSITION—AMERICAN PORTS OPENED BY THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

When Lord Castlereagh asked Mr. Rush, the American Minister, what was to be understood by a general treaty of commerce? Mr. Rush replied: "A treaty that would open, not a temporary or precarious, but permanent intercourse with the British West Indies and the Colonies in North America, to the shipping of the United States. And to negotiate such a treaty, he was present in London." It appears that the British Government were willing to enter upon such a negotiation, but unwilling to alter the existing Colonial system, which excluded trade. They professed, too, to have an earnest desire to see the commercial intercourse between the two countries placed upon the best footing at all points; the stake to each being alike important. What the United States desired was, that in the trade between the two countries, the United States should have its equal share as carriers, and that the charge upon the vessels of each should be equal. This is RECIPROCITY, the Republican idea. Mr. Rush says that this is all that the United States ask. And the United States hold it out in a permanent statute as the basis of its code of navigation. But the monarchical idea was MONOPOLY, and to that idea Great Britain clung with a persistence worthy of a better cause.

It must never, therefore, be overlooked, that in all the propositions of this country to Great Britain, simple reciprocity was sought; and reciprocity here means justice. After the closing of the ports and the virtual cessation of trade, Mr. Clay, in a letter of the 11th of October, 1826, expressed the views of America in words that lay down the principles which throughout had actuated American statesmen. He said: "The Government

of the United States has always been anxious that the trade between them and the British Colonies should be placed upon a liberal and equitable basis. There has not been a moment since the adoption of the present Constitution, when they were not willing to apply to it the principles of fair reciprocity and equal competition. There has not been a time during the same period when they have understood the British Government to be prepared to adopt that principle. * * * The struggle on the side of Great Britain was to maintain her monopoly, and on that of the United States to secure an equal participation in the trade and intercourse between them and the British Colonies."

The subject of the foreign trade of the United States was therefore again relegated to the hands of diplomacy; but there was not actual non-intercourse between the United States and the British Colonies, as a mutual exchange of their respective products was carried on. Commodities destined for the use of the British Colonies, but which they could not receive directly, they received indirectly through the neutral islands of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, each of which became a sort of entrepot for American commerce and that of the British Colonies. The Colonial consumer, of course, defrayed the transient charges through those islands; but the trade was not unprofitable, and it found employment for American vessels.

On the 11th of April, 1827, Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, addressed instructions to Mr. Albert Gallatin, American Minister in London, desiring him to remove from the mind of the English Secretary of Foreign Affairs any misapprehensions he might have upon the subject. The despatch was exceed-

ingly temperate in tone, and one calculated to foster amity between the two nations. Mr. Canning had expressed himself as disinclined to be drawn again into the discussion of topics already more than sufficiently debated. If this view had been accepted, the door of remonstrance might have been closed, on the ground that it was impossible to renew the consideration of the matter without traversing former arguments. Mr. Clay held that a full and candid explanation should be given to the British Government; and, until this was done, he would not be satisfied that all had been done that was necessary. Accordingly, he concurred in the general proposition laid down by Mr. Canning, that there is a right in a mother country to interdict to foreign nations a trade with her Colonies. This proposition was universally admitted among nations, and had never been controverted by the Government of the United States. But that was a very different proposition from the question which had been under discussion between the two Governments. That question was, whether, when the parent country, relaxing its Colonial monopoly, chooses to open the trade of its Colonies to foreign nations, those nations have not a right to examine for themselves the terms on which it is so opened, and to treat of such modifications of them as would secure reciprocity in the mutual intercourse. The Order in Council, closing the British Colonial ports, had been made pending negotiation, to which the Government of the United States had been invited. And, moreover, Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister at Washington, had received a note from Mr. Canning, written in anticipation of the course adopted in closing the ports of America to British vessels, to be delivered to the Secretary of State, but which he did not deliver. It had been the intention of this Government to frame a convention with articles providing for reciprocal intercourse by the vessels of each power; but Mr. Clay learned that the British Government had decided to regulate the trade by law. Mr. Gallatin was therefore directed to communicate to that Government that the President acquiesced in that decision, and to ascertain the disposition of that

Government to open the trade by separate acts of the two Governments. The proposition of Mr. Clay was that a recommendation should be made by the President to Congress, at its next session, 1st. To suspend, as to the British Government, the alien duties on vessel and cargo, and to allow the entry into ports of the United States of British vessels, laden with the same kinds of British produce, or British Colonial produce, as American vessels can lawfully import; the British vessel paying no higher charges of any kind than American vessels are, under the same circumstances, bound to pay; and, secondly, to abolish the restriction contained in the act of the 1st of March, 1823, confining the trade to a direct intercourse between the Colonies and the United States; the effect of which will be to leave Great Britain in the exclusive possession of the circuitous trade between the United Kingdom and the United States, through the British Colonies. Mr. Gallatin was also instructed to inquire whether, if Congress should pass a law to the above effect, the Order in Council of July, 1826, would be revoked; the discriminating duties operating to the disadvantage of American vessels in the British Colonial ports would be abolished; and vessels of the United States be suffered to enjoy the privileges of trade and intercourse, according to the enactments of the Act of Parliament, of the 5th July, 1825?

On the 16th July, 1827, another British Order in Council was issued, embracing the regulation of the Colonial trade of Great Britain with all nations, reciting the passage of an Act of Parliament by which it was declared that one year from the passing of the Act of July, 1825, should be the period in which an acceptance of its provisions by foreign nations should be valid; declaring what nations had accepted those provisions, and closing their ports against all those that had not; among which the United States were included. The terms of such an Order in Council were strangely inconsistent with the communication to the British Government, made by Mr. Gallatin on June 4th, that the President was willing to recommend to Congress the passage of a law to regulate

commercial intercourse of a very liberal character. To that no answer was received; and it was understood that Mr. Canning had no intention to make one. Mr. Canning died, and a similar communication was transmitted to Lord Dudley, Mr. Canning's successor. The note of Lord Dudley, in reply to Mr. Gallatin, reviewed the grounds upon which the United States justified themselves in omitting to accept the terms of the Act of Parliament of July, 1825, and stated that Lord Dudley declined to commit the British Government as to their course in the event of the United States adopting the measures proposed, for the following reasons, viz:—

1st, That *much* must of necessity depend upon the details of the Act which Congress might pass; 2d, *More* in the condition of the country at the time of the passage, and the views which the British Government might then have of their interest in the matter; and, 3d, That any stipulations on the subject would be a virtual departure from the ground taken by his Government to regulate the trade by law, and to decline all further negotiation concerning it. At a conference with Mr. Huskisson, that gentleman informed Mr. Gallatin that Great Britain considered the Colonial intercourse as exclusively under her control, and that whatever terms might be granted to foreigners would be considered as an indulgence; that he was not prepared to say whether, in any way, or, if at all, on what terms, it would be open to the United States, in case of their repealing their restrictive Acts. In the month of January, 1829, the Government of the United States heard from Mr. Barbour, in London, the last information on the subject. The Duke of Wellington was present during a communication which Mr. Barbour held with Lord Aberdeen, who had become Secretary in consequence of changes in the British Cabinet. Lord Aberdeen expressed his desire to have the Colonial trade question judiciously adjusted, and his opinion that the interdict was injurious to the Colonies without a proportionate benefit to any other section of the Empire. But from subsequent conversation with his Lordship, and from information derived from other sources, Mr. Barbour was

induced to believe that the British Government did not contemplate any relaxation of the Colonial system in favor of the United States; that the late tariff, together with a strong conviction of the incapacity of Great Britain to compete upon equal terms with American navigation, contributed to that disposition; and that the British Government would willingly withdraw the privileges of trading with its Colonies, which it had granted to other nations, if that could conveniently be done.

Perhaps an extract from the published memoranda, by Mr. Rush, of his residence at the Court of London, may help to explain why England stood out so long against the offers of reciprocity by the United States. Mr. Rush says: Britain, on her part, alleged that she had the right to regulate the trade between her Colonies and the rest of the world, in all respects, as she saw fit. This she declared it was proper that she should do, not only as regarded commodities entering into the trade, but the vessels carrying them. She said, that to assent to the basis of reciprocity in her trade between these islands—the English West Indies—and the United States, would give to the latter inherent advantages, owing to their proximity to the islands. That she maintained the islands at great expense for their civil Governments and military establishments, and that on these grounds, as well as that of her general sovereignty over them, not only has she the right, but she held it necessary to her just interests to employ, chiefly, if not exclusively, her own vessels in the trade, whenever opened, no matter to what extent, or on what inducements. This was the British doctrine of monopoly; which may be supplemented by a remark of Lord Castlereagh's, that there were "too many interests hung upon their Colonial dominion in the quarter mentioned, (the West Indies)—it would operate like a revolution in their commercial system," to relax their practice.

And now occurred a transaction which presents one of the strangest features of American history. When the inconveniences of the suspension of direct intercourse between the United States and the British

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- 2d, More in the condition of the country at the time of the passage, and the views which the British Government might then have of their interest in the matter; and,
- 3d, That any stipulations on the subject would be a virtual departure from the ground taken by his Government to regulate the trade by law, and to decline all further negotiation concerning it.

At a conference with Mr. Huskisson, that gentleman informed Mr. Gallatin that Great Britain considered the Colonial intercourse as exclusively under her control, and that whatever terms might be granted to foreigners would be considered as an indulgence; that he was not prepared to say whether, in any way, or, if at all, on what terms, it would be open to the United States, in case of their repealing their restrictive Acts. In the month of January, 1829, the Government of the United States heard from Mr. Barbour, in London, the last information on the subject. The Duke of Wellington was present during a communication which Mr. Barbour held with Lord Aberdeen, who had become Secretary in consequence of changes in the British Cabinet. Lord Aberdeen expressed his desire to have the Colonial trade question judiciously adjusted, and his opinion that the interdiction was injurious to the Colonies without a proportionate benefit to any other section of the Empire. But from subsequent conversation with his Lordship, and from information derived from other sources, Mr. Barbour was

induced to believe that the British Government did not contemplate any relaxation of the Colonial system in favor of the United States; that the late tariff, together with a strong conviction of the incapacity of Great Britain to compete upon equal terms with American navigation, contributed to that disposition; and that the British Government would willingly withdraw the privileges of trading with its Colonies, which it had granted to other nations, if that could conveniently be done.

Perhaps an extract from the published memoranda, by Mr. Rush, of his residence at the Court of London, may help to explain why England stood out so long against the offers of reciprocity by the United States. Mr. Rush says: Britain, on her part, alleged that she had the right to regulate the trade between her Colonies and the rest of the world, in all respects, as she saw fit. This she declared it was proper that she should do, not only as regarded commodities entering into the trade, but the vessels carrying them. She said, that to assent to the basis of reciprocity in her trade between these islands—the English West Indies—and the United States, would give to the latter inherent advantages, owing to their proximity to the islands. That she maintained the islands at great expense for their civil Governments and military establishments, and that on these grounds, as well as that of her general sovereignty over them, not only has she the right, but she held it necessary to her just interests to employ, chiefly, if not exclusively, her own vessels in the trade, whenever opened, no matter to what extent, or on what inducements. This was the British doctrine of monopoly; which may be supplemented by a remark of Lord Castlereagh's, that there were "too many interests hung upon their Colonial dominion in the quarter mentioned, (the West Indies)—it would operate like a revolution in their commercial system."

And now it presents one American history of the suspension between the U

Colonies were alone felt, and the far greater evils of the trade open for the benefit of England to our exclusion, were forgotten, the Government of the United States, says Mr. Caleb Cushing, saw fit to depart from, and change the policy which it had pursued from the beginning of the Government, and to concede to Great Britain, the greater part of the questions in dispute. Under date of the 20th July, 1829, Mr. Van Buren instructed Mr. McLane to negotiate an arrangement with Great Britain, in relation to trade with her colonies. In reviewing the events as recorded above, Mr. Van Buren considered them as having contributed more or less to the result, which he much regretted; and he named three grounds upon which he thought this country assailable: 1st, In its too long and too tenaciously resisting the right of Great Britain to impose protecting duties in her Colonies; 2d, In not relieving her vessels from the restriction of returning direct from the United States to the Colonies, after permission had been given by Great Britain to our vessels to clear out from the Colonies to any other British port; and 3d, In omitting to accept the terms offered by the act of Parliament of July, 1825, after the subject had been brought before Congress, and deliberately acted upon by our Government. It is, without doubt, said Mr. Van Buren, to the combined operation of these causes, that the United States are to attribute the British interdict. The trade, although not wholly suppressed, had changed in its character. Instead of being direct, active and profitable, it was circuitous and profitless. The export trade had been more considerable, though greatly reduced. The decrees of nature, by which the British West Indies are made dependent on the United States for a great portion of their necessary supplies, though erroneously resisted, had not been wholly frustrated by the retaliatory and improvident legislation of the two countries. It was the anxious wish of the President, to put an end to a state of things so injurious to all parties. He was willing to regulate the trade in question upon terms of reciprocal advantage, and to adopt for that purpose, those which Great Britain had herself elected, and which were prescribed by the act of Parliament of the

5th July, 1825, as it was understood by the United States. Mr. McLane was directed to make a full and frank exposition of the views and wishes of the President in that respect, as early as he could, and in such a manner as was best calculated to accomplish them, and to put it in his power to communicate the result of the overture to Great Britain to Congress, at the opening of the next session. The President was convinced of the inutility of protracted discussions upon a subject which had been over and over again debated; and Mr. McLane was authorized to say to the British Government, on the part of the United States, that they would open their ports to British vessels coming from the British Colonies, laden with such Colonial productions as could be imported in American vessels, and upon terms, in all respects equally favorable; and that they would also abolish the restriction contained in the act of Congress of 1823, confining the trade to a direct intercourse, upon conditions that Great Britain would allow American vessels the privileges of trade and intercourse, which were offered by the act of the 5th July, 1825. Following this offer of Mr. Van Buren's to the British Government, Congress volunteered to pass a law, says Mr. Cushing, for opening our ports without having any previous assurance that England would open hers; and the act in question is that of the 20th May, 1830. Great Britain proceeded then in such form and to such an extent as she pleased, to open certain of her Colonial ports to the United States by a mere Order in Council, revocable at will. In the same way, an act of Congress is revocable at the will of Congress. It was on both sides—at any rate, on the part of the United States—an experiment, which they saw fit to try, without entering into any stipulations on the subject, obligatory, either in their nature or in time. The act of May 29, 1830, provides that whenever the President of the United States shall receive satisfactory evidence that the Government of Great Britain will open the ports in its Colonial possessions in the West Indies, on the continent of South America, the Bahama Islands, the Cairos, and the Bermuda or Somer Islands, to the vessels of the United States, for an indefinite or for a limited time, that the

vessels of the United States and their cargoes, on entering the Colonial ports aforesaid, shall not be subject to other or higher duties of tonnage or import, or charges of any other description, than would be imposed on British vessels or their cargoes, arriving in said Colonial possessions from the United States; that the vessels of the United States may import into the said Colonial possessions, from the United States, any article or articles which could be imported in a British vessel into such possessions, from the United States; and that the vessels of the United States may export from the British colonies mentioned, to any country whatever, other than the dominions of Great Britain, any article or articles that can be exported therefrom in a British vessel, to any country, other than the British dominions or possessions; leaving the commercial intercourse of the United States with all other ports of the British dominions or possessions, on a footing not less favorable to the United States than it now is; that when such evidence was received, the President was authorized to issue a proclamation, at any time before the next

session of Congress, declaring the fact, and proclaiming the conditions of the trade in the vessels of the two countries. On the 5th October, 1830, the President issued his proclamation declaring that he had received satisfactory evidence that, whenever he should give effect to the Act of May 29th, the Government of Great Britain would open, for an indefinite period, the ports of its Colonial possessions in the West Indies, &c., to the vessels of the United States and their cargoes, upon the terms and according to the requisitions of the above Act of Congress; that by that Act the ports of the United States were, from the date of the proclamation, open to British vessels coming from those British possessions, and their cargoes, upon the terms set forth; that the acts concerning navigation and commercial intercourse of 1818, 1820 and 1823, were absolutely repealed; and that British vessels and their cargoes, were admitted to an entry in the ports of the United States, from the islands, provinces, and Colonies of Great Britain, on or near the American continent, and north or east of the United States.

CHAPTER IV.

INJURIOUS OPERATION OF COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENTS—WHAT THE ARRANGEMENTS WERE—RECIPROCITY PROVIDED FOR—NAPOLEON—BRITISH TONNAGE INCREASED NEARLY FIVE HUNDRED PER CENT.—AMERICAN TONNAGE INCREASED ONLY ABOUT FIFTY PER CENT.—VALUE OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS—NUMBER OF BRITISH VESSELS ENGAGED—NUMBER OF AMERICAN VESSELS—BRITISH COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH THE UNITED STATES ALONE PROFITABLE, HER COMMERCE WITH EUROPE HAVING DECLINED—ALL AMERICAN PORTS OPEN TO BRITISH VESSELS—ONLY SOME BRITISH PORTS OPEN TO AMERICAN—DISADVANTAGES—MONOPOLY—NATURALIZED GOODS—EXCLUSION OF AMERICAN VESSELS—INEQUALITIES—COST OF SHIP BUILDING—MAIL STEAMERS—RECIPROCITY NOT OBTAINED—CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE—PROPOSITIONS.

The arrangements under the Act of May, 1830, and the President's Proclamation of October continued for several years to regulate the commercial intercourse between this country and the Colonial possessions of Great Britain in the West Indies and on the continent of America. The subject, however, was brought before Congress and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. That committee made a thorough investigation; and the report, drawn by Mr. Cushing, showed how

those arrangements in their operation affected the interests of the United States. The report was based upon a petition to Congress of certain citizens of the State of Maine, who complained of the arrangements in question. They represented, that in their operation, those amendments were injurious to this country, and that they had not been executed in good faith by Great Britain. The committee examined the case of the petitioners, and then scrutinized the arrangements themselves,

thus formulated: By the Convention concluded in London on the 3d of July, 1815, to regulate commerce between the territories of the United States and Great Britain, it is provided—

1. As to the commerce between the territories of the United States and the British territories in Europe, there is to be reciprocal liberty of commerce. The inhabitants of the two countries have liberty to enter with their ships and cargoes all the places to which other foreigners were admitted, and to remain and transact business there in complete security. No higher or other duties are to be imposed in the United States on the importation of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British territories in Europe, and no higher or other duties, in the British territories in Europe, on the importation of any articles, the growth, produce, or the manufacture of the United States, than are payable on the like articles of any other foreign country; nor are any higher or other duties to be imposed in either country, on the exportation of any articles to the other, than such as are payable on the exportation of such articles to any other foreign country; and any prohibition by either shall extend equally to all other nations. And no higher or other duties were to be paid by United States vessels in British ports, or British vessels in United States ports, than were paid by the vessels of each country in their own ports.

2. As to the British possessions in the African or East Indian seas: Vessels of the United States are admitted to trade with the ports of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Prince of Wales Island, and to import and export all articles to or from those territories which were not prohibited; and on the vessels and their cargoes no other or higher duties were to be charged than were payable in like case by the most favored European nations. American vessels were required to take their cargoes to the United States; and were prohibited from carrying on the coasting trade in the East Indies; but might proceed with their original cargo or part of it to another British settlement in India. United States vessels engaged in the

East India trade, or in trade with China, might, in the course of the voyage to or from the English territories in India, touch for refreshment at the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, etc., but not for the purposes of commerce. An amendment was subsequently made as to St. Helena, as it was the place of confinement of Napoleon.

The committee found, by a comparison of successive periods of time, that since the conclusion of the arrangement proclaimed by the President under the Act of May, 1830, there had occurred an extraordinary augmentation of the relative amount of British tonnage entered and cleared in the ports of the United States. The statement presented embraced the several years from 1828 to 1838, inclusive, in all the ports of the United States, and it was seen that in the ten years from 1829 to 1838, the British tonnage in American ports had increased from 86,377 tons to 484,702 tons; while the American tonnage had only increased from 872,949 tons to 1,302,974. Thus, the British tonnage increased nearly in the ratio of from 8 to 48, the American in the ratio only of about 8 to 13. In other words, the American tonnage had increased but 50 per cent., while the British tonnage had increased more than 500 per cent. Official tables had been prepared showing the trade between the British North American Colonies and the Districts of Passamaquoddy, Portland, Boston and New York, during the years 1828 and 1837. It appears that the aggregate value of imports for the year 1828, in American vessels, was \$190,207; in foreign vessels, *nil*; but the aggregate value of imports for the year 1837 gave \$311,754 in American vessels, and \$318,288 in foreign vessels—total, \$630,042. The aggregate value of exports from the same districts for the year 1828 was, of foreign produce \$67,927 in American vessels; in foreign vessels, *nil*; of domestic produce in American vessels, \$621,319; in foreign vessels, *nil*; total of foreign and domestic produce, \$689,146. The aggregate value of foreign produce exported in 1837 in American vessels was \$18,606, and in foreign vessels \$54,769; total, \$73,373. The value of exports of domestic produce in American vessels, was \$195,557; and in for-

sign vessels \$359,316 ; total, \$549,873 ; total of foreign and domestic produce, \$623,249. Of the vessels engaged in this commerce, it appears that in the year 1828, the aggregate tonnage of American vessels, which entered at the ports of these districts, was 31,439 tons ; and 39,125 tons cleared. Of British tonnage, only 5,878 cleared in that period. The tables, in stating the aggregate tonnage for the year 1837, give also the number of American vessels which entered, as 382, tonnage, 55,048 tons ; 293 American vessels cleared, whose tonnage was 50,696. The aggregate number of British vessels which entered in that year, was 1,804, with a tonnage of 123,675 tons ; and 1,873 British vessels cleared, with a tonnage of 144,769 tons. The figures in these tables were confirmed by Parliamentary documents ; and discussion in England concerning the arrangements between Great Britain and the other countries of Christendom, led to the conclusion that while under those arrangements, the commerce of Great Britain with all Europe had declined, its commerce with the United States had increased, and that in her relations with the United States alone, had her commercial treaties proved beneficial to Great Britain. From 1802 to 1836, the trade of Great Britain with all Europe had declined from 65 to 48 per cent., while the trade of Great Britain, during the same period, with her Colonies in America, had increased from 18 to 26 per cent., and with the United States from 18 to 27 per cent., showing a remarkable identity in the increase of the trade of Great Britain with her American Colonies, and with the United States respectively. And Mr. Cushing thought that these tables indicated that there was some inequality in the commercial arrangements, or that from some other cause, those arrangements fostered and promoted the navigation of Great Britain, without being in any way beneficial to that of the United States. Indeed, in the memorial referred to the committee, specific allegations were made of such inequality. It was alleged that, while the Act of Congress of May, 1830, and the proclamation of the President thereon, opened to the vessels of Great Britain all the ports of the

United States, without exception, yet only selected ports in the British Colonies were open to the commerce of the United States. This allegation was substantiated by the Act of Parliament applicable to the subject. That Act provided that no goods should be imported into, nor any goods, except the produce of the fisheries, in British ships, be exported from, any of the British possessions in America, by sea, from or to any place other than the United Kingdom, or some other of such possessions, except into or from a certain small number of ports enumerated in the Act called "free ports," and such other ports not enumerated, as might be added to the list by Orders in Council. Another allegation was, that by reason of the particular locality of some of the selected free ports, peculiar advantages were secured to British vessels which were not enjoyed by vessels of the United States. Thus, as regards the extensive trade in gypsum, grindstones, and wool, which constituted the larger part of the trade between the United States and the Bay of Fundy, those articles were not shipped directly at any of the free ports, to which alone the vessels of the United States were admitted. Those articles were obtained from the banks of rivers and inlets, into which British vessels could penetrate, but American vessels could not, and therefore British vessels had the monopoly. Another allegation was, that although the Act of Congress made the condition that American vessels and their cargoes in British Colonial ports, should not be subject to other or higher rates of tonnage, or imposts, or charges of any other description, than were imposed upon British vessels and their cargoes, discriminating duties were levied on American vessels in some of the Colonies. For instance, coal was largely exported to the United States from Nova Scotia, but when coal was exported in American vessels, an export duty of four shillings sterling per ton was exacted, while the same coal was exported free in British vessels. It was alleged that articles produced in the United States, by being naturalized in the British North American provinces, were conveyed thence in British bottoms, and entered in the United Kingdom or in the West Indies, so as not to be subject

there to the foreign import duty; and that as American vessels were not allowed to perform that voyage, our carrying trade was gradually transferred to the British. The transaction was thus shown: Articles produced in the United States were shipped in British vessels to the British provinces to points where American vessels could obtain no cargoes. These British vessels touched at a free port, and without unloading their cargoes, obtained a certificate that they had been landed and naturalized; they then proceeded to a British port in Europe or the West Indies, so as to avoid the foreign import duty there. The trade was profitable; but American vessels could not participate in it. Other articles, such as flour, were introduced into the British provinces in large quantities, and our vessels could not transport our own products. Great Britain was charged with having imposed heavy or prohibitory duties for the express purpose of securing those advantages, when our own products were imported into the West Indies directly from the United States; but when they were imported circuitously through the North American Provinces, the duty was comparatively low. English vessels were said to have come directly to our ports with British Colonial productions, to sell them there, purchase a return cargo, proceed to the British West Indies, and there sell it, and take in a return cargo of molasses, sugar or coffee, and proceed home to the North American Colonies, or to Europe. It was alleged that most important interests in the United States were injuriously affected by the fact that sundry articles, such as gunpowder, arms, ammunition or utensils of war, tea, fish, dried or salted, oil, blubber, furs or skins, the produce of creatures living in the sea, wood, potatoes, &c., &c., were forbidden to be imported into the British Colonies from the United States, though similar articles were received by the United States from the Colonies, by which means they competed with Americans in American markets, while Americans could not compete with the British Colonies in British markets. These were some of the inequalities in the arrangements for the commerce between the United States and the British American Colonies, by which the

enormous comparative increase of British tonnage in the ports of the United States since the passage of the Act of Congress of 1830 was produced. In addition, the cost of ship-building in the colonies was less than in the United States, which enabled British vessels to compete with American vessels in American ports, to the disadvantage of the United States, as American vessels were absolutely precluded from competing with British vessels on equal terms. It was further observed that the arrangements complained of afforded peculiar advantages to Great Britain in regard to a description of navigation and of business which did not exist at the time when those arrangements were made, and the existence of which was not anticipated, namely, the transportation of mails, passengers and merchandise by ocean steamers. The line of mail steamers running between Great Britain and the United States consisted of British vessels; and as they came by Halifax, Nova Scotia, they enjoyed the advantage of the circuitous voyage from which American steamers were excluded. The British mail steamers to the West Indies, after landing their mails and passengers in the West Indies, proceeded to the Southern ports of the United States, by the circuitous voyage, from which American mail steamers were excluded, because they could not touch at any port in the West Indies and carry freight from there to Europe. A branch of business, therefore, of great importance in a commercial point of view, and of the greatest possible importance in military and other government relations was wholly engrossed and monopolized by Great Britain. And more, through the enjoyment of the circuitous voyage by the British, steps had been taken not only to secure to British vessels exclusively the steamboat navigation between Great Britain and the United States, but to sweep along the entire coast of the United States, touching at all the principal seaports, collecting the correspondence, foreign and domestic, as well as passengers, to be transported from port to port in the United States. The committee, with all the facts before them, could not help arriving at the conclusion that the arrangements in relation

to the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British Colonies of North America, were prejudicial to the United States, by reason of their inequality, and their want of that just reciprocity, and that mutual participation of advantages which every independent State is entitled to demand in its intercourse with all other independent States. And the committee reported the following propositions as the result at which they had arrived :

1. That it is the policy and the desire of the United States to observe in the regulation of the commercial intercourse between the United States and other countries, principles of equity, reciprocity, fair competition, and mutual advantages to both parties.

2. That the existing arrangements regulating the commerce between the United States and the British colonies in the West Indies and on the continent of America, are unequal, unjust, and injurious to the interests of the United States.

3. That so long as Great Britain persists in applying to the vessels and productions of the United States in the ports of the British Colonies in America, peculiar regulations of commerce, other than such as regulate the commerce between the United States and the British territories in Europe, it is the right of the United States, and the necessary consequence, to apply peculiar regulations of commerce to British vessels and their cargoes in the ports of the United States, entered from or proceeding to the British Colonies in America.

4. That the continued imposition by Great Britain of discriminating duties upon the productions of the United States, imported into the British Colonies in America, in vessels of the United States, will justify the imposition by the United States of discriminating duties upon the productions of the British Colonies in America imported into the United States in vessels of Great Britain or her Colonies.

5. That the continued prohibition to the vessels of the United States by Great Britain of the indirect voyage between the United States, the British Colonies in America, and the British territories in Europe, or between the United States and one and another British Colony in America, will justify the

prohibition by the United States of such voyage to the vessels of Great Britain or her colonies in America.

6. That if Great Britain see fit to adopt and pursue a system of prohibitions and restrictions against the United States, it behooves the United States to protect her citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter prohibitions, duties and regulations, and to decline to give free commerce and navigation in exchange for restrictions and vexations.

7. But before having recourse to measures of legislative restriction, as the certain means of effectually guarding and securing the rights of the United States in our commerce with British Colonies, it is due to national comity to recur, for that purpose, to friendly negotiation with Great Britain.

These propositions, the result of a long and laborious examination by the committee, show the practical character of the enquiry, and a determination to lay bare the abuses which prevailed. Can it be that men who believe in monopoly are unable to interpret fairly the principles of reciprocity, even when under obligation to do so? Great Britain, however, derived advantage from the practice, and of that we complained. We desired simply to secure a mutual benefit, an equal participation in whatever was enjoyed by British vessels. To this we were entitled by every principle of right. Justice was denied, if British vessels were allowed to trade with Colonial ports, under regulations or charges which discriminated in their favor. And it is not only claimed that our complaints were just, but they are proved to rest upon a foundation that could not be impeached. It was then necessary to communicate the facts to the British government, and to convince it that we had a good cause. So, treating the propositions as the conclusions reached by investigation, the committee, in conformity therewith, submitted the following resolution, the adoption of which they recommended to the House :

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, requested to enter into negotiations with the British Government, for the purpose of effecting a permanent, equitable, and just conventional arrangement of the commerce between the United States and the British Colonies in America.

POLITICAL DEFAMATION.

The spirit of defamation seems inherent in human nature. It has continued since the day that the man blamed the woman, and the woman blamed the serpent. Those who imagine either that slander and vilification are peculiar to our times, or that those who receive abuse in the current censorship, are of baser material than their predecessors, can know but little of the fashions of this world, and still less of the treatment of the prominent men of our country, from the foundation of our Government.

It is, indeed, always an ungracious task to exhibit human infirmities, whether old or new—whether of the blamed or of the blaming. The theme is not flattering, the retrospect not brilliant, as we draw aside the curtain of our political annals to point a moral, which, in the popular excitement and confusion, is too likely to be overlooked. On assuming such a task, our chief inducement is the lesson of profit to be drawn from a comparison of the past with the present, concerning the measure and kind of license indulged through successive periods of our history—the license of assault upon private and public character, which runs through all the phases of our political experience. •

The memory of the great deeds of the Fathers of the Republic must cast around them a spell of veneration, ever increasing with the lapse of time, while the breath of calumny that once beclouded and annoyed them, shall grow fainter and feebler, until its last vestige is dissipated in the full effulgence of their honors.

WASHINGTON.

Going back, then, to the days of our first President, we might trace the course of his public and patriotic services through nearly a quarter of a century, in which the birth of the Republic transpired, and we should find him the most conspicuous figure in that eventful time. A man who alone gained the title of “father of his country,” and has been eulogized as “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen!” yet, no man, living or dead, was ever more cruelly maligned, or more outrageously de-

famed than George Washington. The most vituperative attacks were made upon him—and these attacks grew more violent and persistent towards the close of his public service. From a perusal of his life and times it is easy to conceive that the high-handed and unscrupulous abuse of a hostile press, inspired, as it appeared to be, by a party of dissembling friends, was among the prime causes of his final withdrawal from public life. To confirm this belief, we adduce but a fragment or two from the mass of scurrility that was heaped upon him. He was denounced as “a traitor” for his proclamation of April, 1793, declaring amity with the belligerent powers of Europe, and warning citizens of the United States against all movements inconsistent with neutrality. For this plain act of duty, under his oath, he was held up to public scorn—he was accused of hostility to France, and of secret favor to England—and as one of the results of this denunciation, at the opening of the Third Congress in the ensuing December, the Administration candidate for Speaker was defeated by an emphatic majority. *The Aurora* of that day said: “If ever a Nation was debauched by a man, the American Nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a Nation was deceived by a man, the American Nation has been deceived by Washington. Let his conduct, then, be an example to future ages. Let it serve as a warning that no man may become an idol. Let the history of the Federal Government instruct mankind, that the mask of patriotism may be worn to conceal the foulest designs against the liberties of the people.” In a letter to Henry Lee, under date of July 2nd, 1793, Washington spoke of the violence with which his policy had been assailed. “But in what,” says he, “will this abuse terminate? For the result, as it respects myself, I care not—for I have a consolation within that no earthly efforts can deprive me of—and that is, that neither ambition nor interested motives have influenced my conduct—and the arrows of malevolence, therefore, however barbed and well-pointed, never can reach the most vulnerable part of me.”

though, while I am up as a mark, they will be continually aimed. The publications in Freeman's and Buck's papers are outrages on common decency."

When, on one occasion, as Jefferson tells us, Knox made some allusion to recent libels uttered by the press, Washington became very much excited—"got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself—dwelt much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed upon him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his, since he had been in the Government, which had not been done with the purest motives. He had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office—and that was every moment since—and, by God, he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation. He had rather be on his farm than to be made Emperor of the world—and yet they were charging him with wanting to be a King. That rascal Freeman sent him three of his papers every day, as if he would become the distributor of them—an act in which he could see nothing but an impudent design to insult him."

On the second day after Washington's retirement from the Presidential chair, the following appeared in the *The Aurora*: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," was the pious ejaculation of a man who beheld a flood of happiness rushing in upon mankind. If ever there was a time which would license the reiteration of this exclamation, that time is now arrived; for the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country is this day reduced to the level with his fellow-citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States. If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment. Every heart in unison with the freedom and happiness of the people ought to beat high with exultation, that the name of Washington, from this day, ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and to legalized corruption. A new era is now opening upon us—an era which promises much to the people, for public measures must now stand upon

their own merits, and nefarious projects can no longer be supported by a name. When a retrospect is taken of the Washingtonian administration for eight years, it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have conquered the principles of Republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existence. Such, however, are the facts, and, with these staring us in the face, this day ought to be a jubilee in the United States."—*Hildreth's History of the United States*. Vol. 2, p. 14.

Such diatribes against the foremost man of the Nation, must have been regarded as insolent and provoking in the extreme—and it creates little surprise to learn that the editor of *The Aurora*, a few days after the appearance of this article, underwent a sound drubbing from the irate son of a naval contractor.

JOHN ADAMS.

The second President did not escape the most violent aspersions. The measures of his administration were assailed with the utmost fury. He himself was covered with obloquy, not only by his open enemies, but by many also of those who were once his pretended friends. He was accused of bending all his energies to secure a re-election. He was charged with having "a vanity without bounds," "a jealousy capable of discolored every object," "disgusting egotism," and "ungovernable indiscretion." The storm of malediction became so great as to drive him into retirement at the close of a single term. He left the White House a broken man, without even pausing to witness the inauguration of his successor. For many years after, his life was embittered by a treatment which, to his proud and sensitive spirit, was like a tormenting flame. He, too, was denounced as a "traitor," although, perhaps, more than any other, he had sounded the tocsin of Independence, and in the stormy discussions of that trying period, he had won the title of "the colossus of the convention." His private life was never challenged—even the tongue of calumny could not justly assail it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The third President was a man of a far different stamp. He was highly successful in his political aspirations, and became the acknowledged head of a great party, whose principles and policy prevailed in the government of the country for many years. But he was never free from the shafts of criticism, whether through gross suspicions of his private character, or by the boldest arraignment of his public life. Scarcely a tithe of the calumnies in regard to him, then floating in the air, are now remembered—and yet enough remains to show how violent must have been the bitterness of partisans on the one side and the other, and how fearfully the tempest lighted on the head of the famous author of the Declaration. We do not seek to determine the measure of truth or falsity in accusations which, with their subject, have long since passed away. But it may serve the present age to point out some of the allegations which Jefferson had to encounter, and which must, no doubt, so long as justice remains, be held as ground of reproach to the times in which he lived. His personal vices were held up as notorious. His ambition, his duplicity, his chicanery, are among the mildest charges brought against him. During Washington's second term, Jefferson is said to have been intriguing with an opposition paper—*The Aurora*—and stimulating its editor, one Callendor, to do all in his power to belittle and disparage "the father of his country." Under Adams' administration, Callendor was convicted, fined and imprisoned under the alien and sedition law. At the time of Jefferson's accession, Callendor's term of imprisonment had expired, and, by the aid of friends, he had also paid the fine imposed. Jefferson remitted this fine by a doubtful exercise of authority, but Callendor wanted something more, and imperiously demanded to be made Postmaster at Richmond. Jefferson sent him fifty dollars and a civil refusal. Callendor was highly indignant, and, becoming the editor of the *Richmond Recorder*, through the columns of that sheet commenced the exposure of his relations with Jefferson in the management of *The Aurora*. He also showed that Jefferson was complicated

with him in the production of the pamphlet for which he had been tried and punished—and circulated other tales of the most damaging character. No one can say what might have been the result of these terrible assaults had their author been permitted to press them forward. His death, by accidental drowning, gave Jefferson a respite, but it was only a respite, and brief at that. The stories were revived, with many aggravations. During the canvass for President, an opposition paper had the following statement: "All who wish to see the horrors of the French Revolution in America, the guillotine set up in our streets, and a Robespierre in the chair of State, will vote for Thomas Jefferson, the infidel, the leveller, the agrarian, the calumniator of Washington, the crack-brained enthusiast." In 1804, Adams charged him "with a want of sincerity," "and an inordinate ambition," and "a mean thirst of popularity." And subsequently, John Randolph, in a speech in Congress, characterized "the second term of Jefferson's administration as resembling the seven lean kine of Egypt, in swallowing up all the fatness of the first."

JAMES MADISON.

The accession of Madison to the Presidency, though a foregone conclusion, from the relations of political parties and aspirants for office, was still attended with not a little exasperation and the opprobrium of censure. The political elements were still in a ferment, ready for explosion. Madison's estimate, by his political adversaries, was that of being a second-place man crowded above his level, for the time being, so that the office had been lowered by the advancement of the man. He was charged with the most outrageous demagogism, for being a peace-man at heart, and a war-man for the sake of popularity at home; for being at first a Federalist and then a Jeffersonian Republican; for being a trimmer on all sides, to secure his re-election. During his administration, the most violent party spirit prevailed. Fierce riots occurred in Baltimore. Men were shot down in the streets, and hot tallow poured into their eyes, to show if they were dead, while the diabolical perpetrators,

in all the frenzy of political delirium, ran back and forth, shouting and huzzaing for Jefferson and Madison!

Speeches were made in the Senate against the war-policy of Madison. Proposals were made to mortgage the public domain to secure the payment of the expenses of the war, under the pretext that the people had no confidence in the ability or honesty of the Government. It was said "Madison has begot war, war begets debt, debt begets taxes, taxes beget bankruptcy!" In addition to this, the "Embargo Act" called forth severe maledictions from the sailors, and the tar-barrels inverted over the top-masts to save the rigging of unused vessels, were styled "Madison's night-caps." While the first anniversary of the Act was celebrated by the tolling of bells, flags at half-mast, and processions with muffled drums, it is recorded that an old citizen of these days gave utterance to the wish that "hell could be boiled down to a half-pint, and Madison made to drink it."

JAMES MONROE.

Monroe attained the Presidency in what was known as "the New Era," or "the Era of Good Feeling." The war with England had resulted with credit to ourselves, and all effort was directed to the enhancement of National interests; yet he soon fell under the ban of public criticism. Nothing could shield him from the tongue of censure; although, by the moderation of his counsels, peace abroad and tranquility at home were secured and maintained; large and valuable acquisitions of territory were made; the foundations of National prosperity and greatness were more broadly laid; and the American Union was advancing, with the vigor and stride of a giant, to permanent glory and power. Yet, those who had been his political friends charged him with obliterating party lines for private purposes, and inveighed against the measures he favored, particularly the proposition for an increase of the Army, to which the term "conscription" was opprobriously applied. It is singular to note how men's opinions change with changing circumstances. Jackson wrote Monroe, advising no proscription of political opponents in office. Monroe replied, that he

knew the Republican party to be the party of the country, and he chose to rely on his political friends, rather than temporize with his political enemies—a lesson on which Jackson himself subsequently acted to the letter. The treaty which ceded Florida was violently condemned. Hard times, and the Missouri Compromise, produced wide discontent, and Monroe was held responsible. In regard to "the Compromise," it was then predicted that it would breed trouble in the future, and out of it would come a time in which "the father would be arrayed against the son, and brother draw the bloody sword from the bosom of brother!" The Seminole war proved a constant spring of complaint on the part of the opposition. Jackson, in command of the forces employed in that war, had decoyed into his power some Indian chiefs and traders, whom he immediately put to death. This created intense excitement throughout the country—some ascribing to Jackson the most patriotic motives; others denouncing him as guilty of the most diabolical conduct. Meanwhile, Monroe was openly charged with advising certain public and governmental plans, and issuing secret orders to Jackson, in conflict with his political professions, and moral rectitude. John Randolph styled the Missouri Compromise "a dirty bargain," and the Northern Representatives who supported it, "dough-faces," a term which still keeps force and usage in the political parlance of the country. Notice appears in the famous diary of John Quincy Adams, of "a scandal in relation to the appropriation for furnishing the President's house, when the President furnished a memorandum upon the subject. This memorandum," says Mr. Adams, "furnishes details of a very humiliating character, which ought never to have been, or to be required of him. There appears to be nothing censurable in all these transactions. There arises from all this, an exposure of domestic and household concerns, almost as incongruous to the station of a President of the United States, as it would be to a blooming virgin to exhibit herself, naked, before a multitude. The malignity of political opposition has no feeling of delicacy." In this era of good feeling, there were Kitchen Cab-

inets, and, on one occasion, Adams fears that "the French Legation has access to the President's ear, through another whispering gallery. Such is the way of the world. There are winding stairs in every direction."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The election of Mr. Adams was attributed to the treachery of Henry Clay; while others said it was due to the defeat of Crawford, his formidable competitor, on account of his age and feebleness. To say the least, Adams' elevation was a singular contingency, and, by the complications growing out of it, subjected him to the most cruel insinuations, as well as to open charges of flagrant and unblushing coalitions. Probably, no man ever feared and dreaded opposition more than he. While careful in organizing his Cabinet—which was very able—yet, the fact that he made Clay his Secretary of State, furnished ground for one of the principal allegations against him, of which the most was made by his political adversaries. A stormy effort was put forth to withdraw from him the Executive patronage, and every measure was adopted to lower him in the estimation of Congress and the people. "The Memoirs of Adams," lately published by his son Charles Francis, reveal the treatment of this illustrious man, by the opposition press, during his Presidency. In the diary of that period, we find a notice which gives the substance, as follows: "We have," says he, "the *City Gazette*, under the management of clerks in the Treasury," its editor an Englishman, "having no character of his

—metal to receive treatment, now, of like one of the ring the late war, uck over that of rely effacing it." is a prouder his- telligence, which, Sir Charles Gran- pers. Yet we find subjection to both ason of the power f the House, held nd which he used ada, and a sop for a." Calhoun was

anxious to have an "independent newspaper." Mr. Adams remarks: "The editor who would establish such a journal, in Washington, must have a heart of oak, nerves of iron, and a soul of adamant, to carry it through. His first attempt would bring a hornet's nest about his head, and if they should not sting him to death or blindness, he would have to pursue his march, with them continually swarming over him, and beset on all sides with slander and obloquy, and probably assassination." In another entry, Adams complains of the *National Advocate*, of New York, the *Boston Statesman*, and *Portland Argus*, and the Democratic press of Philadelphia, as controlled by "principles alike selfish and sordid." The *City Gazette* is, on another occasion, "infamously scurrilous and abusive, not only of Mr. Calhoun, but of his mother-in-law." Again, it prints "three columns of brevier type of the foulest abuse." There is a picture of an editor named John B. Colvin, "a base and despicable character," who "attempted to fawn himself into my favor, by eulogizing me in the newspapers." This editor Mr. Adams appointed to his department, but was compelled to dismiss him for his intemperance; and the effect of his attacks upon the writer, are shown in this sentence: "No man in America has made his way through showers of ribaldry and invective, of this character, more frequently than I have breasted it." Still later, we have Gales & Seaton, the time-honored editors of the *Intelligencer*, quietly dismissed, in a sentence, as "trimmers for the printing of Congress." A private Secretary of Mr. Monroe, on another occasion, speaks to Mr. Adams "in terms of great severity of Ritchie, the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, and said he was the most unprincipled fellow upon earth." We find the *Boston Galaxy* described as "a paper, for years advertised for sale to the highest bidder, of the Presidential candidates."

To cap the whole, there is indubitable proof, that John Quincy Adams, like his father before him, retired from the White House sick at heart, and breasting a storm of obloquy that had driven him out of office, by the most unscrupulous and determined opposition. It must have seemed a humilia-

tion, that the father and son were, up to that time, the only one-term Presidents. But then, on the other hand, they furnish the only instance of a family succession in that high office.

ANDREW JACKSON.

We find, in the accession of Andrew Jackson to office, a striking example of the proverb, that "circumstances alter cases." He who had written Madison, advising against political discrimination in office, now boldly proclaimed the maxim, "to the victors belong the spoils!" and he proceeded to clean out the Departments of all political adversaries, to make room for his own party friends. He changed the entire policy of former administrations, in this respect. Under Washington, there were nine removals, of which one was for defalcation; under John Adams, there were ten removals, one being for defalcation; under Jefferson, there were thirty-nine removals; under Madison, there were but five removals, three for defalcation; under Monroe, there were nine removals, of which six were for cause, other than political affinity; under J. Q. Adams, there were two removals, both of which were for cause. The total removals, by the predecessors of Jackson, were seventy-four. After he became President, during the first recess of the Senate, he turned out of office no less than one hundred and seventy-six persons, most of whom were political adversaries. Of course, this wholesale decapitation, with the extensive Executive patronage which he assumed and exercised, caused widespread excitement, and Mr. Adams was called upon for a report upon the subject of the use of this privilege by former Presidents, which report made the following exhibit:

Appointments by Washington, ten; by John Adams, thirteen; by Jefferson, twenty-five; by Madison, twenty-nine; by Monroe, thirty-five; by J. Q. Adams, five. During Jackson's first three months, he appointed twelve! He was charged with many inconsistencies. In the matter of Haynes' speech on the Foote resolutions, he wrote to Hayne, endorsing his position, that nullification is a power inherent in a State, which she is privileged to exercise, irrespective of the pleasure or will of the General Government; and adding, that "he would have his speech

printed on satin, and hung up in his chamber!" Ritchie's Richmond *Enquirer* belabored Jackson, in regard to his treatment of prisoners, in the following fashion: "Thus has an American officer destroyed the lives of two of his fellow-creatures, without any rightful power, without any adequate motive, and with such indecent precipitancy as hardly to give time for prayers, in the interval between judgment and death. Humanity blushes at the recital, and national pride sinks in the American heart, oppressed with the load of shame and grief. He has abrogated the known laws of nations, and promulgated a new code of his own, conceived in madness or folly, and written in blood. He has, in fine, violated all laws, human and divine, and violated them with impunity!" Jackson was the first President whose personal and official character was violently and openly assailed on the floor of Congress. His conduct was there canvassed, in language more forcible than chaste. A biographer of Jackson says, "if he were asked his opinion of Jackson, from investigation of his career, he should say he had found him 'a patriot and a traitor!' 'one of the greatest generals, yet wholly ignorant of the art of war!' 'a writer, elegant, eloquent and brilliant, yet unable to compose a grammatical sentence, or correctly spell words of four syllables!' 'the first of statesmen, he yet never devised nor framed a measure!' 'he was the most candid of men, yet capable of the profoundest dissimulation; a most law-defying, law-obeying citizen; a stickler for discipline, he never hesitated to disobey his superior; a Democratic autocrat; an urbane savage an atrocious saint, deified and vilified!'"

We can scarcely name any vice or crime, in the catalogue of turpitude, which was not, at one time or another, ascribed to him.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

"Little Van" encountered a storm, on the threshold of his administration. In 1831, a newspaper was established in Boston, by Mr. Lloyd Garrison, for the purpose of advocating immediate emancipation. The legislature of Georgia offered five thousand dollars for the abduction and delivery in that State, of the editor of the said paper. A grand

jury, in Alabama, found an indictment against the *Emancipator*, a paper published in New York; and the Governor of that State made a requisition on Governor Marcy for the delivery of the publisher, to be tried as an offender against the laws of Alabama, regarding slavery. But the Governor of New York declined to comply with this mandate. A vigilance committee, of Louisiana, offered a reward of fifty thousand dollars for the rendition of Lewis Tappan, a noted Abolitionist, of the city of New York. A public meeting, in Petersburg, Virginia, drafted a memorial to Postmaster General Amos Kendall, praying him to interdict the transmission of anti-slavery papers through the mails of the United States. Kendall replied, expressing regret that he could not accede to their request, but expressing the belief that postmasters could decline shipping "incendiary documents." At this time, Van Buren was Vice President; but while shielded, in a measure, from active responsibility in anything beyond the functions of his office, he was still calculated upon as an ally by both of the contending parties. For a time, however, this *emeute* was smothered, by the breaking out of what was known as "the Patriot War"—an incursion of American patriots into Canada, to produce a reform in the Canadian Government. Van Buren issued a proclamation, warning Americans not to participate in those movements; but he was immediately accused of duplicity and really favoring the success of the revolutionists. He sought a re-election, but was met, on every hand, by opposition. His administration was held up before the people as a reproach. His extravagant expenditures of public money, and the loss sustained by the country through the default of officers appointed by him, were topics of free animadversion. Added to this, was a pamphlet published by William Lyon McKenzie, in which a huge private correspondence was divulged, demonstrating the insincerity of Van Buren, and his fox-like qualities. His dodging issues presented to him by the slave oligarchy, finally incurred their displeasure, while the anti-slavery people feared to trust him. Striving to ride two horses, he fell between them; and although he did not cease

struggling for the Presidency, after his retirement, he never attained much importance, even as a candidate. The English tongue was exhausted by the press and the orators of the country, in disparagement of "the used-up man;" and he was victimized by the merciless storm of criticism which fell upon him. He was spoken of, as "the Northern man with Southern principles."

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

This gentleman, in his letter of acceptance, promised that, "if elected, he would not seek, or accept, a re-nomination." His promise was fulfilled in a most startling way. In a single month after his inauguration, death put the seal of truth upon his promise—the first President dying in office. Yet the virulence of the attacks upon him, during the canvass which resulted in his election, knew no bounds. From the cry that was raised by the opposition, one might have supposed him to have been a monster, without the instincts belonging to the lowest of the human species. The *Globe* said of him, in March, 1840: "Let them (the South) beware how they place confidence in the versatility or subserviency of a weak, vain old man, in the dotage of expiring ambition. The combination of weakness and vanity with three-score and ten, is not to be easily controlled. Let Mr. Tyler mount his old, weather-beaten pony, (Harrison,) in the expectation of guiding him at will—a weak old gentleman, whose vanity, always his leading characteristic, is every day pampered with flatteries, and whose obstinacy is only increased by the imbecility of age."

The next day, the same paper said: "Grandma Harrison, a gossiping old lady and an imbecile, who lives on a sinecure clerkship in a city, but is pretended to be a farmer living in a log cabin, and drinking hard cider—the Whigs are making great exertions for the old granny, but all to no effect!" Such was the style of dignity and decorum with which the political contest was then carried on.

JOHN TYLER.

John Tyler then came to the front, the first "accidental President" of the Republic. He, "of course, was immediately assailed. The *National Advertiser*" of New York, said:

“It is Mr. Tyler’s ambition to rise upon the ruins of prostrate selfishness;” and charged him with “increasing the public debt ten and a half millions of dollars.” Charges of inconsistency were likewise heaped upon him. He was accused of supporting Crawford, and praising Clay for befriending Adams—of then becoming a follower of Jackson, and of turning against Jackson in his contest with the nullifiers. After this he was charged with professing to favor the nomination of Clay by the Whigs, while working to secure his own nomination for the second place on the ticket with Harrison, declaring himself to be an uncompromising Whig, when he acceded to power by the death of Harrison. The suspicions of those who had elevated him to office were soon aroused, and Mr. Tyler was deeply censured for abandoning the policy of the dominant party in his veto of a bill which had received the support of all the Whigs in Congress. It was a measure for the repeal of the sub-Treasury legislation, and its failure through this veto stirred up a political acrimony which was loud and long. Nor can it be disguised that Tyler did betray the party, who had so generously adopted and honored him. He gave them ground to say that he had violated his most sacred pledges and had betrayed the principles enunciated by those who had invested him with power, in order to ingratiate himself in the eyes of those who were found in deadly hostility to the doctrines of the Whig party. His conduct was no doubt perfidious, when, after failing in his attempt to secure a re-nomination from the Democrats, he favored the election of Polk over Henry Clay, and thus became justly obnoxious to the complaints of those whom he had so remorselessly betrayed.

JAMES K. POLK.

This gentleman acceded to the Presidency in “breezy times.” The atmosphere was heavily freighted with charges of corruption respecting him. The convention in which he received his nomination was opened with prayer and praise. The scripture that was read on the occasion, was the 101st Psalm. “He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within My house; he that telleth lies shall

not tarry in My sight.” Mr. Polk was charged with complicity with one of the proteges of Van Buren. Mr. B. F. Butler, of New York, in Custom-House frauds and defalcations, and of association with him in other questionable transactions. Having pledged himself, at Baltimore, to stand for the whole of Oregon and subsequently offered England to deduct five and a half degrees of latitude. He was assailed for losing eight millions of the nation’s surplus fund to electioneering Bank Directors, and again, for his alleged sympathy with England, and it was explained that the fast time made by vessels over the Atlantic during his administration was due to the fact that the shores of the two countries were approaching each other! The Mexican war relieved Polk from animadversion for a time, but at its close, the pent-up waters of contumely broke forth afresh, and Polk retired at the end of four years with the unanimous consent of his party and the opposition, and with anything but complimentary allusions from all quarters.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

This old hero lived but sixteen months after his inauguration, but while a candidate for the Presidency and during his official life, he was far from being wholly exempt from the current fate of men who aspired to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. He was charged with acquiring his military reputation through the energy and sagacity of his subordinates, with ignorance of social and civic life, with a perverse and irascible disposition. But all harsh criticism was buried with him in his grave, the whole nation mourning his demise.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

This “second accidental President” was not long in drawing down upon his head the severest denunciations. His term was full of storm. The great measure which carried in it the bitter and bloody future was the compromise of 1850, which received his sanction. Both the great parties sought by this measure to steer the vessel of state safely, between the Scylla and Charybdis of political strife, and both proclaimed the compromise and finality of the question. The finality proved only the beginning of a train of events, for which Fillmore was held in a

large degree responsible, and he retired from office with a load of censure for his failure to stand firm in a crisis of the country which involved so much! He was the last Whig President. The days of compromise were ended.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

President Pierce was accounted "the most accomplished gentleman" who ever occupied the Presidential chair. By this is meant, not profound learning, education or statesmanship, but a pleasing temperament, urbane manners and an easy, genial, social disposition; and though he was elected by an overwhelming vote, yet his term was a time of turbulence. Many important events transpired. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was adopted—senator Sumner was brutally assaulted in the Senate hall by a member of the House, and a reign of "terrorism" prevailed both in and out of Congress. The President was the center and "*but*" (a word he was reported to have taught his father to spell) of ridicule and censure. The newspapers were loaded with excoriation, and daily menace, which was not well calculated to inspire regard for him in others, or satisfaction in his own breast. He left the Presidential chair with the regrets of neither party. He was held responsible for the financial distress and the suffering condition of the general interests of the country. His own friends refused him a re-nomination, and he was turned aside for another man.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

This man must be set down as the most abject tool that ever sat in the Presidential chair, whatever charity there may be for human weakness, none is broad enough to cover the weakness he exhibited, with his eyes open, upon the plunging ship of State, he sat down, weeping vain tears, wringing his hands, and saying, "I have been the last President of the United States!" He retired from his office amid the maledictions of the people.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

No man was ever more deeply maligned by press and politicians than Mr. Lincoln. He was stigmatized as "ignorant," "a laborer" "a vulgar rail splitter." He was held up to

public contempt, and to the universal scorn of mankind—and was finally assassinated by a representative of the intolerant malignants who had hounded him from the hour of his first nomination. His devotion to his country cost him his life. He was the last soldier to fall in the war of the rebellion, and found his grave in the patriot hearts of a loyal people! His monument is in the affections of every lover of freedom and of his free institution.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

This man, so recently deceased, was the last, and the worst of "the accidental Presidents." When inaugurated, as Vice President, he was in a maudlin state of intoxication, the fitting prelude of a disgraceful end. Language was impoverished by writers and speakers in setting forth the infamy of his conduct, while, doubtless, much of the abuse meted out to his predecessors was undeserved and unwarranted. Andrew Johnson was the only man in the succession ever arraigned for impeachment, and he retired from office with scarcely one apologist!

U. S. GRANT.

This brings us to the present incumbent. But it is not our purpose to recount the measure and quality of the criticism bestowed on him. These things are of yesterday, and quite familiar to the general public. But when his name passes into history, the people whom he assisted Lincoln in redeeming, and the citizens of the Republic which he fought so valiantly to perpetuate, will revive his memory, while those who misrepresent and defame him will perish from the remembrance of men. Henceforth, the American trio will be Washington, Lincoln and Grant. Some

"Of the few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

CONCLUSION.

The main object of these historical reminiscences, as intimated in the outset, is to show how regularly, from the very beginning, the employment of censure running through every stage and phase of representation, has marked the course of political partisanship. It seems incidental to the nature of free Government, where the offices are elective, and the functionaries are dependent upon the peo-

ple for authority. Accordingly there is no country where the science of free speech is being so profoundly studied as in our own. At first it would seem that such license of the tongue, of the pen, and of the press, would utterly ruin public men and even the Nation itself. But a different result seems to be shown by experience. The intelligence of the people has come to understand that wanton calumny and personal vituperation are not the weapons which destroy real merit, and that those who indulge in such methods of warfare are themselves reckoned beyond the pale of the ordinary decencies of civil life. The *New York Tribune*, a journal that first and last has been as full of abuse of public men, whether just or unjust, as any newspaper ever published in this country, sums up the result of its experience in this line in the following words:

"There never was a time, in our opinion, when responsible newspapers watched their utterances with so much care, or when the people themselves, so far from seizing and accepting every scandal within their reach, were so slow to be convinced. There are always, of course, readers and newspapers who revel in horrors, but they soon find their level in society. The great, decent public comes to see before long that only those purvey filth who like to handle it, and such journals decrease in influence as they increase in circulation. So far from a newspaper attack being necessarily fatal to the prospects of a public man, there is nothing that so nearly approaches a blank cartridge, if its only foundation is in malice. When the great man himself furnishes the ammunition, that is quite a different thing. He cannot complain if his own words and acts are used to riddle him. His enemies may be awakened to fresh activity by baseless attacks, but such assaults simply strengthen him with his friends and the unbiased public. Indeed, the American people cling to their ideals with a rare tenacity, and with a devotion that nothing short of damning proof can overturn."

We are of opinion that this statement is more fully borne out by the facts at this time, than at any former period of the country's history. It is well understood that

newspaper abuse has been brought down to a trade, an occupation—a venal and unscrupulous occupation—"all hire and salary"—as well as for malice or revenge. It is the sewerage and safety-valve of the corrupt and unprincipled, and the daily concoctions of calumny and abuse are no longer accepted by the intelligent, virtuous and honest portions of the community. Men turn away from them with a sense of nausea, as from the feter of a slaughter-house; and we do not hesitate to express the belief that the day will come when both the censor and the censured will be placed upon a just ground, and an impartial public will discriminate between them; and it will one day become as infamous to assail a man's character unjustly, as it now is to be guilty of conduct which deserves reprobation.

IN compliance with a law passed by the National Assembly, the territorial army of France will immediately be reorganized. It is to consist of 1,200,000, all born between December, 1835, and December, 1846, and will comprise troops of all arms. At first, however, the Government will devote its attention to the formation of 156 infantry regiments. The military establishment of the French Republic exceeds \$100,000,000 per annum. The expenditure of England, for home and colonial service, is \$72,500,000; of the Anglo-Indian Empire, \$80,000,000, and of Germany, \$80,012,500. There are 1,200,000 soldiers for France, with a population of 36,000,000, which makes one soldier to every thirty inhabitants; 1,337,698 soldiers for 44,000,000 in Germany, or one soldier to every forty inhabitants; 242,600 soldiers (regulars and militia) for a population of 32,000,000, in Great Britain or Ireland, or one soldier for every 132 of the population; and 187,700 soldiers, British and native, in British India, for 300,000,000 inhabitants, being one soldier to every 1,641 inhabitants. In contrast with these numbers and costs, the United States army consists of 30,000 men, and the estimated expenses for such an establishment is \$38,000,000, for a present population estimated at 42,000,000 souls. Thus, compared with the great European powers, the regular army of the United States is comparatively the costliest of all, besides the expense of militia and volunteers. But the army of the United States is better paid, fed, clothed and quartered than any army in the world, and when comparisons are made, these facts should be taken into consideration. The difference of cost is all in favor of the soldiers.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC REACTION—STATE RIGHTS ASSUMPTION.

No one who was loyal to the Union during the past fifteen years, will deny, for one moment, the propositions now to be stated. Many such persons may doubt the wisdom of the acts, or some of them, heretofore performed, to maintain the powers established by the Constitution, but any serious attack on the rights, personal and political, secured by the war and Reconstruction amendments, will rally all of those who are embraced by the opening reference, to their defence.

Every citizen must feel the need of maintaining the colored man, enfranchised by the clearly-expressed will of the Nation, in the possession of those franchises, and in the unmolested exercise thereof. In spite of coldness and indifference, as well as of a national reaction, the past is too fresh in its lessons to be forgotten and thrown aside.

Several things are supposed to have been settled by the civil war. Among these, may be placed:

1st. That the allegiance of every State and every citizen is due principally to the Union—the National Government and its authority.

2d. That every State is entitled to a Republican form of government, which it has been settled includes equal rights, privileges and duties to all citizens, without regard “to race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

3d. That such equality means the franchise, access to the jury box, freedom in, and protection by, the courts, and the maintenance of an equal system of free public schools.

Since 1871, when Reconstruction had guaranteed, by new State Constitutions, all of these things in the Southern States, and amendments for the same end to the Federal Constitution had been imbedded therein, the States (formerly slaveholding and Democratic) of Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, West Virginia and Missouri, have passed from Republican to Democratic control. By sounding resolutions, often reiterated, that

party has declared its adhesion to the results of the war, including equal citizenship to the man of color, formerly held as a slave. Somehow, a good many people have come to believe in these promises. It is so much easier to believe what one wishes, and which is agreeable also, than it is to search and find the reverse to be true.

NATIONAL OR STATE ALLEGIANCE.

The question, then, as to accepting a settlement of the question of allegiance—is, as to whether the Union is a nation or a compact. Several Southern States have been able, under the progress of Democratic reconstruction, to effect important changes, or entirely revise their Constitutions. The value of declarations is seen in subsequent facts. “The proof of the pudding is in the eating.”

ARKANSAS.

The Constitution, framed under the Reconstruction Laws, and adopted February 11, 1868, declared in its first section that * *

“the paramount allegiance of every citizen is due to the Federal Government, in the exercise of all its Constitutional power, as the same may have been or may be defined by the Supreme Court of the United States; and no power exists in the people of this or any other State of the Federal Union to dissolve their connection therewith, or perform any act tending to impair, subvert or resist the supreme authority of the United States. The Constitution of the United States confers full powers on the Federal Government to maintain and perpetuate its existence, and whensoever any portion of the States, or the people thereof, attempt to recede from the Federal Union, or forcibly resist the execution of its laws, the Federal Government may, by warrant of the Constitution, employ armed force in compelling obedience to its authority.”

This is Republican doctrine. To maintain it to a successful issue, the General Government summoned over two millions of men to arms, and waged war for four years. And this the Nation is ready to do again, if the dire necessity ever arises. The Southern Democracy—that term and “rebels” is convertible, a rebel is a Democrat, even if it

be true that not all Democrats were rebels, and only some of them now are—maintain a different view.

In 1874, the State of Arkansas passed into the hands of the Democratic party. It is not necessary, at this writing, to enquire how. The fact is enough. Its first work was to convene a Constitutional Convention. A new Constitution was framed by it, and ratified, it is claimed, at the general election in November, 1874.

That instrument contains no allusion, however remote, to the relations of the State to the Federal Union. Every word of the Constitution of 1868, which is quoted heretofore, is now expunged.

The Arkansas Democrats declare, by this action, that the doctrine of allegiance is still a disputed question.

WEST VIRGINIA.

This State was admitted, as such, to the Union, June, 1863. The Constitution framed in 1861, after the civil war began, contained the following as its first section:

The State of West Virginia shall be and remain one of the United States of America. The Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land.

In 1871, the Democracy re-obtained control, and among their first acts was the convening of a Constitutional Convention. That body framed a new Constitution. It became operative in 1872. Its first section is the same as the one just quoted. But those that follow are to be carefully scanned.

§2. The Government of the United States is a government of enumerated powers, and all powers not delegated to it, nor inhibited to the States, are reserved to the States, or to the people thereof. Among the powers so reserved by the States is the exclusive regulation of their own internal government and policy; and it is the right and solemn duty of the several departments of Government created by this Constitution, to guard and protect the people of this State from all encroachments upon the rights so reserved.

§3. The provisions of the Constitutions of the United States and of this State are alike operative in a period of war as in time of peace, and any departure therefrom, or violation thereof, under

the peace of necessity or any other peace, is subversive of good government and tends to anarchy and despotism.

The third section of the "Bill of Rights," Article III., lets in further light on these declarations, as history has proven their meaning to be understood in the light of State Rights Democracy.

§3. Government is instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community. Of all its various forms that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of mal-administration; and when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community has an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

It must be borne in mind, that the Convention by which the foregoing declarations were framed, was largely composed of and influenced by the able men, who, under the strained interpretation of similar declarations, which by sixty years of State sovereignty discussion filtered through every means of forming political intelligence, had, in 1861, precipitated the State of Virginia into armed rebellion, and thereafter to the end associated themselves and their fortunes to those of the slaveholders' Confederacy. The loyal men of West Virginia, reading the interior meanings of such assumptions by the red light of civil war, contented themselves with a simple and stately declaration of the perpetual unity of the new State with the Union, and of the supremacy of the National Constitution and laws in their States, as well as in all others. The Democratic quibblers of 1871, resuming power after a losing struggle, incorporated provisions, such as those under which their theories had theretofore always befogged the Southern people, and undermined the duty they owed to "the Government of the people, by the people, for the people"—that of the Federal Union.

TENNESSEE.

In 1863, the loyal citizens of this State, so amended their Constitution, as to repeal the

ordinances and provisions relative to secession, slavery, etc. In the amendments adopted were provisions which required the taking of an oath by all electors and officeholders, *declaring nullification and secession unlawful, and also affirming that supreme allegiance was due only to the United States.*

In 1870, a new convention assembled, and the Constitution was again revised; the State being under Democratic control. All reference to national allegiance and authority was expunged, and the following seems to have been substituted, as a renewed justification of "war between the States," wherever it might be deemed advisable.

§2. *That Government being instituted for the common benefit, the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.*

This is another illustration of the result obtained by Democratic acceptance of "the situation." But more recently, a convention in Missouri, called under Democratic auspices, has submitted a new Constitution to the people of that State. It is in many respects an exceptionally good instrument. Hence it would be unjust to suppose that neglect or indifference has had to do with the important changes about to be indicated.

The Union men of Missouri framed a Constitution in 1865. It was ratified the same year. In 1870, important amendments were made. In 1875, the Democrats convened, as has been stated, a new body. The instrument it framed is still pending, under Republican rule, in 1865, there was no uncertain sound. Sections 6 and 7 of the Declaration of Rights, embodied in the Constitution, states:

"That this State shall ever remain a member of the American Union; that the people thereof are part of the American Nation; and that all attempts, from whatever source, or upon whatever pretext, to dissolve said Union, or to sever said Nation, ought to be resisted with the whole power of the State.

"That every citizen of this State owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, and that no law or ordinance of this State, in contravention or subversion thereof, can have any binding force."

The Democratic majority now in power, offer the following juggle of words, for the above plain language:

"That Missouri is a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and as the preservation of the States and the maintenance of their governments are necessary to an indestructible union, and were intended to co-exist with it, the legislature is not authorized to adopt, nor will the people of this State ever assent to any amendment or change of the Constitution of the United States which may in any wise impair the right of local self-government belonging to the people of this State.

"That constitutional government is intended to promote the general welfare of the people; that all persons have a natural right to life, liberty, and the enjoyment of the gains of their own industry; that to give the security to these things, is the principal office of government, and that when government does not confer this security, it fails of its chief design."

The new Constitution omits all reference to slavery, or equal rights. This, again, is Democratic acceptance of "the results of the war."

Georgia and Virginia, which passed under Democratic control, in 1869 and 1872, have not yet changed the Constitutions adopted under the reconstruction laws. So there still remain in them provisions requiring primary allegiance to the Federal authority. The Democrats therein have found out other ways of whipping the (to them) devil of National Authority around the States Rights stump. But a majority have ranged themselves, positively, against any recognition of the primary and positive allegiance due to the Union.

PENDING CHANGES IN ALABAMA, TEXAS AND NORTH CAROLINA.

At the date of this writing, the States above-named are in the throes of the reaction herein outlined.

The Alabama Convention has offered the first gleam of light, by declaring that, in its opinion, the question of secession is a dead issue. North Carolina and Texas have formed their new constitutions, and the same animus is everywhere apparent. In North Carolina, the franchise. In Alabama, the schools are injured, and the permanent fund decreased. In Texas, the Convention is claimed and exercised general legislative powers, with the view of controlling the next Senatorship, and more firmly fastening the present rule on that State. The whole tendency is backward. The spirit of Democracy is everywhere destructive.

LABOR IN EUROPE AND AMERICA. *

The work before us, in eight hundred and sixty pages, is, in itself, a forcible illustration of the power of mental and physical effort. It is a compact history of the development of labor from the earliest period of the world to the present time; a statistical exhibition of the condition of contemporaneous labor and cost of subsistence in Europe; and a full and remarkably complete tabulated statement of labor, wages, and cost of living in America. It is, unquestionably, the most exhaustive historical and statistical work on the world's industries, ever presented to the public, and one which will not be duplicated or exceeded in value, by another attempt of the kind, for many years to come. Dr. Young has given, at least, two year's labor to this work. He has, personally, gone over much of the ground, visiting the industrial hives, both in America and Europe, extending his researches as far as Russia. In addition to this he has, as the prefatory pages of the book indicate, been generously aided in his researches and labors, by a numerous staff of assistants, among whom are, Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; our ministers and consuls abroad, and the ministers of Germany and Belgium in Washington; A. T. Stewart and other influential merchants in New York; and by Mr. E. T. Peters, Librarian of the Statistical Bureau. Through these aids and his own incessant toil, he has achieved success in his enterprise, and given to the reading public a work that cannot fail of commanding general and absorbing attention in Europe and America, and of doing much to advance the interests of the working classes in both hemispheres.

It is not the purpose of the writer to review this work. It may not be without defects; but of its merits, there can be but one opinion. As remarked, it is historical and statistical in character. From each of these divisions it is proposed here to cull a few facts, in illustration of the character, and in confirmation of the value of this addition to the literature of labor.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Following a few pages of pertinent prefatory remarks, the work opens with the truthful statement that, "Since the day when our primal progenitor was expelled from Eden, and the doom pronounced, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' the subject of labor has been one of absorbing interest." Not by way of criticism, for none is required, it may be proper to remark, *en passant*, that there is nothing in divine revelation to warrant the too common impression that labor is the result of man's disobedience. Work was as much a part of the original plan of creation, as any other portion of that wonderful conception of infinite wisdom. Creation itself was a work, succeeded by rest. Man worked before the fall: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it," was the divine command. By the fall, man's employment was changed from unalloyed pleasure and easy care, to embittered toil, physical weariness, and waste of body. Nothing more. But there was attached to labor the grand insignia of honor and health, of which no false phases of society can deprive the hand of industry.

"Cheer'd with the view, man went to till the ground
From whence he rose; sentenc'd, indeed, to toil,
As to a punishment; yet (e'en in wrath
So merciful in heaven) this toil became
The solace of his woes, the sweet employ
Of many livelong hours, and surest guard
Against disease and death."

Labor—mental and physical—constantly applied to legitimate objects, stands at the top of the enumerated list of earthly blessings. Like other good things, excesses should be avoided, as these are not justifiable, and are without or beyond the pale of the law of rewards. On the other hand, idleness is productive of a large proportion of the wretchedness embraced in the catalogue of mental and physical disease to which life, by the fall, is heir. And more: Idleness is one of the most prolific sources of vice, crime and ignominy, in all their degrading forms and wretched phases.

* *Labor in Europe and America*: A special report on the rates of wages, the cost of subsistence, and the condition of the working classes in Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, and other countries of Europe; also, in the United States and British America. By Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1875.

ANTIQUITY OF SLAVE LABOR.

But to the book. Dr. Young, in his historical researches, in which he was ably assisted by Mr. Peters, finds that a very large proportion of the manual labor performed during the earlier stages of the world was the product of slavery in its various forms. "Among the nations of antiquity, the most polished as well as rudest," he says, "slavery was universal; and it is only within a comparatively recent period that it has disappeared even from the most enlightened nations of modern times." Our own country and Russia are cited, as among the last to liberate the slave and ameliorate the condition of the serf; while "the Spanish Republic, falling in with the spirit of the age, has done what the Spanish Monarchy so long refused to do, by adopting legislation looking to the abolition of slavery in the Antilles;" and in Brazil, the work of emancipation, inaugurated by law in 1871, will not be completed for many years. Slavery to-day exists in some form in most, if not all, of the native governments of Asia; it flourishes under the Khedive in Egypt, while on certain portions of the African coast, and on the islands of Polynesia, "some of the most revolting features of the slave-trade appear to have been recently revived."

It is this condition of servile toil that has, more than anything else, tended to pull down free labor from its high pinnacle of dignity and honor, debased society and impeded civilization; but humanity and philanthropy will prevail, and the tendency is now, through commerce, education and Christianity, to universal free labor. This itself is a work of labor, and when it is achieved, the result will be due to persistent effort.

"Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven. The sacred sky
Gives us free scope; only doth backward pull
Our slow designs, when we ourselves are dull."

LABOR IN EGYPT.

Following the order of the historical portion of Dr. Young's work, Egypt here claims attention. Both free and slave labor were employed. The author, after describing the skill of the Egyptians, and pointing out the divisions in society, says, "these divisions

have no relation to the distinction between freemen and slaves," and adds:

From a remark of Herodotus, that "the Egyptians did not confine the exercise of trades to slaves, as the Spartans did," it may be inferred that persons of this class were employed, to some extent, in the various common occupations, but not exclusively in any. It is probable, however, that slaves were chiefly held by members of the privileged classes, who would be most likely to have the means of purchasing them. It will be recollected that it was a member of the upper class, Potiphar, a captain of the king's guard, who purchased Joseph from the Midianite merchants who carried him into Egypt. It may be remarked here, that this transaction affords incidental evidence, that at the time when it occurred (about 1800 B. C.) Egypt was known to traders as a market in which slaves were in regular demand. In successful military expeditions, immense numbers of captives were often brought back and reduced to slavery; and there are indications in the sculptures of Thebes, that slaves sometimes formed a part of the annual tribute paid by conquered nations to the Egyptian kings. The slaves taken in war, and probably also those received as tribute, were sometimes employed in large numbers on the public works; but it is likely that a considerable number of the former class were distributed among the soldiers and military commanders, and that a portion of them were also assigned to the priests, while others were sold under the authority of the government to any private individuals who chose to purchase them. The slaves acquired in these various ways were, of course, of many nationalities, and the representations of them on Egyptian bas-reliefs show that persons of the negro type were included among them. Besides the above mentioned, there was another class of involuntary laborers, composed of criminals, a term which probably embraced many who, by political or other offenses, had incurred the displeasure of the monarch or of the local authorities. The origin of the custom of employing this class upon public works is attributed to Sabacus, the Ethiopian, who invaded Egypt about the middle of the eighth century before Christ. "While he retained his authority," says Herodotus, "he made it a rule not to punish any crime with death, but, according to the magnitude of the offense, he condemned the criminal to raise the ground near the place to which he belonged, by which means the situation of the different cities became more and more elevated." The employment of captives by Sesostris in digging the canals, has already been referred to. The labor exacted by the taskmasters of

the Government, in the execution of public works, appears, usually, to have been very severe, the laborers being treated as mere beasts of burden. Those condemned to work in the mines, are said to have been driven with blows to continue their labors, until they sometimes fell lifeless from exhaustion. The practice of inflicting corporal punishment to hasten the performance of work, appears to have prevailed under the Pharaohs, for we are told (Exodus v, 14) that "the officers of the children of Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over them, were beaten, and demanded, 'Wherefore have ye not fulfilled your task in making brick, both yesterday and to-day, as heretofore?'" It is not difficult to conceive the hardships to which laborers were sometimes subjected by taskmasters eager to win the favor of a monarch, whose vanity and ambition demanded the early completion of a temple, a pyramid, or some other great work, by which he sought to transmit his fame to posterity.

The various mechanical and agricultural industries of Egypt, and the vast amount of labor involved in the erection of the pyramids, are described in detail as they were developed under the different dynasties, through a long period of years. And in conclusion the author remarks that, it was not alone in the erection of such colossal structures as the pyramids that vast amounts of labor were expended. One hundred and twenty thousand men are said to have been employed in hewing the obelisks of Thebes; and Herodotus mentions an edifice formed out of a single immense stone, which appears to have been used as the portico of a temple, the transportation of which from Elephantine to Sais employed two thousand men for three years. Yet this was only one out of many similar works executed by a single king; and there was scarcely a monarch of any note who did not leave numerous monuments of his ambition to perpetuate his fame, or his solicitude to obtain the favor of the gods by erecting costly temples for their worship.

Thus the industrial servitude of the people resulted, in a great measure, from that absolute political subjection, which enabled a monarch to tax them at his own pleasure, or to command their labor in the service of the most grotesque ambition, the most reckless extravagance, or the wildest caprice. Scarcely anything in history could give one a more exalted conception of the economic value of

political liberty to the working-classes of modern times, than is conveyed by the spectacle of the hardships to which the working-people of Egypt were subjected, in consequence of the irresponsible power possessed by their rulers.

LABOR AMONG THE JEWS.

The reader is presumed to be pretty well informed in Jewish history, and the author's remarks on the customs of that people are less elaborate than his observations on the habits of some other nationalities. "In respect to slavery," he says, "the Jews presented no exception to the general practice of the age." It is shown, however, that there were redeeming features in Jewish slavery, not practiced in other nations. There were excellent provisions favoring and protecting the poorer classes, enjoined by God and promulgated through his vicegerent and faithful servant, Moses; but these laws were not always regarded by that fickle people, as the following quotation from the work, based on scripture testimony, will show:

The following injunctions from the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters of Deuteronomy, are in keeping with many others that may be found in the laws of Moses and in other portions of the Old Testament: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother (i. e., to a Hebrew.) * * * Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury." * * * "When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand abroad (outside), and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee; and if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge. In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down." * * * "Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless, nor take a widow's raiment to pledge." * * * "When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it; it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow." * * * "When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again." * * * "When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward; it shall be for the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow." That these and other humane laws were frequently disregarded, and even fla-

grantly disobeyed, is evident from the repeated denunciations of the prophets against usury and other oppressive practices. In Nehemiah we read that "there was a great cry of the people, and of their wives, against their brethren, the Jews." Some are represented as saying, "We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth." Others complained that they had borrowed money upon their lands and vineyards for the king's tribute. "And, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants," said they, "and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them, for other men have our lands and vineyards." Thereupon Nehemiah rebukes "the nobles and the rulers," saying, "Ye exact usury every one of his brother," and calls upon them to restore to their impoverished brethren "their lands, their vineyards, their olive yards, and their houses," as well as "the hundredth part of the money and of the corn, the wine and the oil" that they have exacted from them. To this they consent, and he calls the priests to witness their oath that they will do "according to this promise." This appears to have occurred subsequent to 445 B. C., when Nehemiah had obtained authority from Artaxerxes to proceed to Judea and rebuild Jerusalem. The captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and the domination of the Persians, Syrians, and Romans must have interfered to a considerable extent with the operation of their own laws; and the oppressive tribute to which they were at times subjected, as well the frequent wars between greater powers, in which they were more or less involved, must have reduced them, at times, to a condition of severe suffering.

It is a remarkable and significant result of disobedience that this peculiarly favored people are to-day without a nationality, and though scattered over the face of the habitable globe, preserve their separation and distinction, by non-intermarriage with those of other nationalities.

LABOR IN CHALDEA AND ASSYRIA.

It is shown that in these ancient empires, the former occupying the lower, and the latter the upper portion of the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, there existed great cities and other results of an industry that involved mechanical skill of no mean order. The ruins of palaces and temples, the inscriptions and sculptures found, indicate the colossal scale and elaborate ornamentation of

their works. "Each king appears," says the author, "to have endeavored to eclipse his predecessors in the number, extent, and magnificence of the architectural works executed during his reign; and many of these works apparently had no other use than to gratify the ambition and vanity of the monarchs."

In the construction of such works, the Assyrians were accustomed to employ the labor of captives taken in war. Among these, the skilled workmen were in request to assist in the ornamentation of shrines and palaces, while the great mass of the unskilled were employed in quarrying stone, raising mounds, making bricks, and similar occupations. It has already been stated that Sennacherib brought back to Assyria upwards of six hundred thousand prisoners in three campaigns, and the number of captives made in other successful expeditions, was probably on the same scale. In the inscription on the Bellino cylinder, this king states that he employed Chaldeans, Aramæans, Armenians, Cilicians, and Quhn (Coans) in the construction of his great works; and to these may probably be added Egyptians, Ethiopians, Elamites, and Jews. Their work consisted, among other things, in raising the vast mounds upon which important edifices were to be erected, in the transport and elevation of colossal bulls, in the molding of bricks, the quarrying of stone, the erection of walls, the excavation of canals, and the construction of embankments. They worked in gangs, each gang having a costume peculiar to it, which probably marked the nationality of its members. Over each of these gangs was placed a number of task-masters, armed with staves, who urged on the work with blows, and severely punished any neglect or remissness. Assyrian foremen had the general supervision of the works, and were intrusted with such portions as required great skill or judgment. The captives often worked in fetters, which were sometimes supported by a bar fastened to the waist, while sometimes they consisted merely of shackles.

Nearly all the labor, in the prosecution of the arts and agriculture, was carried on by slaves, and under their tyrant rulers, the condition of the working classes, says the writer, must have been one of extreme wretchedness.

LABOR IN GREECE.

The development of the arts advanced to great perfection in this early centre of solid progress; and the author justly claims that

“to no other nation of antiquity has the modern world been indebted for intellectual treasures of such extent and value, as those bequeathed to it by ancient Greece.” Eighteen pages of the work are devoted to an exhibition of the literature, handicraft, agriculture and customs of that people. The result is, that with the exception of the absence of labor-saving machinery, with which the world is now so well supplied, they were not far behind the present age and the most advanced countries in education, law, art and agriculture. Nor did the modes of manufacture differ, at least in many respects, from those of our own time. Even in the smithy, “there were the anvil mounted on a high block; the bellows, formed of thin boards, connected by flaps of cowhide, and expelling the air through an iron nozzle; the hammer, the tongs, the vise, and other familiar implements.” The manufacture of furniture, musical implements, pottery, glass, &c., were carried to great perfection, evincing consummate skill and refined taste. They were familiar with the processes of blowing, cutting, engraving and staining glass. In the latter process, they could imitate the colors and the brilliancy of the most precious gems, from the ruby and the amethyst, to the turquoise and the beryl.

Of this material, it is said, they also fashioned “jars, bowls, and vases, exhibiting all the various hues of the peacock’s train, which, like shot silks and the breast of the dove, displayed fresh tints in every different light, fading, quivering, and melting into each other as the eye changed its point of view.”

In the quality of their textile fabrics, the Greeks, as well as various other nations of antiquity, appear to have been nearly equal to the manufacturers of modern times; but owing to the absence of labor-saving machinery, these fabrics, especially the finer ones, could only be produced in comparatively insignificant quantities, and the changes of clothing worn by the masses of the people, was not to be compared with that which they are able to wear at the present day.

Dr. Young reproduces an alphabetical enumeration of occupations, which is given by Fosbroke in his “Treaties on the Arts,

Manufactures, Manners, and Institutions of the Greeks and Romans.” Omitting a few unimportant details, the list is as follows:

Bottle-makers; (or makers of leathern bottles;) bankers; (money changers or usurers;) barbers, some of them females, and barber-surgeons; basket-makers, blacksmiths and brasiers, butchers, of whom there appear to have been none at the time of the Trojan war, since the heroes of Homer are represented as cutting up their own meat; capon cutters, carpenters, and cooks—the latter being men, who were sometimes hired by the day, at a high price; copper-smiths, cotton manufacturers and dealers in cotton goods, couriers, dyers, enamelers, factors, farmers, felt-makers, fishermen, fishmongers, flax-dressers, founders, fresco-painters, fullers, gilders, glass-manufacturers and globe-makers, the globes being made of glass; glue-makers, goldsmiths and gardners, the latter understanding the art of grafting; grooms, hair-cloth manufacturers, horse-breakers, joiners, market-clerks, (who attended to the weights, measures, and qualities of the goods,) midwives, mountebanks, oilmen, painters, paper and parchment-makers, pastry-cooks, perfumers, pilots (a profession held in high esteem), porters, potters, poulterers, prison-keepers, quack doctors, readers (whose office was to read to their masters during dinner, at night when they could not sleep, and at other times,) shepherds, tanners, tutors, watchmen upon towers, wax-chandlers, and weavers.

Wages of mechanics ranged in the vicinity of 13 cents a day; the pay of a soldier (infantry) was 2 to 3 oboli, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{3}{4}$ cents; but Theopompus says that “with a daily pay of 2 oboli a soldier could maintain a wife, and that with 4 oboli his fortune was complete,” by which he evidently means so much pay, independent of the allowance for subsistence. In Solon’s time, a bushel and a half of grain cost about 19 cents. Other necessities of life were equally low. An ox, in his time, sold for $97\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and a sheep for $19\frac{1}{2}$ cents; wine was worth $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per gallon. But prices varied in different periods, and generally ranged above those indicated.

The number of wage-laborers in Greece was comparatively small, a great majority of the working people being in the condition of slaves or serfs. In war, the life of the prisoner was considered as forfeited, and if the captor spared him it was usually to devote him to a life of servitude, a fate which often befell persons who, in their own country,

had occupied stations of honor and influence. Many persons were also sold into slavery by kidnappers, who practiced their nefarious trade along the shores of the Mediterranean, as similar miscreants in modern times have done on certain portions of the African coast. As luxury increased among the Greeks, the demand for slaves was such that a regular commerce in these unfortunate beings was kept up, the enterprise of the slave traders leading them to distant parts, particularly to the southern shores of the Black Sea, where slaves could be had in great numbers. The first Greeks who engaged in this trade are said to have been the Chians, who also pursued the infamous business of making eunuchs for the eastern market. A just retribution ultimately fell upon them, when Mithridates of Cappadocia, having conquered the island, delivered them up to their own slaves, to be carried away captive into Colchis.

In Sparta, the Helots outnumbered the citizens by about five to one, and Bœck estimates the ratio of slaves to citizens, in Attica, at very nearly four to one.

Slave labor and the condition of slaves, in the different cities and sections of Greece, are fully explained in the chapter under consideration, to which, for want of space here, the reader is referred for the interesting details on this and other important information relating to that ancient commonwealth.

LABOR IN ROME.

Twenty pages of the work are occupied in an exposition of labor in Rome, with full remarks on the systems of slavery, free labor, the Roman trades-unions, and the condition of the peasantry. The author remarks, that "What has been said as to the condition of the industrial arts in Greece, will apply, in the main, to their condition in Italy, during the history of ancient Rome." The condition of the plebeians is vividly depicted. The history of their struggle for a humane law of debtor and creditor, for a fair division of the public lands, and for the prerogatives of citizenship, is virtually the history of the early struggles of the working people of Rome for the rights of men. The plebeians, descendants of the conquered tribes who had inhabited Rome and vicinity, were, under the early kings, admitted to no share in public affairs, or in the social and religious rights which belonged to the patricians, or the privileged order; but were distinguished from the slaves by the exercise of their freedom. Sub-

sequently, civic rights were accorded to them. Their poverty, however, often compelled them to borrow from their patrician superiors, whose incomes were largely increased by usury. "The creditor had the power to enslave, imprison, scourge, starve, or even take the life of the debtor who failed to meet his obligations; and if there were several creditors of one person, they could, if they chose, divide his body among them. Instances of extreme cruelty, such as beating, imprisonment in loathsome dungeons, and slow starvation, were not infrequent, while many unfortunate debtors were sold into slavery or reduced to servitude under their creditors. The harshness of the law, and of the manner in which it was enforced, seemed all the more outrageous in view of the fact that the inability of the debtor to meet his engagements often arose from his having to neglect his own affairs while performing military service for the State in the wars which the patricians had provoked."

This being the treatment of the plebeians, the reader will readily conclude that the slave population was, if possible, in a worse condition. Their numbers were large, at some periods and in certain portions of Italy, embracing half the entire population. They were worked sometimes in chains, guarded by armed retainers. A rigorous celibacy was imposed, because it was cheaper to conquer, import and buy adults than to raise slaves from infancy. In the latter days of the Empire, under the then feeble influence of Christianity, their condition was somewhat ameliorated.

Free labor was quite limited, and was mainly confined to the agricultural districts. The wages of free labor were nearly the same as in Greece, an agricultural laborer being paid about 12½ cents a day, a stone mason 25 cents, a worker in marble 30 cents, &c. Provisions averaged about one-third their cost now, in our cities.

Trades-unions existed to some considerable extent, but they were in close relations to the State, and were utilized in executing its public works and in collecting its revenues. They were of two kinds, industrial and commercial, and bore the name of corporations.

The peasantry were of two classes — those belonging absolutely to the proprietor, who

could sell or exchange them as he would his cattle; and those appertaining to the land, who could only be sold or exchanged with it. The former class were held to be inferior even to the slaves in the cities and were on the same level as the domestic animals. A peasant attached to the soil "might own the tatters in which he was clad, and the animals which formed a part of his family." The other class could possess absolutely nothing.

LABOR IN EUROPE, UNDER THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

The overthrow of the Roman power introduced a new order of society. The condition of the laboring classes was, however, but slightly improved. The barbarian conquerors divided the landed property among themselves and the former proprietors. The peasantry were compelled to labor for their new masters as they had done for their predecessors. Slavery had been the practice among the conquerors, as with the conquered. The poorer proprietors were soon despoiled of their property, through the avarice of the bishops and abbess and their patrons, without respect to law or statute. Thus stripped, they were reduced to the condition of serfs, and compelled to work for their robbers. The bishops and their agents could cause peasants, guilty of any misdemeanor, to be punished without trial, and the number of blows inflicted was regulated at their pleasure. "All the serfs were considered as belonging to the soil, from which they could not be detached except by the will of the proprietor." The children of serfs, when the parents lived on separate estates, could be divided between the two masters, without the consent of parents or offspring.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the serfs made some progress toward personal liberty. The feudal proprietors conceded lands to the peasantry, on certain restrictions, but the exactions of the lords and the church were still intolerable. From the eleventh to the fourteenth century, terrible insurrections broke out in France, the peasantry taking up arms against the nobles, to the extent of hundreds of thousands, to whom new recruits were daily added. Thus, for two hundred years, the country presented the worst features of anarchy, plunder and murder. The

peasantry were finally overcome and disarmed, when their chief was crowned with a red-hot tripod of iron, and beheaded, and seven thousand of the peasants were slaughtered near Meaux. In his closing observations, the author remarks, that —

What has been thus far said in regard to labor under the feudal system, refers chiefly to France, and is confined to the labors of the peasantry, but, as has already been pointed out, the finer industrial arts were almost unknown at the period under consideration; the town and city populations were very limited, and the work performed on the rural estates really comprised the great bulk of all the work for which, in that rude age, there was any occasion or demand. The condition of the serfs and peasants on the rural estates was therefore, at that time, the condition of the vast majority of the laboring population.

THE FEUDAL PERIOD IN ENGLAND.

During the period of Saxon supremacy, two-thirds of the people are represented as having been slaves or in a condition of bondage approaching slavery; nor did the Norman invasion materially alter the condition of the masses. In the reign of Henry II., slaves were exported to Ireland, till the market was overstocked; and from William I. to the reign of John, "there was scarcely a cottage in Scotland but possessed an English slave." The first check to the system was due to Christianity, the influence of which led to the disuse of the ancient practice of reducing prisoners of war to bondage; but the final extinction of slavery in England was reached only after centuries of slow progress. An attempt to extinguish it in 1526, was unsuccessful; and Dr. Young says "Cromwell did not scruple to send Scottish prisoners, taken at Dunbar, in 1650, to the West India colonies, as slaves." Under Charles II. the system was abolished by statute; but as late as 1775. Scottish colliers were bought and sold with the estates to which they were attached.

During the lawless period which resulted in the development of feudalism, there was little security for industry or commerce. But, with the establishment of feudalism, there gradually arose a demand for the products of various industries. This tended to attract population to centres and create

towns, and so bring about a gradual change from servile to free labor. Still, the products of industry were subject to severe taxes, and laborers to other onerous exactions and restrictions by their feudal lords. The English laborer lived in a very rude and primitive style; his dwelling was built of mud or clay; glass was unknown even in the better class of houses, and was used only in churches; even the evening light must have been scanty, as it required the price of a day's work to purchase a pound of tallow candles. The household furniture and cooking utensils of a family usually consisted of a brass pot and a bed, the latter valued at three to six shillings (75 cents to \$1.50). With provisions they may have been pretty well provided, though it appears that they were accustomed to eat the flesh of animals that had died from disease. Wages were so low that the earnings of a year would now be considered, in the United States, poor pay for a week's work. In 1444 the wages of agricultural labor were limited by Parliament to the following rates: a bailiff in husbandry, per annum, £1 3s. 4d. (\$5.75) with food and drink, and 5s. (\$1.25) for clothing; a chief carter or chief shepherd, £1 a year, with food and drink, and 4s. for clothing; a farm servant, 15s. a year, and 3s. and 4d. for clothing; a woman servant, 10s. a year, and 4s. for clothing; a mower, 4d. a day, with food and drink, or 6d. without; a reaper, 3d. a day, with food and drink, or 5d. without; a woman or other servant, 2½d. a day, with food and drink, or 4d. without.

The same statute fixed the prices to be paid mechanics, which ranged from 2d. to 4d. a day, with diet, and 3d. to 5½d. without diet.

From these wretchedly meagre earnings, in England and on the continent, wages have slowly advanced through four or five centuries, to their present rates, of about an average of one half that is paid for corresponding work in the United States, as will be shown in a subsequent article, in which some of the more important tables, giving the rates of wages and cost of living, in Europe and in the United States, will be condensed

published. But the work itself should

be carefully read by every intelligent citizen in the United States.

From the facts presented in this brief notice of the work, the reader cannot fail to be impressed with the improved condition of the working classes in our day, as compared with their pay and impoverished state at all former periods. Not only were the toilers for thousands of years absolute slaves, but down to the sixteenth century, the treatment of the free working classes was little better than that accorded to slaves, when servile labor was universal.

It is worthy of remark that one of the most potent agencies, not only in wiping out slavery, but in elevating the condition of the industrial classes, was the power of Christianity, operating upon the moral sentiment, alike of patrician and plebeian, citizen and serf, lord and slave, by denouncing oppression and claiming freedom and political rights alike to all. Nor has it been less potent in emancipating the female sex from that servile bondage and social degradation under which they have been held in all ages and under every phase of society, where Christianity has not penetrated to break the bonds of tyranny and lift them up to an equality with their exacting lords.

The use of labor-saving machinery has had much to do in revolutionizing the systems of modern labor. Its introduction was generally opposed by the working classes, on the ground that its tendency would be to lessen the demand for manual labor. Experience, however, has practically demonstrated an opposite result. The demand for labor has been increased, and is increasing, and at better remuneration than ever before. The invention of the steam engine increased the demand for machinists and experienced workers in wood and iron; the steam engine gave us the railway and the steamboat, with cheaper travel and transportation, and an increased instead of diminished demand for manual and horse labor. The cotton gin multiplied the acres under cotton cultivation, and the number of field operatives, spinners and weavers, and gave to the world cheaper cotton fabrics; the planing machine reduces the cost of houses, increases the demand for

masons, bricklayers, plasterers, painters, stair-builders, carpenters, and laborers, and enables mechanics to become the owners instead of tenants of their homes and lots; the machine mower, the reaper, the cultivator, and the harvester, enabled the farmer to enlarge his area under cultivation, employ more help, and give to the world a greater abundance and cheaper bread; the rotary steam printing press takes the place of the hand-press, and multiplies a thousand fold those messengers of intelligence and educational agencies—the newspapers—and increases the demand for practical printers; the sewing-machine furnishes the race with better made and cheaper garments, lightens the toil, secures a greater variety of work, and increases the demand for female labor at increased remuneration.

But labor-saving machinery has not yet fulfilled its grand and ultimate mission of practically reducing the hours of toil per diem. Until this is accomplished, it fails of its destiny. The economic and sanitary idea of eight hours out of every twenty-four for labor is logically sound; and the increasing use of labor-saving appliances will enable society to reduce the eight-hour theory to practice whenever avarice is made to yield to the claims of humanity and justice.

This will not come through "strikes" and labor combinations against capital. The tendency of these is rather to drive capital out of the usual legitimate channels of enterprise and investment, and thus diminish the demand for labor. The power of the laboring classes—using the term in its broadest sense—lies in securing a greater degree of practical knowledge and skill in workmanship, in a closer application to duty or business during business hours, and in a prudent economy in personal and household expenditures. The mechanical industries of Europe and America are now in keen competition for a higher type of skilled workmanship, and the artisans, mechanics, and laborers who are most in demand, are those who are best skilled in their respective branches of industry. The industrial fields are overcrowded with untaught, untrained, slovenly and careless workmen, who are unable to earn a full day's wages, even by

twelve or fifteen hours labor. Their waste of materials, destruction of tools and machinery, and slovenly workmanship render them unprofitable to their employers at any price. On the other hand, skilled, neat, active workmen are comparatively scarce, and always in demand. They invariably command the highest wages, always give good satisfaction, and can earn a third or a half more in eight hours, than an unskilled workman will receive for twelve hours labor on the same work. The inference, therefore, is plain, that the eight hour system is to be reached through the application of labor-saving machinery, supplimented by skilled industry; and whenever this combination is practically reached, the daily working hours in the factory, the mines, the workshop, and approximately on the farm and in the household, may, and should, be reduced to and scrupulously confined within eight hours. By giving another equal portion of time to rest and repose, there will remain eight hours for physical exercise, mental cultivation and pleasurable recreation. This condition of society, as compared with that depicted in the earlier portion of this article, will indicate the advance from servile toil to the grandest type of free and educated labor, and which is easily within the reach of the present generation.

HERE is a queer election item. In Clinton county, Iowa, reside two brothers named Lillie. While both were on a visit to Ohio during the late campaign in Iowa, one of them was nominated for County Superintendent by the Democrats. By an error of the committee, in ordering the tickets, the other brother's initials were used, and, coming to vote, the wrong member of the family was elected. But the funniest part of all is that the man elected differs from his brother and the party which has given him an office, in that he is a staunch Republican.

WHERE is the disintegration of the Republican party that the political prophets have been predicting for the past year? Where, too, are the brigade of disintegration journals which were so faint-hearted a year ago?

THE THIRD HOUSE.

Of late, it has become fashionable to air virtue by abusing "the lobby." The "lobby," or, as it has been termed, the "Third House," unlike the other two, falls back for its support solely on its brains, its character, or its impudence. It is fortified by no certificate of election. It cannot, in its weakness, lean back on a *fascis* with a gilt eagle perched on top of it, nor has it a sergeant to parade such potential mace, and has not, in all its ways and works, the adventitious aid of a single pillar or cornice to frown down the audacity of criticism.

Still, this "Third House" is an ancient and honorable body, quite as old as the other two. There have been lobbies since parliamentary bodies began to evolve themselves out of the chaos of protests and petitions. We have records of people who persisted in advising them ever since there was any to advise, and who advised them, whether they wanted it or not. This persistent, enterprising class of people, when there was any legislation that they wanted, went to work to try and get it. In their efforts, they have often been snubbed. They have been reminded, time and again, of their own utter worthlessness and insufficiency. They have been told that this is the one sin that prevents legislation from approaching a blissful period, similar to the *nic han* of the Buddhists, and that "lobbies" are like the itch, or other cutaneous diseases, and will only be ultimately cured by sulphur. The virtuous and callow representative sees the lobby in his dreams, and believes it a hideous demon. He exclaims, like another tempted individual "lauk, sir, you will destroy my wartue." He rushes into the house and fires off a resolution against it, and then, if he is pious, goes on his knees and prays that "the lobby" be hung, drawn and quartered, and the head and limbs stuck on the tallest lightning rods over each department of this virtuous Government.

Now, this "Third House" has sometimes performed its duties honorably, and, like the other two, sometimes not. Let us, therefore, in a candid spirit, inquire into this

"lobby." To see what it is, and *why* it is. To ascertain whether it must be, if it should be abolished, or remain just as it is, a scape-goat, to be sent every year to the wilderness bearing the sins of the other two houses on its shoulders.

A history of the rise and progress of parliamentary bodies has not yet been written. Our modern conception of the idea is not very old, still, for aught we know, such bodies may have existed and voted on the building of the ark, and wrangled in committee over the estimates for the tower of Babel. At the time of the European discovery of America, Spain was the only country in Europe that possessed a parliamentary body worthy of the name. The French Assembly of that day cut but a sorry figure, for the king was in the habit of taxing the people without even consulting them. The Parliament of England was only a little better. In point of fact, this representative power in Western Europe grew up in this wise. The Kings had often occasion to be jealous of the powerful nobles, and, in order to get a counterpoise against them, claimed to be the special champions of the people. They fished up the first germs of representative bodies, from the vasty deep of undetermined political powers. Once started on the Darwinian theory, they wiggled themselves into consequence. From assemblages to petition, they grew into assemblages to rule, and from hesitating protest, shaped themselves into clearly-defined powers. They fortified themselves by precedent, and began themselves with what they called constitutions. They were hatched to assail nobles and grew to assail kings.

Meanwhile, where was "the lobby?" The lobby was always there. It never forgot its interests or its functions. Sometimes it assailed a refractory parliament with petitions, and sometimes with brickbats, but persistently attempted to make an impression on them in some way.

It is with the lobby of the present day we have to do. And here it may be asserted that in modern legislation, the "lobby"

a legitimate and honorable function. For instance, a man wants an extension of his patent, on the plea that it took all the time he had, and all his money to bring his invention into notice. He may or may not be entitled to it ; but he certainly has a right to make his case. He has a right to do this by himself, or any one he chooses to employ. Everything being done honorably, and no corrupt means used to control legislation, we cannot see but what this function is just as honorable as that of the legislator. The law-maker has a different task. He is the master of his own time. He need not listen unless he chooses, but he should listen as far as his other duties give him opportunity. He is the servant of the people, and acts for them. It is his duty, with all the lights he can get before him, to act, if he can, wisely and conscientiously.

Let us put another case. Let us imagine a committee on ways and means. In all probability, several of them do not know bromine from borax. How they must be puzzled by the funny, outlandish names given to things importable and taxable. They are in agony over jutes and jute-butts. The multitudinous combinations and concoctions for dyeing, make them almost wish they had died before they came on the committee.

Before them comes an importer or manufacturer. He may or may not have his attorney with him. He may want something that is proper, or something that is improper. He may not want to pay all honest taxes himself and yet want to see that his business rivals do ; that there shall be no evasion of tax in new names. He can give the committee information they can get in no other way. It is true, he may attempt to mislead them ; that is their business. Under such circumstances the drawers of the committee-room resemble a miniature apothecary shop. Small bottles and small packages startle the astonished vision, and shock the parliamentary nose. Indeed, there are so many samples and "spirits of things," that the only thing that seems to be lacking is the "Spirit of God."

After all it is the ignorant, and not the experienced legislator, who is afraid of the lobby. The former knows little himself, and

is afraid to trust any one who does. Many persons are deeply interested in the legislation of Congress and of legislatures. The press advises and abuses them. Constituents insist on having something to say. Parties interested in legislation wish to present a case. Above all, if there is a person who has a just cause to prosecute, or an honorable interest to defend, who supposes that he can stay at home and leave some philanthropic Congressman to fish up his case from the depths of his own unaided consciousness, and push it through all the formulas and obstacles which lie between the presentation of a bill and final legislation, he is a fearfully deluded individual.

There is, therefore, a legitimate lobby, but there is an illegitimate one. The latter blackmails. A man comes to Washington with a good, honest case. He is waited on by jackalls who insist on "helping" him, or, if he refuses, who fight him. In the latter case, being repulsed by the claimant, they rush to some verdant Congressman, denounce the affair as "a swindle," backed by a "big lobby." The virtuous Congressman, who has been apprehensive that his virtue was not sufficiently appreciated, rises in his place, makes a speech against the measure ; probably defeats what was honest and just, and falls back in his seat with an extreme odor of sanctity and honesty, having, probably, been the dupe of the worst lobby jackalls in Washington.

Now it is time there was an end of all this nonsense. Every case has a right to be judged by its merits. No man ought to be denounced because some other man has done a wrong thing. Congressmen cannot escape the aroma of Pacific Mail, or Credit Mobiliers by turning up their nose at "the lobby." The lobby may be a good lobby or a bad lobby. It may be dishonest, and it may be stupid. It may seek to consume more time than the hard-working public servant can give. It may insist in dragging cases under the consideration of Congress which have no business there, although meritorious in themselves, but still the lobby is one of our institutions, and since no parliamentary body is without it, treat it decently and see that it behaves itself.

Nor can such propositions as were introduced last winter, to make the business purely professional, and limit it to a certain class of lawyers, be looked on with favor. This would not only have a tendency to throw much of the business into the hands of the most objectionable class, but would be an interference with that right of petition

which may not be abridged. The dignity and honor of Congress will never be maintained by holding its nose aloof from other men's sins. We question if its investigations are worth the time they cost, and no one will think any more of a member, or of the house, for vapid declamations against the lobby.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

The appointment of the Hon. Zachariah Chandler, ex-United States Senator from Michigan, to succeed Mr. Delano as Secretary of the Interior, re-animates the discussion which has, for several years, attended the various mutations in that Department. Before judging of the fitness of the new incumbent for this important portfolio, some inquiry may appropriately be made, as to the Department itself, and the nature of the functions with which it is charged. Preliminary thereto, it may be acknowledged that ever since its original organization, under the Secretaryship of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, Sen., this Department has been under a cloud, and subject to more or less severe animadversion and criticism by Congress and the press. Those from the latter source, have increased in severity of late years, not because, it must be borne in mind, that the Departmental service has grown more corrupt or feeble, but really because the press has, itself, become more active and influential. A natural consequence of its newly recognized power, is an inordinate desire on the part of those who have control thereof, to make themselves felt. Critics, as well as envy, like a shining mark.

The Interior Department has been open to criticism, apparently because the Department itself has, from the very beginning of its existence, been more or less, tentative in the duties and powers intrusted to it. It has grown experimentally from comparative insignificance into a place of great importance in the administrative affairs of this Republic.

This fact can be readily appreciated by a glance at the various Bureaus, which are gathered within the white walls of the Patent

Office building. The fact that the Interior Department, as such, has never had a distinct habitation and local abiding place, as have the Treasury, State, War, Navy, and the other branches of the Executive office, is a proof of the peculiar position it occupies. The building in which it is sheltered, is always considered to be the Patent Office. Sometime, it will be devoted entirely to the duties of that important bureau, which now almost forms a department within a department, of itself—the Commissioner being nominally subject to the Secretary of the Interior, but in reality, largely independent of his control.

The Patent Office is, then, the first and most important of the several bureaus, grouped together as the Department of the Interior. Its duties are widely known, and fairly understood by the general public.

Next in importance is the General Land Office, the Commissioner of which has supervision of our vast public domain, with its multifarious legal questions and interests, complicated at every turn, by the Spanish, French, and Mexican systems which, at different points, interfere with and make complex the admirably clear and simple one, adopted by the early statesmen of the Republic. The very name of this bureau is sufficient to show how widely its duties differ from those of the Patent Office. Then comes the Department's skeleton—the ghost that rises at every Secretary's festive board—that is—the Indian Bureau. The Commissioner is charged with the supervision, nay, the Government of about 375,000 Indians, widely scattered over a vast area, and in various stages of development—the best being poor enough, and the worst, affording a degree of

trouble and expense, utterly out of all proportion to the value of their aboriginal persons or belongings. We have inherited and cherished a mixed mode of dealing with them, which, in itself, renders anything like a straightforward and direct mode of administration, almost an impossibility. The recognition of a quasi-sovereignty as existing within the smallest band that maintains its tribal character, has been, through all time, the source of some corruption and real maladministration. The Commissioners have, perforce, seldom been men of wide knowledge of their wards, and when they were, the chances have been against their being uncorrupted by the peculiar influences, that circumstances and opportunities, and not persons, or parties merely, have generated.

To the Indian Office proper have, within late years, been added a three-fold system of inspection: 1st, By the Board of Indian Peace Commissioners, who are in the Department, and yet, cannot be said to be part of it; 2d, The Inspectors, provided for by Act of Congress, who, while they are officers of the Bureau, are largely independent thereof; and 3d, The organized church and missionary influences, which have been formed exterior to the Government, and yet are allowed to powerfully influence the whole administration of Indian affairs.

The Commissionership of Pensions, with its wide-spread duties—its great responsibilities, is an office which enters into the necessities of many thousand households, needy or otherwise. The wise or unwise administration of its duties, to say nothing whatever of its honesty, affects a larger circle of persons than any other of those that are now controlled by Secretary Chandler.

Then follow the Census Bureau, that of Education, and a variety of offices which have been added, one by one, as the needs of the public service required. The Interior Department is in charge of the Pacific Railroads, so far as their interests and those of the Government are united. It organizes and supervises the various geological and other surveys, which, under Professor Hayden, Major Powell, and others, have, of late years, so widely extended our knowl-

edge of the vast Cordilleras of the West. It has charge of a number of institutions and local interests, connected with the District of Columbia, such as the Metropolitan police, the Insane and Deaf-mute Asylums, the Columbia Hospital, &c. The distribution of public documents, as well as their publication, after authorization by Congress, is largely under its direction.

Imperfect and feeble as is this outline of the duties imposed on the Secretary of the Interior, the reader can readily apprehend from it, how difficult and diverse are the functions appertaining to the office. What is not so readily understood is, however, the fact that such widely extended systems and duties, as well as the persons charged therewith being scattered over so large an area, and obliged to deal with all sorts of acute persons, anxious to make for their own pockets, as large a profit as possible, out of the Government, and its necessary transactions in surveying the public domain, feeding and caring for the Indians, paying to the pensioners the bounty of the nation—must afford wide and often-open occasion for blundering, and quite often too, for frauds, not to be remedied, perhaps, until exposures have let light on "ways that are dark."

Allowing a large margin for the truth of what is charged in late years, and yet, it cannot be asserted with assurance that the administration of the Department of the Interior, is as liable to reproach to-day, or at any time during Grant's occupation of the Executive Office, as it was during the halcyon days of Democratic misrule and robbery, when Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior plundered the Indian trust funds, in order to advance the interest of a firm of Government contractors, who had been politically useful to the pro-slavery propaganda, by their employment and use of Border Ruffians to drive Free State settlers out of Kansas.

The Republican party received the Interior Department, not only depleted and plundered, as the others were, but crowded full with enemies, as well as with the tolerably well-cloaked plundering cabals and rings, which everywhere honeycombed the Indian and Land-services. It received it, too, under condi-

tions which practically prohibited, at the time, any thorough and reforming overhauling. The whole strength of the nation was turned to saving the life of the Republic. It was, therefore, under a cloud when Abraham Lincoln entered his first Presidential term. It remained in that condition, to a considerable extent, until his death, when all the conditions grew worse. At the same time, the work of the Department expanded in every direction. The Pension Bureau disbursed annually before the Slave-holders' Rebellion swelled the sum total to so sad an aggregate, less than eleven hundred thousand dollars. In 1864, it had increased to over four-and-a-half millions, and in 1866, it was over thirteen-and-a-quarter millions. In 1870, it was nearly twenty-eight millions, and at the present date, it has swelled to about thirty-one million dollars. The machinery used for disbursing one, has been expanded to handle an additional thirty millions. Agents had to be created; experts to be trained; new modes of book-keeping adopted; a whole detective system to be devised; clerks to be made competent; in fact, a series of experiments have had to be inaugurated—some of which could not, in the nature of things, fail to be extravagant, while it was impossible that every one of the many persons employed should prove competent, or even honest. But, careful investigation will establish the fact that this bureau has been, on the whole, both honestly and economically managed, even when compared with the general conduct of large, private corporations, whose business may be, or has been, more or less, tentative in details.

Take the Land Office, as another example. Under the sagacious administration of the Land Commissioner, appointed by Mr. Lincoln—an officer who declined a Cabinet portfolio and resigned the office he was then holding, rather than sustain Mr. Johnson's policy; under his administration the Land Office possessed a large surplus, by means of which the Department was enabled to complete the publication of the eighth census. The Land Office passed then under the control of one, now deceased, who, though able as a Chief Clerk, and remarkable as a stu-

dent, was practically incompetent as a responsible administrator. The business of this Office will be found to have grown greatly from 1864, on to the present date. The land-grant policy, as well as the demand for surveys in the west, owing to the large increase of population there, in consequence of the rapid development of the railroad system, stands sponsor for this increase. Though very much of the work thrown on the Bureau was new in character, and has been rapidly affected at times by changes in the laws relating thereto, the General Land Office has performed its many and important duties to the satisfaction of the country.

But it is the Indian Bureau on which public attention has been most fully directed. That all its dark places should be made visible, is quite reasonable, when one remembers how the lenses of the press have been concentrating attention thereon. At the time the Republican party assumed control of the Government, only a comparatively small proportion of the American people knew anything about Indian affairs. If any desire to convince themselves of that fact, let them turn over the files of the leading New York dailies, from 1850 to 1860, and then compare the same papers and the information they contain on this subject, say from 1865 to 1875. Rapid intercommunication is as the sunlight; noisome places are exposed in its gairish light. As a rule, these things were no more known to the Government than to the public, in the past. There were officials who knew and thrived on their knowledge, without doubt, but if their superiors suspected the illegitimate character of their gains, a larger subscription than usual to the next Democratic election fund, was a sufficient reply. In those days, contractors were regularly assessed for the benefit of the Democratic party. The next contract was expected to cover the amount, and it certainly did so. The loss of eighty thousand lives in the suppression of Indian wars, before 1860, and the expenditure of many score million dollars, will be seldom found subject of journalistic criticism in the "good old" *ante bellum* days. During the progress of the Rebellion (or after its first year closed), the

Government was compelled to keep on the Western frontier, from the Indian Territory to the British line, a force so large that it outnumbered the old regular army. All sorts of expenditures were created by new conditions, so arising. During the administration of Mr. Johnson, the corruption of the Interior Department was known and flagrant.

Since President Grant has been in office, the Indian service has cost more, it is true, but much more has also been accomplished. One source of constant trouble has been entirely removed. In 1868, the area from the 97th to the 113th degrees west longitude, and lying between the 37th and 43d parallels of latitude, embracing Western Kansas and Nebraska, the Territories of Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah, was open, and subject to constant Indian forays, incursions and wars, with all the horrors that attend them among a thinly populated and comparatively defenceless border population. The Northern Sioux, the Southern Comanche, the warlike Cheyenne, and the treacherous Kiowa, Apache, and Ute, made these regions their hunting grounds—laying lordly claims to ownership and control. There were at least 30,000 of these nomads. Where are they now? The region referred to has been cleared of their presence. It has cost less, too, of either money, blood, or injustice, than any similar operation in the history of our Indian relations. These tribes have been concentrated to the North and South—leaving the axial line of Continental development open to the free movement of the American people. They have not only been concentrated, but so located as to be permanently brought under control. They are also in the line of certain, if slow, progress—tribal and personal. The policy under which this has been accomplished, has been in a large degree experimental. There have been mistakes, errors, or worse, without doubt; but, considering the uncertainty of the problem, when first cast—the nature of the obstacles encountered, and the results achieved, that there has been so little of blundering or mal-administration, is a genuine subject of congratulation. The policy inaugurated by the President has not confined its beneficial operations to the area

indicated. The turbulent Dacotah Nation of the Northwest, and the murderous Apaches of the extreme Southwest, have alike been brought under tolerable control, and are now being so environed and hedged in as to make serious outbreaks in the future an impossibility. In fact, the President's policy is solving the Indian problem. The interest aroused in the experiment has placed the whole matter as in a calcium light before the country. Hence the severe, and often slanderous, criticism which has attended every step. The "independent press" often seems to have no other purpose than to create a sensation, make a point, no matter whether just or not, and exalt their own horn, at the expense of all other public functions in the land.

Now, what may be fairly and properly said of the new incumbent of the Interior Secretaryship? No just critic, knowing the conditions as they exist in the Department itself, will deny that the nomination of Mr. Chandler is one of the best made by the President. The Secretary has a wide experience, fully befitting him for the duties to which he is called. Not even his most virulent critics deny to him the possession of unblemished personal and public integrity; nor that of great energy, capacity for labor, clear-sighted sagacity, and a wide and comprehensive knowledge of public affairs, in just the relations which make a practical man best acquainted with the workings of this Government, political and administrative, that which is experimental in character, or bureaucratic and settled in method. A merchant on the Northwest frontier, with extensive knowledge of Indian and Land Office affairs; a successful political organizer, lifting up and leading the banner of a new and regenerative party; administering with credit the municipal affairs of the city of his home; going each year, for twenty years and more, face to face with the people of his own and other States to plead for the ideas of Liberty and the principles and policy of National Unity; standing for eighteen years a prominent member of the United States Senate, one whom Charles Sumner characterized, not more than five years since, as among the "most useful, intelligent and patriotic"

of his Senatorial colleagues, the only objection that is really urged against him is, that after a long life of services and earnest fighting against the gravest of national and political evils, is one that shows the character of the objectors—their own want of faith or political sincerity. Mr. Chandler is a sincere and earnest Republican, a strong and faithful partizan. No one will deny this impeachment, soft or otherwise, as it may be regarded. But no one can with truthful assurance assert that this partizanship has not been of a large and liberal type, aimed and directed to promote patriotic interests; nor do these critics pretend for a moment to believe it will be used in any other way, while his new duties are being performed. It may, then, be fairly considered that Secretary Chandler will be found to be pre-eminently "the right man in the right place."

Right here, in closing this hasty review of the Interior Department and the difficulties which surround its administration, it may be said that all the various stories put forward by the sensation-mongers of the "leading dailies," stationed at the National Capital, are wholly without foundation in fact.

Among the reports most persistently repeated is that as to the Secretaryship having been refused by a number of gentlemen, before being offered to and accepted by the former Senator for Michigan. This, it can be truthfully stated, has no other foundation in fact than that the appointment was offered by the President to *one other gentleman*, known to the country as a friend of General Grant, and a prominent citizen of Illinois, who has already been honored by an important diplomatic position. Mr. C. is the only other person to whom the vacant portfolio was tendered.

Then, as to the ill-will felt by members of the Cabinet toward their new colleague, a little exercise of common sense is sufficient to show the untenable character of the rumor. But it can be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that on the contrary, the appointment of Mr. Chandler is more than satisfactory to every member of the Cabinet. His ability and fitness is fully recognized; his long service and high integrity make him the peer of the proudest of those who sit at that

Council Board. So, too, with all the stories that prevail about changes in the department itself, the removal of General Cowan, for instance, all of them are mere falsehoods, blown upon the idle winds by idle journalists, who, in the lack of real news, illustrate the mischief that "Satan finds for idle hands (and pens) to do."

The country will be fully satisfied with Mr. Chandler's administration of his important duties, though his work therein will not be without a continuation of the annoyances to which his short acceptance of the Secretaryship has already been subjected.

A recent Berlin letter says:

"The internal reforms of Prussia was Stein's great achievement. In reading the royal orders which gave effect to his plans, in reflecting on the mind which could embrace so many subjects, in comparing the Prussia of to-day with the Prussia of the last century, one is almost appalled. With the single exception of representative parliaments—which were indeed in his plan—there is almost nothing distinguishing modern from medieval Prussia which does not owe itself to Stein. *He elevated the middle classes to political rights. He made citizens out of the peasant serfs. He established general rules regarding property, which were the same for peasant, artisan, and noble. He introduced a complete and liberal system of municipal government. He reformed the administration of the provinces and counties. He proclaimed the right of every man to learn and follow any trade he pleased. He emancipated the Jews, and obtained for them the doubtful privilege of military service. He reorganized the political machinery of the Government, defined more clearly the functions of each Minister, and the duties of subordinate bureaus. He likewise restored order to the confused finances of the kingdom. While doing all this, he was organizing leagues among the officers and nobles, which were intended to prepare Prussia for a renewal of the efforts to throw off the yoke of the French master.*"

As Gen. Wade Hampton has urged upon friends of the "Lost Cause" the example of Prussia, in resisting the first Napoleon, and in reorganizing the kingdom and people thereof, after that warrior had almost destroyed both, as one worthy to be followed by the South, it is an act of benevolence to point out what it is the ex-Confederate General desires his friends to follow and imitate. Von Stein was the first organizing statesman of the new Prussia. We fail to find any evidence, however, that Wade Hampton or any of his friends propose to repeat the illustrious example above outlined.

THE FREE SOUTH.

A famous English economist wrote—that whoever owned the land of a State, controlled its political affairs. Great Britain, and the former slave States of this Union, are in proof of the wisdom of this declaration. An examination of the condition prevailing before the emancipation of the slaves, will show, within the States that, in 1851, attempted rebellion, and were not defeated until 1865, as marked a tendency, area and conditions being considered, to the absorption of the land by a limited class of persons, as has, for more than a century, been the especial bane of Great Britain. Slavery grew apparently stronger with every year's increase of this monopoly. The United States census for several decades before the civil war, will show, also, that slavery grew, relatively, weaker in the States, or portions of States where there was exhibited a marked tendency to the subdivision of the land. In several States, some interesting facts may be gleaned. Take South Carolina, for example, and it could be established that the non-slaveholding whites, or those who owned but very few slaves, had gradually been pressed back from the fertile middle belt of counties in that State, into the more mountainous and sterile portions. The men who fought under Marion and Sumpter came of this stock, while the wealthier planters and larger slave-owners living nearer the coast, were neutral or Tory, to a considerable extent. Not, of course, entirely so, for there were men of heroic mould among them. But the descendants of those who made up the rank and file of the South Carolinian patriot force, are to be chiefly found among the "poor whites," as they have long been contemptuously called. In Georgia, similar conditions prevailed, and all through the rich valley of the Tennessee, in that named State, and in Alabama, too, may be found the evidence, as you ride over the larger plantations, of earlier settlement and smaller farms.

No well-informed reader or observer will, at this period of the world's progress, deny for a moment, that the most prosperous

countries are those in which the soil is secured by, and divided among, the largest number of persons. The vast recuperative powers of France are, in great part, due to the one magnificent result of her great revolution, which, sweeping away the feudal system, left her a nation of freeholders—a State founded on the most conservative elements to be found in human civilization—a free people living in free homesteads. Pauperism is a trivial evil in France, as compared with the growing curse under which Great Britain labors. The land monopoly and continued absorption existing there, is a fruitful source and principal cause of the necessities which make the poor rates so grievous a burden. Nearly sixty million dollars annually, is what the British people pay for the support of their paupers. Germany has grown strong with every year's growth of the system of peasant proprietorship, inaugurated in Prussia by Baron Stein and Count von Hardenburg, after the First Napoleon proved to the German statesmen, as he did to others, that the iniquities of the feudal system could not sustain great States. Italy is growing stronger. She has been able to maintain her aspirations for national unity, largely because of the material strength found in the fact that she possessed ten million peasant-farmers and land-owners. The troubles of European Turkey are, in the main, the result of land monopoly. When the Osmanlis broke up the Greek Empire and the Dacian Kingdom, they found themselves a war-like minority, obliged to make terms with the Slave and Rumelian possessors of the land. The process was sharp and direct. The land-owners became Moslems, and the feudal system was strengthened, contrary to the traditionary ideas of the Turks, who are themselves a branch of a stock that maintain, more or less distinctly, the common ownership of the soil. Where the Slave Moslems are not found, the Turkish Government controls the land-renting, or selling the use, under liberal conditions. All the leading disturbances in Turkey, of late years, grow out of the practical serfdom of the landless "Raqahs," or Christian peasants. Russia

is an example of how a vast change in conditions can be effected without great social disorders. The emancipation of twenty million of serfs in that empire has been effected with less disorder and cost than did the abolition of our system of slavery. This result is largely due to the underlying condition of the Russian peasant. He was *ad scripta gleba*—or, as they themselves expressed it—“we belong to the proprietor, but the land belongs to us.” The common ownership of the land in the village commune is the one great and radical distinction between the Russian slave and that of the working masses in other portions of the civilized world. The Imperial Government, as a matter of State policy, has been, for ten years past, actively engaged in establishing the same system in the Polish provinces of Russia, thus separating the peasantry from the upper classes, and thereby making a wide breach in the anti-Russian sentiments of that people. The condition of British India has been largely affected by past efforts, made in ignorance, on the part of Anglo-Indian officials, to break up the system of village or common ownership of the land. Since the Sepoy rebellion, however, attention has been called to native and race institutions and ideas, and the British rulers of the hundred million of people who inhabit the Hindoo peninsular, have found it to their interest to preserve the village communes against the rapacity of the higher caste natives, land-owners and usurers. It is probable that the many century-crowned stability of Japan and China, is due in large degree to their land systems.

Attention has been called to these facts, simply to illustrate the growth of free labor and its concomitant advantages, where the ownership of the soil is easily accessible to those who must work on it. The old Southern idea was the reverse of this. There are not wanting those who still hope and struggle for the maintainance of a baronial or land-owning class. But the forces of free labor are at work, in spite of all the efforts made by the land-owning minority. The United States census of 1870 establishes this quite conclusively. The following table is in illustration of the change that had taken place in the five years or so, following the surrender of the Confederate armies :

FARM AREA IN THE EX-REBEL STATES.
Total Improved and Unimproved Lands, Number of Farms, small and large, (per U. S. Census 1860 and 1870.)

STATES.	TOTAL ACRES IN FARMS.				Total number of farms.		Under three acres	From three and under fifty acres.		Fifty and under one hundred acres.		One hundred and under five hundred acres.		Five hundred acres and over.		Average size of farms in acres.	
	Improved.		Unimproved.		1870	1860		1870	1860	1870	1860	1870	1860	1870	1860	1870	1860
	1870.	1860	1870.	1860													
Alabama.....	5,062,204	6,885,724	9,898,974	12,718,821	67,382	53,128	.....	40,160	21,837	14,003	12,060	11,719	13,455	1,455	2,712	222	346
Arkansas.....	1,859,821	1,983,313	5,737,475	7,590,393	49,424	39,004	.....	33,153	21,626	7,640	6,957	3,465	4,231	166	876	154	245
Florida.....	736,172	654,213	1,637,369	2,266,015	10,241	6,568	.....	7,069	3,514	1,355	1,162	1,570	1,432	247	288	232	444
Georgia.....	6,831,856	8,062,758	16,816,085	18,587,732	69,956	62,003	.....	32,170	17,353	18,371	14,129	17,490	18,821	1,925	3,504	338	480
Louisiana.....	2,045,640	2,707,108	4,980,177	6,591,468	28,481	17,328	68.	19,363	7,730	3,838	3,064	3,753	4,955	792	1,532	247	536
Mississippi.....	4,209,146	5,065,755	8,911,967	10,773,929	68,023	42,840	.....	46,032	19,879	11,967	9,204	8,938	11,408	1,086	2,349	193	370
North Carolina.....	5,268,742	6,519,284	11,576,668	17,215,685	93,565	75,203	293	55,281	27,811	22,167	18,493	13,819	19,220	1,005	1,495	212	316
South Carolina.....	3,010,539	4,572,060	9,094,741	11,623,859	51,859	33,171	188	35,847	8,266	8,48	6,930	7,112	11,369	594	1,811	233	488
Tennessee.....	6,843,287	6,795,337	12,737,935	13,873,828	118,141	82,368	170	70,925	31,930	27,778	22,829	18,803	21,903	462	1,079	166	261
Texas.....	2,964,833	2,650,781	15,431,687	22,693,247	61,125	42,891	717	42,873	22,120	10,890	7,857	6,268	6,831	377	555	301	591
Virginia.....	8,165,040	11,437,821	9,980,871	19,679,215	73,849	92,605	137	27,683	27,500	17,203	21,145	26,636	34,300	2,125	3,523	246	324
	46,937,283	56,332,254	119,803,950	142,644,192	692,076	549,109	2,190	416,556	269,565	143,415	123,883	119,636	147,925	10,234	19,344	281	394
Average size of farms in these States (fractions omitted),																	

Average size of farms in these States (fractions omitted), 281 | 394

It will be seen that the census of 1870 shows one subdivision which is not found in that of 1860. This is that of farms under three acres—without doubt, market gardens, in the main located near the seaports and large towns of the South, and devoted to the raising of vegetables and fruits. It will also be observed that the largest increase of farms is in the smaller divisions, there being a total of 114,574, under twenty acres in extent, against the 92,416 additional farms, between twenty and fifty acres in extent. Again, there is a total increase of 206,990 farms, under fifty acres each, against an increase of but 14,532, of those between fifty and one hundred acres each. And it is more than probable that a considerable number of all the additional farms, between forty and one hundred acres in extent, are obtained from the Public Lands of the South, through the settlements made under the amended homestead act of 1866. The smaller farms are generally owned by the freed people.

It will also be observed that, while there is a large increase in farms under one hundred acres in extent, by the census of 1870, there is as marked a decrease in the number of the larger farms. The following summary will establish this:

SMALL FARMS.	Total No. Farms.	
	1860	1870
Under three acres		2,190
From 3 and under 50 acres	209,566	416,556
From 50 and under 100	123,883	143,415
	333,449	562,161

Increase in 1870 of farms under 100 acres.. 228,712

LARGE FARMS.	Total number of farms.	
	1860.	1870.
100 and under 500 acres...	147,925	119,636
500 and under 1,000 acres	10,344	10,243
	167,269	129,870

Decrease of large farms in 1870..... 37,399

The annexed table still further illustrates the changes in this direction, giving, as it does, the number of farms between three and fifty acres:

† A decrease.

* Total increase.

The foregoing will bear further examination. It will be observed that in the smallest division the largest increase is to be found in those States where the freed people are most numerous, as in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Arkansas also shows a large increase, principally along the Mississippi, in the southeast counties of the State. The States named show a total increase of farms, less than ten acres in extent, of 38,579 in number. The next division, of from 10 to under 20 acres, show, in the same States, excepting Arkansas, a total in such farms, to the number of 30,081. Herein, the States with the largest white population have a majority, Texas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, alone having 29,558. In the last and largest division (up to fifty acres) the States of Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, show a total of 53,077 such farms.

Taking the total increase, and it will be found that the five States in which the colored people are in excess of the whites, show an increase in such farms to the number of 87,254, or over two-fifths of the total. Taking population into consideration, and the result is far more favorable. The following summary will show this :

	No. of Farms from 3 to 50 acres.	Total Pop.
Ex-Rébel States having an excess of whites.	119,739	6,039,103
Do. of colored	87,254	3,455,253

The foregoing figures will give one of the small farms indicated to each thirty-nine and one-half persons, in the States containing a minority of the white population, while in the other six States the proportion is as one farm to about each fifty and two-fifths persons.

It will be seen that there is a decrease exhibited by the census of 1870, in the farm area of these States, as compared with the census of 1860. A similar decrease is exhibited in the cereal productions. Cotton, however, had not decreased. The total farm area was—in 1860, 198,976,446 acres; in 1870, 166,491,233 acres, a decrease in area of 32,185,213 acres.

Examination, however, will show an area of improved land as large in proportion to the whole area, within the farm boundaries, at the census of 1870, as was the case in 1860. At the latter date the area under cultivation was not quite three and one-third acres to the total farm area. In 1870 it maintained the same relative ratio. This proportionate equality of cultivation is due, doubtless, to the remarkable increase of small farms, which these tables show to have taken place.

The results thus exhibited were a consequence of but five or six years of free labor, under conditions not at all advantageous. The five years that have elapsed since the last general census was taken, have not been retroactive in this direction, in spite of the period of business disasters which have been a part of them. The reports of various boards of trade, &c., at New Orleans, Galveston, Mobile, Savannah, Wilmington, Charleston, Richmond, and Norfolk, all speak of the remarkable increase of small "truck farms," and the growth of a new business to large dimensions, in the shipment to Northern markets of early vegetables and small fruits. The Southern papers teem with paragraphs, showing that the colored people are eager to become land-owners, and that in a large degree their laudable ambition is being realized. A partial exhibit for 1874-5, in the State of Georgia, shows, in 48 of the more populous counties out of the 138 in that State, that the changes indicated as sure to result from free labor, are becoming rapidly manifest. The following summary is interesting :

Acres in corn, 659,996; wheat, 125,537; clover, 2,370; cotton, 549,396; tobacco, 542; gardens, 5,124; total, 1,342,965 acres.

These figures are from data collected by the State Department of Agriculture, and show, it is stated, a very large increase in the land under cultivation, especially for cereals. The number of hired hands is stated at 12,926, evidently showing that there is a considerable number of white persons belonging to the land-owning class, who work on the soil—a habit heretofore considered unbecoming them. The number of acres of rented land is given at 21,110,

and of the hands working on shares, 19,024—making a total working force of wage and share laborers, in the counties embraced, of 31,950.

At this point, the following figures, from the census of 1870, are of value. In the census of 1860, or those preceding, no figures are given as to wages paid for farm labor; but it may be safely assumed that the total for 1860, in the first division, did not exceed in the States under consideration, one-fifth of the amount reported for 1870, or about \$19,200,675, as much the largest portion of all agricultural labor was performed by slaves. The ninety-six millions, stated to have been, in 1870, in the ex-rebel States, will not cover, by any means, the total amount, as it does not include the amount earned by the laborers working on shares, who form a very large proportion of Southern farm labor.

RECONSTRUCTED STATES.

	Total amount of farm wages paid during 1870, including board.
Alabama.....	\$11,851,870
Arkansas	4,061,952
Florida	1,537,060
Georgia.....	19,787,086
Louisiana.....	11,012,789
Mississippi.....	10,326,794
North Carolina.....	8,342,856
South Carolina.....	7,404,297
Tennessee.....	7,118,003
Texas.....	4,777,638
Virginia.....	9,753,041
	<hr/> \$96,003,386

BORDER STATES.

	Total amount of wages paid during 1870, including board.
Delaware.....	\$1,696,571
Maryland	8,560,367
West Virginia.....	1,903,788
Kentucky.....	10,709,382
Missouri	8,797,487
	<hr/> \$31,667,595

Now, accepting the sums above named, and what do they prove, in conjunction with the large increase of land ownership? Beyond question, the fact that, in spite of all obstacles, the new order of society is winning its reforming and regenerating place.

Wendell Phillips once used a remarkable illustration, in regard to the pro-

blem of the South. It has been alluded to before, but will bear restatement. The Southern problem, he said, in substance, was like that the New England town-meeting proposed to accomplish. A new jail was needed, and the town-meeting, therefore, resolved:

1st, That we will build a new jail.

2d, That we will use the old jail while building the new.

3d, That we will build the new jail on the old site.

4th, That we will use the materials of the old jail in the construction of the new one.

Exactly this, is what the nation, under Republican Government, has been compelled to attempt, in the former slave States. A new temple is being constructed. The old one must still be, in large part, used. The old materials form a most important part of those necessary for the greater edifice, whose walls rise very slowly, but whose foundations are being, it is shown, surely and securely laid, and imbedded on the granite itself. The new materials are there, visible to all men. Hardly used, it is true, but becoming more shapely and comely, year by year. The stone rejected by the original builders, is to be the corner and crowning-stone of the nobler structure. Let the work press forward, as it surely will, until in all fair and stately beauty, the Free South stands before us, symmetrical, noble and massive—a fit abode for a free people, redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled.

THE private or trustee savings banks of Great Britain report annually to the Government. At the close of the year ending Nov. 20, 1874, there were 474 of these banks, being seven less than for the preceding year. The number of open accounts was 1,463,560, and the amount due depositors was £41,467,171, or about \$207,335,855. The increase in accounts was 18,071, and in deposits, £941,320, or about \$4,706,600. The average deposit was about six dollars, and the number of receipts, 1,835,763. The number of withdrawal payments was 983,608, the payments averaging \$42 each. The trustee savings banks do not show any decrease in the total deposited, though the Government or Post-Office banks, have increased their receipts from \$25,000,000, in 1864, to \$115,000,000, in 1874.

SOUTHERN FATUITY.

Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, ex-Lieutenant-General in the defunct Confederate army, is a gentleman of far more than ordinary natural ability and force of character; a man of culture, too, and a citizen of whom it may well be supposed, that, according to his lights, he desires the well-doing of the community in which he lives. He is, however, an admirable illustration of what is not so admirable in itself—the man whose prejudices make him fatuous; whose usefulness is destroyed by illusions, and whose civic outlook is controlled by what has been, not animated and aroused by what is to be done, or ought to, or may be achieved. He is one of the foremost leaders of the "Southern Historical Society," and pleads for the "Lost Cause" with the robust vigor of a soldier passionately attached to what he defended.

The men who "marched to the music of the Union" are not inclined to decry or deride this spirit; the people who sustained in the field and worked and suffered to help on the final victory, will not throw stones at the manly Confederate who pleads for the dignity of his sacrifices. But all of us, as citizens, have another duty to perform. That duty is to see that the great issues which animated the armed strife are not lost to view, either by the corroding indifference of prosperity, or the sentimental halo which Time throws around great deeds of courage, the clash of arms, the shock of contending armies.

It must not be forgotten that organized injustice made a "Lost Cause" for Southern eloquence to "spoon" over. Without slavery, and the organized attempt to nation-

ate Sovereignty" secession," would nity even of an respectable party. ne of provincial-narrowness that, n of government, on of speculative ng out of our de-ntal unification, have forever ex-

cluded it from the domain of practical affairs. Slavery alone, by its control of fifteen States, its monopoly of valuable staples, and its wealth-making quality, lent to these doctrines a force not otherwise available.

The leaders of the "Lost Cause," cannot avoid the infamy attaching to their endeavors to create a vast confederacy, the corner stone of which was to be African Slavery. They would be very willing to draw the veil on that fact, and confine the discussion to the differing theories of sovereignty and government, which is, as then, and is now, assumed to be justification for all that was done, or, in fact, what may hereafter be attempted.

Just as in 1861, and the preparatory years that preceded it, "State Sovereignty" and the "Right of Secession" were put forth to unite a people who, though apparently profiting by slavery, could not have been induced to plunge into revolution on its behalf alone; so now there is a studied and well-directed effort to revive the doctrine of "State Sovereignty" as a vindication of the South and its "Lost Cause,"—the real object being to re-assert in law, government, and its administration, the doctrine of human inequality before the law, and thereby achieve the overthrow in fact, if not in form, of all the safeguards established by Republican policy for the vindication and maintenance of its cardinal doctrines.

None are so blind as they who will not see. General Hampton presents a capital example of this. In an elaborate address, delivered at the organization of the Southern Historical Society, he appealed fervently to Southern "patriotism" (!) to preserve the memories of the rebellion. He set forth that—"As it was the duty of every man to devote himself to the service of his country in the great struggle which has just ended so disastrously, not only to the South, but to the cause of Constitutional government under Republican institutions in the new world; so now, when that country is prostrate in the dust, weeping for her dead who died in vain to save her liberties, every pa-

patriotic impulse should urge her surviving children to vindicate the great principles for which she fought. * * * These are the imperative duties imposed upon us of the South ; and the chief peril of the times is, that, in our despair at the evil that has fallen on us, we forget those obligations to the eternal principles for which we fought ; to the martyred dead who gave up their lives for their principles ; * * * and to our children who should be taught to cling to them with unswerving fidelity. If those who are to come after us, and to whose hands the destinies of our country are soon to be committed, are properly instructed in the theory and practice of Republican institutions ; if they are *made* to comprehend the origin, progress and culmination of that great controversy between the antagonistic sections of this continent, which began in the convention of 1787, and ended, for the time being, at Appomattox in 1865, they cannot fail to see that truth, right, justice were on the side of their fathers, and they will surely strive to bring back to the Republic those cardinal principles upon which it was founded, and on which alone it can exist. * * *

"Our care should be to bring her (the Republic) back to her old and safe anchorage." * * *

Having made these plain avowals, Gen. Hampton illustrates his ideas of devotion by citing examples from other histories than that of his own section. He is unfortunate in this ; especially where he launches forth in vigorous praise of Prussia. He appealed to the South not to lose heart, but to "cherish the spirit of freedom" and to remember that there is always "hope for a people who will not tamely give up their rights, and who, amid the changes of time, the trials of adversity, remain steadfast to their convictions that liberty is their birthright."

To illustrate this, Wade Hampton added :

"When Napoleon, in that wonderful campaign of Jena, struck down in a few weeks the whole military strength of Prussia, destroying that army with which the great Frederick had held at bay the combined forces of Europe, and crushed out, apparently forever, the liberties, seemingly the very existence of the great State, but one hope of her disenthralment and re-

generation was left her—the unconquered and unconquerable patriotism of her sons. As far as human foresight could penetrate the future this hope appeared but a vain and delusive one ; yet only a few years passed before her troops turned the scale to victory at Waterloo, and the treaty of Paris atoned in part for the mortification of that of Tilsit."

The fatuous spirit of the foregoing is apparent when it is borne in mind that it was not for liberty but slavery that the South struck its heaviest blow, that the Confederacy was the aggressor, and not the Union ; that the Nation has never oppressed, but enfranchised ; that it never invaded but to defend its own ; that the victorious cause in our war, was not like that of Napoleon, the cause of a foreign invader, reaping the success of his own ambition, but the resistance of a people "slow to anger," who had been roused by a treacherous attempt to create within their own borders and out of a common territory, a foreign nationality and power.

But it is not alone in the differences of fact which exist as to the rebellion itself, that the fatuity of this Prussian illustration is most apparent. Its incongruous appropriation by Wade Hampton can be made most strikingly evident by using the words by which he himself describes the means of its regeneration :

* * * "She educated her children by a system which made them good citizens in peace and formidable soldiers in war ; she kindled and kept alive the sacred fire of patriotism ; she woke the slumbering spirit of the Fatherland ; and what has been the result of this self devotion of a whole people for half a century ?"

Of course he recalls, as such, the recent defeat of France by Germany under the leadership of Prussia.

Yet every step by which Prussia trained her people to the great end now achieved, is the opposite of that which Wade Hampton and his confreres have recognized, supported, or do now maintain.

Under the lead of Baron Von Stein and Count Von Hardenburg, as ministers, in 1810,—the period of Prussian humiliation by Napoleon—the King did, what ? Let a recognized authority, compacting history into brief space, reply : "But during this

riod" (the six years following Jena) "the statesmen of Prussia laid the foundations of its subsequent greatness by *unfettering labor and commerce, by granting municipal self-government, and basing the military power of the State on the people.*"—*Appleton's Cyclopaedia, vol. xii, Prussia.* In other words: the monarchy of Prussia, in resisting foreign invasion and oppression, which she herself had not provoked, threw itself almost unrestrained into the arms of the *whole* people,—abolishing serfdom; bringing about the destruction of the federal system; a great subdivision of the land, which is still in progress,—the free and compulsory system of public education, *open to every child in the land, from the elementary school to the highest university*; the equalization of taxation, and many other reforms.

Not one of these, or its equivalents, lies within the purview of Wade Hampton, or his associates, of the "Southern Historical Society." He and his waged war to *perpetuate*, not *abolish*, serfdom. He and his are opposed to the establishment and maintenance, at the public cost, of an equal system of free schools. He and his do not recognize one-third of the entire population of their section as part of the people to be appealed to for the cherishing of sacred memories, the

defence of liberty, or to be trained into civic usefulness and capacity. At the best, they only admit their right, not to legislate, or represent themselves, but to be legislated for, and represented by others, to wit: the superior race, who fought for slavery, and now defend it as a "lost cause."

There is not a single fact in the history of Prussian regeneration and greatness, which sustains a single one of Wade Hampton's fallacies and assumptions. If any one has the right to draw encouragement from the example of Prussia, it is the soldiers and statesmen of the Union—the men who fought for its integrity, and those who have moulded its victories into imperishable institutions. It is they, who, trusting the people, the whole people, Wade Hampton, as well as Beverley Nash—his one-time body-servant and slave—the Union soldier and the Confederate, also; the freeman and the *freed*-man, have sought—by impartial citizenship, equal educational opportunities, laws so equitable that all should acknowledge the fact—to build broad and high an enduring popular Government; a perpetual Union; a perfectly free Nationality; against which, even the wrath of the Southern Historical Society may not prevail.

"IMPERILED MISSISSIPPI."

Such is the significant caption of an article appearing in the *Memphis Appeal* a few days before the recent election in the State named. An apology is due to truth for so terming such a flagrant falsehood as occurred there on the 2d of November. An election, in the true sense, did not take place; but, by means of a systematic and organized plan of judicious murder and well applied violence, on the part of an armed minority, the majority were rendered powerless. "The South" watched that process with strained attention, and the Democratic party everywhere welcomed with plaudits the atrocious policy. In the North, a small knot of jaundiced politicians and journalists, who make their "cake and ale," by shouting lustily "none of it for us—we are independent"—have exerted themselves to

encourage, after the manner of vicious boys, the malignants who were engaged in harrying the poor and defenceless.

The State of Mississippi has a legitimate Republican majority of at least 25,000. Yet the minority have carried the State Treasurer, Legislature, and three out of six Congressmen. Fuller advices are necessary before making a careful annalysis of the whole affair. But enough is known to justify the statement that the whole proceeding was one of the vilest character.

The circumstances are phenomenal, not so much because of the acts done in Mississippi, as of the manner in which the results have been received by the country. Unfortunately, in such communities as make up the Mississippi Democracy, it is a fact, that peace, or-

der, fair elections, and the lack of organized murder and outrage on the part of one class against another, would be so different from what is usual, as to be truly looked upon as a matter of wonder. No misrepresentation of Republicanism, in or out of office, is too vile for Pro-Southern use. No terrorism, it is evident, is too great to be exercised, if it can be done in any reasonableness of security, by those who run the White League and are determined to bring every Southern State under subjection. These are no Cassandra-croakings — the facts, as regards Mississippi, are too self-evident.

But the manner in which the situation is being misrepresented, needs to be exposed. Organized violence and oppression in the State itself; systematic denunciation and falsification, with regard to Republican and Northern-born loyalists, are the roads by which the White Leaguers travel to their end. Even the Southern Democracy have found out that an active public sentiment at the North is a power to be dreaded. The passage of the Ku-Klux legislation of 1871, and the overwhelming defeat of Mr. Greeley in the following year, were proofs to their leaders of the potent power of this corrective. Since then they have shrewdly, and with great skill, shifted their ground. The campaign since then, so far as the North is concerned, has been one of cunning defamation, aided in this by a malignant and sensation press, who have the capacity to make the worse appear the better cause, and catching, too, a reflex tide in the currents of opinion, a large degree of success has been achieved in the work of defamation. Up to a certain point, Mississippi Republicans have escaped, not the infliction of organized terror, but that of systematic slander.

During the past year, and especially in the campaign now closing or closed, all the ingenuity of the most skillful of political managers in and out of the press, has been devoted to destroying public confidence at the North in the honesty of the State and local Republican officials of Mississippi. One week preceding the election, the *Memphis Appeal*, in an editorial under the caption borrowed for this article, so vigorously

expressed the Democratic spirit and policy, that it is worth while quoting some few sentences. It is declared that—"The liberty, the prosperity, the peace, the tranquility, the property, the very existence of the people are jeopardized, and they are working with the energy of despair. With anything like a fair election, the tax-payers will triumph over the tax-eaters."

Tennessee Democrats are then advised that they must aid—mark the euphony—"not by the importation of voters, but by *thwarting the attempt to inject fraudulent votes at the precincts contiguous to the Tennessee line.*" The italics are not the original. It proceeds to declare that the colored "repeaters" are to be imported by the Republicans—the accusation being made to cover the large Democratic increase, which will surely be observed in the returns from counties adjacent to Tennessee and Alabama. After urging the appointment of committees from Memphis to visit the Mississippi polling places, it proceeds to declare that "The fight which the tax-payers of Mississippi are making for that peace and quietude which pervades Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Virginia and Tennessee since their deliverance from carpet-bag rule, commands the sympathy and admiration of the whole South. We have an abiding faith in the success of the tax-paying people. The suffering masses understand the vital issues involved, and they are aroused, determined to triumph."

Governor Ames and "his corrupt place-men" were denounced, and then the writer adds that the struggle is one "between corrupt, prostituted power on one side, and the tax-paying people on the other. It is to decide whether carpet-bag domination shall be perpetuated, or whether its shameful reign shall give place to law, order, economy, honesty and reform. It is to decide whether the prostrated industry of Mississippi, occasioned by a hostility of races and high taxes, shall continue to languish, or whether it shall be quickened and fostered by rigid economy, wholesome legislation, and harmonious relations between the whites and blacks, whose interests are identical. The long continued extravagance and reckless

abuse of power of the Radicals, their success in arraying the blacks against the whites, have been the fountains of all the evils that beset Mississippi. The honest masses, white and black, see that there can be no healthy energy and prosperity so long as the State is rent by hatreds, antagonisms, the prolific sources of riots and outlawry."

It is declared that Republican rule has "been one long steal since the carpet-baggers assumed control of Mississippi. They have never sought to rebuild the land ruined by the war. That would have been their ruin."

These be grave allegations. If true, they would justify the bitterest denunciation, the most energetic action the law and the potential ballot could justify. But in spirit, and as to the letter, in the main, they are wholly false. It is part of the Southern Democratic campaign. It is part of the stock-in-trade of certain newspapers of the Northern cities. As to the material prosperity of Mississippi, it is far better than there was fair reason to hope for, so soon after a desolating war. As to the administration of the public trusts entrusted to them, the Republicans of Mississippi may point with pride to their record as contrasted with that of their Democratic predecessors.

"Comparisons are odious" of course. Two wrongs can never make one right—try as one may to achieve the impossible. Hence, there is no justification for Republican dishonesty, in proving that Democrats have been more corrupt. But if the cry of "thief" comes from thieves, whose acts necessitated the summoning of a national *posse comitus* for their suppression, it will be just as well to look into the facts they are now distorting. Here is a table of disbursements, in Mississippi. The last two years are those of the military reconstruction government; the others were made under Democratic control:

1858	\$614,659.52
1859	707,015.00
1860	663,536.55
1861	1,824,161.75
1862	6,819,894.54
1863	2,210,794.23
1864	5,446,732.06
1865	1,410,250.13
1866	1,860,809.89
1867	625,817.29
1868	525,678.80
1869	463,219.71
	\$23,271,569.47

Subtracting the last two years, \$988,898.51, from the above total, and there is left \$22,282,670.96, or an annual average expenditure for the preceeding ten years of \$2,228,267. Of course these disbursements include the rebel expenditures during the war, but deducting, say, one-half of the seventeen millions and more they spent during those years, and it will be seen that even the so-called "ordinary" expenditures were very large and must have been profligate in character.

The Republican expenditures have been small compared to these figures, especially when it is remembered that a large degree of reconstruction, such as the rebuilding and refurnishing of public edifices, &c., has had to be done, and the whole machinery of government has necessarily had to be enlarged to meet the demands of the large increase of citizens, which emancipation and enfranchisement added to the body politic.

During the first official year, (1870), under Republican rule, the State of Mississippi spent \$1,061,249.90, of which total it is claimed that \$444,608.22 was paid out for interest on funds, "stolen" by the Democrats and to pay for repairs &c., to the State edifices. Compared with 1858, this sum is \$66,444.69 less than expenditures of that year, and \$157,800.17 less than those of 1859.

The average expenditures of the twelve years, from 1858 to 1869, estimating the political community to be governed according to the census of 1860, was \$62.95 for each individual, and for every year \$5.24 for each person. The gross expenditures even in a depreciated currency (greenbacks) of the first year of Republican rule for "ordinary" and "extraordinary" purposes, was but \$1.28 for each individual of the political community, estimating the population by the census of 1870. If the taxes were paid by white people alone, it would be only \$2.78 per capita. The amount for only "ordinary" purposes, reducing it to gold, if the whole amount were paid by whites alone, would be only \$1.44 to each individual, but for both races, constituting the constituent political community, now governed and protected by the laws, it was *only 66 cents each*.

The charge is made that the State debt of

Mississippi is over \$4,000,000. The funded and floating indebtedness is, by the State Treasurer, shown to be as follows :

Bonds due in 1876.....	\$100,000
Bonds due in 1876.....	150,000
Bonds due in 1877.....	65,000
Bonds due in 1877.....	250,000
Bonds due in 1878.....	107,250
Bonds due in 1879.....	65,000

\$737,850

University trust bonds to be de- ducted.....	\$230,000
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Bonded debt.....	\$507,000
Certificates of indebtedness.	194,000
State warrants in circulation July 1, 1875.	374,000

Large payments have been made recently and the probable present indebtedness of the State is about \$500,000. The repudiation by the Democracy of the State debt of \$24,000,000, or thereabouts, which they themselves had recklessly contracted, is not a matter to be forgotten by Americans jealous of the People's good name.

But it is not alone in repudiation and rebellion that the Democracy of the *ante bellum* days, (whose leaders are still in command of the party there,) exhibited the worst reasons for not trusting them, but in their ability to perpetuate the grossest corruption and still hold possession of the State.

Look for a moment at the records. The General Government, that is, the representatives of the whole people—the Union—donated to the State of Mississippi not less than 5,630,882 acres of land for the purpose of aiding internal improvement, this total being prior to the rebellion of 1861. In addition thereto, every sixteenth section of the public land in the State was given for the endowment of common or public schools. Mississippi, before reconstruction, and under Democratic rule, only succeeded in insulting the primary instincts of American life by establishing, as an apology for a free school system, a poor or pauper school in each of the several counties. But the school land was all frittered or stolen away. At one time \$2,000,000, from this source, was invested in the Planters' Bank, by order of a

Democratic Legislature, and entirely lost. The chief managers were Democratic politicians. The schools have lost the income. A most instructive history of Southern Democratic misrule would be found in the system of spoliation carried on against the common schools land. In Mississippi the fund arising from their sale was lost as stated. In Arkansas it is well known that the State was swindled out of the proceeds by a combination or ring, of which United States Senators Sebastian and Johnson, rebel Democrats, were the recognized leaders. In Alabama the result is as bad, though the details are not so flagrant. The land was under the control of the township trustees, and the charge has been recently re-made, that the larger part of the proceeds passed into their pockets, and were often used to educate their own sons at universities at home and abroad. Many townships were owned by a very few planters, who divided the school fund—the negroes being of course excluded, and the "poor whites" being either absent or few in numbers. These illustrations will serve to show the facts existing elsewhere in the Southern "Land States." The entire amount of land donated by the General Government to Mississippi is equal to one-sixth of its whole area. The Democratic party had the control of the State of Mississippi, continuously for thirty-five years. It had the management of its property, and the result is seen in the squandering of the whole, accompanied, too, with the destruction of its credit. The annexed figures are taken from the State reports, made to the Legislature by Governor McNutt, and the State Auditor, Mr. Saunders. They show the gross amount of which the State was plundered :

Value of Lands donated by the Federal Government.....	\$16,000,000
Two and three per cent. fund..	1,000,000
Sinking Fund.....	500,000
Borrowed from capitalists abroad.....	7,000,000
Interest due on same.....	15,000,000

Total..... \$40,500,000

Nor is this all. The State records teem with proofs of corruption. Here are some items : In 1848 \$70,000 was appropriated for

he purchase of slaves to work on railroads being built by subsidized corporations. In 1839 the office of State Engineer was created at a salary of \$5,000 per annum—a sinecure. In the session of 1835, only fourteen general acts were passed, against seventy-four acts also of incorporation, and fifty-five of a private character. From 1835 to 1840, all the State employees and workmen were paid in currency depreciated to forty cents and less on the dollar. So one might go on indefinitely.

The following table of receipts and disbursements will serve to show, as specimens, how admirably Democracy managed the State finances during *ante bellum* days. How does it look in the suit of tax-payers vs. tax-eaters of which the *Memphis Appeal* talks so pointedly?

Year	Receipts	Expenditures	Excess of Latter
1839-'40.....	\$161,161 79	\$491,632 15	\$330,470 36
1841.....	161,811 28	539,457 75	377,606 47
1856.....	736 531 18	825,562 53	89,031 37
1858-'59.....	624,236 16	756 500 19	132 264 03
1860-'61.....	163,760 00	498 570 10	332,210 10
1862-'63.....	9,270,449 81	8 126,055 55	*

* Excess of Receipts \$1,144,394.26.

In 1866-7, there was an excess of receipts over expenditures to the amount of \$52,462.38. Nobody seems to know what became of that sum, and it never appears to have been transferred.

But the period immediately preceeding reconstruction is filled with striking examples of the spirit of Democracy. The "Johnson" Legislature of Mississippi, in common with that of other States similarly situated, passed a code of most infamous laws designed to nullify emancipation. But let that pass, as a topic sure to divert us from the logical conclusions to which these statements point. The fiscal legislation of those three years was as corrupt as the laws relating to the colored people were inhuman and infamous. The land tax was designedly made a mere bagatelle, and so arranged that a new valuation should not be effected for several years. But every occupation, of whatever character, was subjected to onerous burdens. The number of such taxes were counted by the hundreds. A tax of one dollar was also laid on every bale of cotton. The rate for general taxes was five mills on a dollar. When the Republicans

assumed control, the rate was reduced to four mills, the cotton tax and a large majority of the other special taxes on industry and occupations were repealed; all others being reduced. It is because the land has properly been made to bear a fair share of the burden, that the outcry has been so vigorous.

Two other illustrations of Democratic honesty and economy may be mentioned, and a contrast afforded by Gov. Alcorn's action while Republican Executive. In 1857, Gov. McRea employed a prominent Democrat as State agent to proceed to Washington and collect certain moneys due the State by the National Government. Here is the itemized return:

Due the State.....	\$107,000.00
Deposited by the Agent as received by him.....	97,000.00
Charged for collecting the same	15,709.85
Actually received by the State	\$81,290.15
Total cost and loss to the State	\$25,709.85

In 1870, Gov. Alcorn (Republican) was authorized by the Legislature to proceed to Washington and receive from the General Government Agricultural College scrip for \$221,000 acres. An appropriation of \$500, was made for his expenses. The Governor went, received the scrip, proceeded to New York, sold it for \$180,000, returned to his State within ten days, deposited the money in the Treasury, returning also a portion of the \$500 appropriated for his expenses.

During the same period ('65-7,) members of the Legislature were paid \$8, per diem, officers and pages \$8, \$6, and \$3 per diem. Mileage was 40 cents per mile. Now it is 20 cents, and the per diem is \$7 for members. Tax collectors were allowed 5 and 3 per cent on collections. Sixty thousand dollars were appropriated for destitute confederate soldiers. *Twenty thousand dollars were appropriated for the benefit of Jefferson Davis, and twelve hundred dollars for the payment of a commission to visit Washington and ask for his release.*

These facts gathered from the records of past Democratic misrule in the State of Mississippi, are a sufficient reply to the claim that party makes of purity par-excellence in public affairs, and by contrast, they show how false are the charges made against the

Republican State administration. The truth is, that these charges are as much a part of the system, as the denunciation of "carpet baggers," the murder of Republican leaders, and the terrorizing of the hardworking and inoffensive negro loyalists. It is one side of the campaign. Another is seen in the *Memphis Appeal's* adroit use of the phrases "tax-payers" and "tax-eaters." As if on one side there were none but persons of property, and on the other, none but the idle and dissolute poor. This latter assertion is as false as is that of corruption. The Northern men who have settled in Mississippi are, in proportion to their numbers, large property-holders and tax-payers. The Southern whites who have associated themselves with the Republican party are, like Governor Alcorn and Flournoy, men of large means. Considering their opportunities, the negroes will show as many tax-payers as the laboring or "poor white" class will do. The census of 1870 shows that in Mississippi there had been an increase in small farms as follows :

Over three and under fifty acres.....	26,153
Over fifty and under one hundred acres.....	2,763
Making a total of.....	28,916

This fact is sufficient to prove that the growth of the freed class has been rapid, for it is among them that the ownership of these farms will chiefly be found. The constant reiteration of the assertion that the Democratic "whites" of such States as Mississippi are the property holders in a special sense, and that no one else can lay claim to such a title, is not only disproved by such facts as that given in relation to the increase of small farms, but it is also shown by the figures of the census in other respects. In the State of Mississippi, according to the numeration of 1860, the number of white inhabitants was 353,899; of slaveholders, but 30,943; and of landowners, (outside the towns,) only 42,840. The large majority of the whites were landless, non-slaveholding, poor, and illiterate. They are all these to-day, and it is that fact, with the bitter jealousy aroused by seeing the real progress made by the freed class, that intensifies their anger and makes these people—the poorer whites—ready tools for the designs of the Democratic leaders. Mississippi is, indeed, "imperiled," and those who have done the deed will surely be the greatest losers.

THE UNITED STATES, SPAIN, AND CUBA.

Discussion over the "Cuban Question" is the order of the day. The situation, it must be confessed, presents dramatic features. There is Don Carlos in Spain offering to unite forces with Don Alfonso for the defense of the "Ever Faithful Isle" against an insurgent people and a rapacious enemy. The *London Times* in its most startling *basso profundo* swells the shrill chorus raised by the American press, and declares that the Government of this Republic either means war against Spain or uses the words of a bully as only a coward would do. Home critics assert with great gravity and detailed incident, that the President of the United States is designedly fomenting the causes of war for the purpose of gratifying his own lust of power and the ambition of party friends. Within sight almost of our Southern shores lies Cuba. The flames of her burning plantations and the blood of her people—bond and free—patriot and Spanish

—mingle together as fearful evidences of the desolation and ruin that daily extends.

Let us examine the situation then as it relates to the United States, Cuba, and Spain, with a view to ascertaining, if possible, the attitude of the administration and the country, as represented by its policy, towards this matter. These things appear :

1. That the United States and the Kingdom of Spain are still in a friendly and peaceful attitude towards each other. They are old and faithful allies. Nothing has been done by this Government, since it has been under the control of the Republican party, to change these relations. There are unsettled questions, however, which require adjustment. They are both general and special.

2. Our treaty relations with Spain require more careful enforcement and prudent readjustment. The important treaty—in fact, the only one to be so considered—is that

which was framed and ratified in 1795. The following articles are, in part, those which must be considered in this connection:

Article VII.—And it is agreed that the subjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, their vessels or effects, shall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other for any military expedition or other public or private purposes whatever. And in all cases of seizure, detention or arrest for debts contracted, or offences committed by any citizen or subject of the one party within the jurisdiction of the other, the same shall be made and prosecuted by order and authority of law only, and according to the regular course of proceedings usual in such cases. The citizens and subjects of both parties shall be allowed to employ such advocates, solicitors, notaries, agents and factors as they may judge proper, in all their affairs and in all their trials at law, in which they may be concerned, before the tribunals of the other party; and such agents shall have free access to be present at the proceedings in such causes, and at the taking of all examinations and evidence which may be exhibited in the said trials.

Article XI.—The citizens and subjects of each party shall have power to dispose of their personal goods within the jurisdiction of the other by testament, donation or otherwise, and their representatives, being subjects or citizens of the other party, shall succeed to their said personal goods, whether by testament or *ab intestato*, and they may take possession thereof, either by themselves or others acting for them, and dispose of the same at their will, paying such dues only as the inhabitants of the country wherein the goods are shall be subject to pay in like cases. And in case of the absence of the representative, such care shall be taken of the goods as of a native in like case until the lawful owner may take measures for receiving them; and if questions shall arise among several claimants to which of them the said goods belong, the same shall be decided finally by the laws and judges of the land wherein the said goods are; and where, on the death of any person holding real estate within the territories of the one party, such real estate would, by the laws of the land, descend on a citizen or subject of the other, were he not disqualified by being an alien, such subjects shall be allowed a reasonable time to sell the same, and to withdraw the proceeds without molestation, and exempt from all rights of detraction on the part of the Government of the respective States.

Careful perusal of the above will satisfy any layman, as well as the best read of diplomatists, that the conditions existing in Cuba

during the past six years have resulted in bringing about many and serious violations of the rights of American citizens, as guaranteed under the foregoing provisions. A joint commission is now in session for the settlement of the claims so arising, as well as of others not connected therewith.

But it is the more rigid and vigorous enforcement of these claims and of the rights of our citizens, exposed to infringement by forces that are practically uncontrollable by the Spanish authorities, either in Madrid, or Havana, on which hangs one point of the present discussion.

The other is found in the re-adjustment that it is more than probable our diplomacy is seeking, in the character or construction of the 7th and 18th articles of the treaty of 1795. The same provisions are found in the Netherlands treaty, made by Mr. Adams in 1785, and in the French treaty of 1788, but they have since been abrogated. They contain phrases under which the right of search has been claimed, when either party to the treaty shall be a belligerent, authorizing, it is asserted, its ships of war to stop merchant ships of the other party, visit them and inspect their papers, if they are found "either sailing along the coasts or on the high seas." Under them, Spain, it is claimed, could search our merchant vessels, if this Republic accorded belligerent rights to the Republic of Cuba. Such a claim is on general grounds, and in the advance of maritime and international law, wholly inadmissible in practice and could not be submitted to. Out of the effort of Minister Cushing to negotiate a re-adjustment of this provision, and some others over which there is a difference of construction, has grown all the current talk about a possible war with Spain.

The last, and the all pervading fact, is the existence of such a terrible state of affairs as now prevails in Cuba. The Madrid Government has tried for six years to suppress the rebellion and is now further from doing so than ever. The facts prove this and will not be seriously controverted. Nor can it be denied that the sympathies of our people are avowedly with the patriots, and that many naturalized Cuban-Americans

are involved with their former countrymen, actively and passively. Yet the United States *has always been and still is struggling to preserve the peace*, as between herself and the parties engaged in the struggle. The Government of this Republic has acted with stern impartiality, leaning if at all to the side of Spain, not however from approval of her course, but from a clear and distinct desire to fulfil every international obligation.

This policy has been so far successful in preserving the peace. It has seemed to some—nay, many citizens—as if at times it had been so at the cost of national honor. Yet, a great people can afford to be generous towards one that is struggling through a period of terrible transitions. Cuba is, however, a matter of gravest concern to us, as well as to Spain. The condition of affairs there is a stench in the nostrils of civilization. It is a nuisance under our eyes, growing more rank every day. The wholesale devastation; the ruin of all industries; the increasing blood-thirstiness that prevails, combined with the daily growing desperation of the Spaniards, accustomed so long to rule therein and seeing their sway departing, make the task of a peaceable solution, so far as our position is concerned, more and more fraught with increasing difficulties. The annexation of Santo Domingo, which President Grant urged, was rejected with scorn by the same influences that first denounced him for efforts to keep the peace, and then deride and mock at him as seeking to precipitate conflict and war for the unholy purpose of gratifying his personal ambitions. Yet it can now be seen that the policy it would have inaugurated must have largely accelerated a right solution of the Cuban problem.

It may be said with authority, that there is nothing whatever to justify these reckless assertions—these shameless and scandalous criticisms. The President has neither promoted or favored any scheme calculated to advance personal or party ambitions.

There is nothing in the Cuban situation more alarming than what has always been existing. The recognition of Cuban belligerency is a policy that might lead to a war with Spain—especially, under Spanish interpretation of the eighteenth article of the Treaty of 1795.

It is a matter, therefore, to be judged by the light of prudent reason and the facts in the case—facts that affect us as well as Cuba and Spain—and not by the natural sympathy and sentiment for Cuba we all feel so keenly—the President and his Cabinet equally with the most modest citizen. One thing the country may rest assured of, and that is, that the Administration of President Grant has no desire for war, with either Spain or Mexico, as some have asserted. Every effort is being made, and will continue to be, with due regard to national character and circumstances, to maintain honest peace with all the world—and with our Continental neighbors especially.

The men who led and the men who fought on the Union side during the four bloody years of civil strife that followed Rebellion are not the men who, for ambitious purposes alone, personal or national, desire or endeavor to plunge this generation into another war—even though it be against Spain, and to aid the Cuban Patriots. The policy of President Grant is still found in the celebrated phrase with which he accepted the first Republican nomination for the Presidency—“LET US HAVE PEACE.”

NEW YORK 33D CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.—Hon. Nelson J. Norton, the new Republican member just elected to fill the vacancy in the Thirty-third District of New York—caused by the death of Mr. Allen, Democrat—is a farmer, and a resident of Hinsdale, Cattaraugus county. He was an old Whig, and has been an earnest active Republican ever since the organization of that party. Mr. Norton is not a politician, and has held but one office, we believe, that of member of the lower house of the Legislature of New York, some years ago. Last year Mr. Sessions (Republican,) was defeated by some 2,500 votes, and when the vacancy occurred, the Republicans of Cattaraugus claimed the member, and Mr. Norton was nominated, although he did not seek the place. He is elected by some 1,500 majority, notwithstanding, as the *Johnstown Journal* says, some opposition from Republicans who were defeated in convention. This election gives a majority in the New York delegation in Congress, and secures the State in case the election of President is thrown into the House of Representatives.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

.....The recent elections have been treated at length elsewhere in the present number of THE REPUBLIC. This remains to be said: that the general tone of the opposition press shows the moral effect to be greater than the actual results achieved. There is a considerable amount of graveyard courage, whose manifestation is exhibited by reckless talking and loud whistling, as the nervous Democrat hurries through the "God's acre!" in which he finds himself belated. But it would be very easy to change the sound to a shriek of fear or a wail of despair. The practical results of the elections held during the year past, can be seen in the following list of Governors, or the other leading State officials chosen:

States.	Office.	Name.	Rep.	Dem.
Kentucky	Governor	Jas. McCreary		1.
California	"	Wm. Irving		2.
Maine	"	S. H. Conner	1.	
Iowa	"	S. J. Kirkwood	2.	
Ohio	"	R. B. Hayes	3.	
Massachusetts	"	A. H. Rice	4.	
Maryland	"	J. S. Carroll		5.
Minnesota	"	J. S. Pillsberry.	5.	
Pennsylvania	"	J. F. Hartranft	6.	
Wisconsin	"	H. Luddington	7.	
New-York	Sec. of State	J. Bigelow		4.
Cal.*	Supt. Pub. Inst'	— Carr	8.	
Nebraska	Chief Justice	G. D. Ladd	9.	
Mississippi	Treasurer	W. L. Hemingray	5.	

*California held two State elections.

Kentucky, New York, New Jersey, Kansas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland, Nebraska, and Iowa all show an increased Republican majority in their State Legislatures—the gain, in nearly every instance, being quite large, and in all worthy of note. In the next number of THE REPUBLIC an effort will be made to tabulate the official results in each State, so that it may become a matter of reference.

CONGRESS.

.....The organization of the Forty-Fourth Congress, especially of the House of Representatives, has been a more fruitful theme of discussion during the past month than even the recent elections. There is considerable excitement among the opposition politicians to the Speakership, but so far as

the Republicans are concerned, they may properly use an expressive, if not dignified phrase, and declare that it is "none of their funeral." The Republican minority will undoubtedly cast their votes for James G. Blaine, their recognized parliamentary leader at this time. So far as we can judge, the prospects are in favor of the Democratic caucus settling finally upon the Hon. Samuel Randall as their choice for Speaker. Mr. Randall is a fair compromise. He is not very offensive in his devotion to the South, and he is not a "doctrinaire," in his devotion to anything else. On the money question, his election must be regarded as an inflation victory; chiefly so, because the Tilden clique, force the most extreme representative of the free trade and hard money school forward as their representative. The Hon. M. C. Kerr—a suggestive alliterativeness of sound not justified by the personality of the gentleman, is Mr. Randall's most formidable opponent. Both are able men, in spite of their very bad politics and the associations it entails. All other candidates are merely names. Mr. Walker of Virginia, and Messrs. Cox and Wood of New York, are without much real strength, though it is asserted that ex-Governor Walker is likely to develop considerable force as a compromise between Randall and Kerr. He may be named "Mr. Facing-both-ways," as he accepts both views of the financial question, according to the company he is in. He is a fine specimen of the Democratic "carpet-bagger." There is an under-current worthy notice, and that is the quiet prevailing over the other appointments. When the smoke clears away, it will be found that the Southern Democrats have secured the lion's share of the patronage for their section. As they constitute the principal portion of the party, it is but fair they should be rewarded all the more, that a majority of those sent to the House strenuously sought to prevent such rewards from ever being realized, by their persistent efforts to destroy the Union. The Democratic majority has been increased six votes—three each from California and

Mississippi. The Republicans will have an additional vote from Oregon, though losing five from Mississippi and California. There will be thirteen contests in the States, and one from the Territory of New Mexico. There are nine Republican seats contested, two by gentlemen of the same party, and four Democratic seats disputed. The House will contain two "Independents," General Banks and Prof. Seelye of Massachusetts, and three "Liberals," Willis, New York; Banning, Ohio, and Goodin, Kansas. These unfortunates can take an unlimited number of the paper "founded by Horace Greeley," and console themselves with their party's misfortunes. The session will prove of great interest, and the proceedings will be watched with grave attention.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT.

..... The alarm aroused by the recent danger of Mr. Wilson has subsided. The Vice-President has had at least one experience altogether pleasant, though it is to be trusted the occasion may not soon arise for a similar manifestation. We refer to the general alarm and sympathy felt everywhere at his danger. Mr. Wilson's life has made up so large a share of the political and patriotic history of the past thirty years, that every one felt his threatened demise as a personal sorrow and national loss. His dangerous sickness gave rise to a very interesting discussion, that, in the event of a vacancy occurring before Congress, as to who would fill his place. The Constitution provides for this, or any other emergency, in the following terms:

ARTICLE I. (5) In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The only law upon this important subject, is that of March 1, 1792, which declares that the President *pro tempore* of the Senate shall act, or, if there be none, the Speaker of the House, shall assume the Chief Executive

functions. It also provides that, in case both offices become vacant, the Secretary of State shall order an election, except when the vacancy expires within two months of the first Wednesday in the December preceding the close of that Presidential term. The election or appointment of Presidential Electors, when vacancies occur, is to be not less than thirty-four days before the first Wednesday in December of the same year, provided the vacancy occurred at least two months before that date. If it do not so occur, the election shall be for the same date in the next year.

The mooted question was, whether or not the Senate had a President *pro tempore*. The House is of course still unorganized, and it lies within the possibilities that it may remain so for some time to come. There could be but one answer to the first question. Senator Ferry, of Michigan, is, at this writing, the duly selected presiding officer of the Senate, in Mr. Wilson's absence. If he should be unable to attend the Senate on the 2d inst., Mr. Ferry will take the chair and call that body to order. Had Mr. Wilson died, Mr. Ferry, by law framed in pursuance of the Constitution, would have become acting Vice-President. The Senate is a permanent body, though it is its custom to select its committees at every session, and its officers whenever it has deemed it proper to do so. It may well be considered, however, whether or not there is not a serious possibility involved in the loss we have so gladly escaped.

A contingency might arise some day in the history of the Republic, whose results would be momentous. Suppose for a moment that both a President and Vice-President should be stricken down by death, or otherwise be incapacitated from performing their duties, and the Senate had failed to provide a President *pro tempore*, or he, too, was dead, the House being also unorganized and without a Speaker, how then would the temporary occupation of the Executive office be provided for?

..... In the list of Vice-Presidents already elected, six vacancies have occurred—three by death and three by reason of the death of the contemporaneous Presidents and the occupation of that office by the Vice-Presidents. The

three deaths in office were George Clinton, of New York, who was elected with Mr. Jefferson, for his second term, and re-elected with Mr. Madison. He died at the Capital, during the session of Congress, in April, 1812. He succeeded Aaron Burr, and served from March, 1805. Senator Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, filled the balance of his term, which expired March 30, 1813. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, was elected to succeed Mr. Clinton, and died suddenly, at Washington, Nov. 23, 1814, having served less than 21 months. Senator John Galliard, of South Carolina, being President *pro tempore*, assumed the Vice-Presidency and served out the term. William R. King, of Alabama, was elected Vice-President with President Pierce, in 1852. Before the day of inauguration his failing health compelled him to visit Cuba, and the oath of office was administered at Havana, by the Consul then resident there, acting under a special act passed for that purpose. Mr. King never assumed the parliamentary duties of the office, and died at his home, April 17, 1853, the day following his arrival there. Mr. King had served as President *pro tempore*, and was succeeded in the Vice-Presidency by David R. Atchison, the Missouri Senator, who was a leader of the Border Ruffians in the forays against the Free State citizens of Kansas. He was a participant in the sacking of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, and himself fired the first shot at the Free State Hotel. Atchison became very dissipated, went to Texas during the rebellion, returned after its collapse, and died, a few years since, at his home, in Platte county, Mo. At the time of Mr. King's death the Senate was without a presiding officer, and by consent, when it assembled, the Secretary, Asbury Dickens, called the chamber to order and put all the preliminary questions. Mr. Atchison had previously served as presiding officer through the term of Vice-President Dallas.

.....The other three vacancies were John H. Tyler, of Tennessee, who became President by the death of Gen. Harrison, April 4, 1841. Mr. Tyler took the oath April 6th. Senator Southard was elected President *pro tempore*, and became therefore acting Vice-President until his Senatorial term ex-

pired. He was succeeded by Senator Mangum, who filled the chair until the Presidential term expired. On the death of General Taylor, July 9th, 1850, Vice President Fillmore assumed the Presidency. Senator William R. King was then President *pro tem.*, and remained as the acting Vice-President. His ill-health compelled the Senate to elect a temporary President, in the person of Mr. Atchison, December 1852. Mr. King was, as before stated, elected Vice-President with General Pierce as President, and died within two years, Mr. Atchison exercising the functions and finally assuming the office. The assassination of Mr. Lincoln, April 14, 1865, placed Vice President Johnson in the White House, and made Mr. Foster, United States Senator, from Connecticut, the President *pro tempore*, acting Vice President, until his Senatorial term expired, when General Benjamin F. Wade was elected to the position. This, probably, had an important bearing on the impeachment of President Johnson, as there was considerable opposition on the part of Mr. Fessenden's friends to Mr. Wade.

The contingency herein suggested, is possible, and should be provided against by law. It is a little singular that the mortality in both these high offices, since the Government was first organized, should thus balance each other.

Of those who have held the office of Vice President, Hannibal Hamlin, Schuyler Colfax and Henry Wilson alone survive. Of those who have held office as Vice President, Messrs. Burr, Calhoun, Van Buren, R. M. Johnson, Tyler, Dallas, King, Hamlin, Andrew Johnson and Henry Wilson had served previously in the Senate; Gerry, Tomkins, Fillmore, Breckenridge and Colfax had served in the House; and Calhoun, Richard M. Johnson, King, Hamlin and Andrew Johnson had served in both Houses. John Adams, Jefferson and Gerry were signers of the Declaration of Independence. Six have also held the office of President, through the decease of the incumbents, and the others—John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Martin Van Buren—by election. One—John C. Calhoun—resigned before completing his term. We sincerely trust, and in this know

that we express the voice of the American People of all parties, that the present honored incumbent will live out not only his full official term, but that his days may "be long in the land" he loves so well and has served so faithfully.

As THE REPUBLIC goes to press the death of Mr. WILSON is announced. "After life's fitful fever" he is at rest, peacefully and honorably, in the completeness of his honors, crowned with the enduring love of his countrymen, the sincere respect of those who opposed, and the confidence of all who sustained him. The life of HENRY WILSON is one typical of the best endeavors known to American history. Born in the very dregs of poverty, weighted in all his earlier years with untoward conditions that hindered progress to education, culture, position, the Vice President became in their despite—perhaps because of them—one of our foremost statesmen, a vigorous orator, a ripe and scholarly publicist, whose enduring fame will be preserved by the important contributions he has made to our historical literature. It may truthfully be said of him, he lived his life—not dreamed it. Few have been more honored and esteemed; none more useful in his forty years of public activity, than HENRY WILSON, the eighteenth Vice President of the United States. The Union has lost a worthy servant, the country a patriot of true and sterling integrity, and the Republican party one of its most trusted and sagacious leaders. It may be said, slightly paraphrasing Pope, that his was—

"A firm, yet cautious mind;
Sincere, though prudent; constant, yet resigned;
Honor unchanged, a principle profest;
Fix'd to one side, yet moderate to the rest.
An honest partisan, yet patriot, too,
Just to his foe, and to his country true;
Fill'd with the sense of age, the fire of youth,
A scorn of wrangling, yet a zeal for truth;
A generous faith, from superstition free;
A love to peace, and hate of slavery:
Such this man was; who now from earth removed,
At length enjoys the liberty he loved."

In the January REPUBLIC a review of Mr. WILSON's life and services, as well as that of Senator O. S. FERRY, of Conn., whose demise is also announced, will be given.

THANKSGIVING.

.....The songs of a people are said to be one means of swaying their opinions.

Without doubt, there is truth in this, as witness the effect of "Old John Brown," or of a people are also typical, indicating, as "We'll rally round the Flag Boys," "The Bonnie Blue Flag," or better still, "The Star Spangled Banner." But the holidays we trace back their origin, the sentiments or influences that have been most enduring. The Puritan "Thanksgiving" is a remarkable illustration of the deep hold a genuine inspiration possesses. Its continued and general observance justifies a claim that has been made, and that is, that the American character is one deeply imbued with religious reverence. Perhaps not with a marked love of worshipful forms, or the love of the creeds, but better still, bearing the deeper underlying spirit of worship that accepts unquestioningly the presence of the Divine in man and society, as well as in nature and her laws. The literature of "Thanksgiving Day" is often notable, and worthy preservation. We have seen nothing more quaintly simple and eloquent than the following from Governor Bagley's scholarly pen:

In the Name and by the Authority of the State of Michigan—Thanksgiving Proclamation.

In 1636 it was enacted by Plymouth Colony, that it be in the power of the Governor to order days of Thanksgiving as occasion might offer.

This expression of the reverent gratitude of our fathers has woven THANKSGIVING-DAY into our national life.

In compliance with this hallowed custom, I, JOHN J. BAGLEY, Governor of the State of Michigan, do recommend to the People of this State, the observance of THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25th, as a day of THANKSGIVING and Praise. On that day let us put behind us the labor and toil of the year, and in our respective places of worship, and by our hearth-stones, reverently acknowledge our dependence upon our Heavenly Father. Let our gratitude be shown by a broad charity for our neighbor, full and free, remembering, "that only the foolish ask, is this one of us, or an outside person? To the noble, the whole world is a family."

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be applied the Great Seal of the State of Michigan. Done at the city of Lansing, this sixth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundredth.

By the Governor:

[L. S.]

JOHN J. BAGLEY.

E. G. D. HOLDEN,
Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

NATIONAL THANKSGIVING.

In accordance with a practice at once wise and beautiful, we have been accustomed, as the year is drawing to a close, to devote an occasion to an humble expression of thanks to Almighty God for ceaseless and distinguished benefits bestowed upon us as a nation, and for His mercies and protection during the coming year. Amid the rich and free enjoyment of all our advantages, we should not forget the source from which they are derived, and extend our obligations to the Father of All Mercies. We have full reason to renew our thanks to Almighty God for favors bestowed upon us during the past year. By His continuing mercy, civil and religious liberty have been maintained; peace has reigned within our borders; labor and enterprise have produced their merited rewards, and to His watchful providence we are indebted for security from pestilence and other national calamities. Apart from the other national blessings, each individual among us has occasion to thoughtfully recall and devoutly recognize the favors and protection which he has enjoyed.

Now, therefore, I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, do recommend that, on Thursday, the 25th day of November, the people of the United States, from their accustomed vocations, do assemble in their respective places of worship, and in such form as may seem most appropriate in their own hearts, offer to Almighty God their acknowledgments and thanks for all His mercies, and their humble prayers for the continuance of His divine favor. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 27th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1875, and of the independence of the United States, the one hundredth.

U. S. GRANT, President.

HAMILTON FISH, Secretary of State.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

THE ANNUAL REPORTS—INTERNAL REVENUE—
REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR THE YEAR
ENDING JUNE 30, 1875.

The report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue exhibits tables showing the receipts from each specific source of revenue, and the amounts refunded in each collection district, State and Territory of the United States for the fiscal year; also the number and value of internal revenue stamps ordered monthly by the Commissioner, the receipts from the

sale of stamps and the commissions allowed thereon; also the number and value of stamps for special taxes, tobacco, cigars, snuff, distilled spirits and fermented liquors issued monthly to collectors during the fiscal year; also showing the territorial distribution of internal revenue from various sources in the United States for each fiscal year from June 30, 1864, to June 30, 1875, inclusive; also the aggregate receipts from each collection district, State and Territory for the fiscal year from June 30, 1863, to 1875, inclusive, and the total collections from each specific source of revenue for the same fiscal years; the receipts from special taxes under the act of June 6, 1872, in each collection district, State and Territory for the special tax year ended April 30, 1875; abstracts of reports of the District Attorneys concerning suits and prosecutions under the internal revenue laws during the fiscal year, and an abstract of seizures of property for violation of the internal revenue laws for the year. The Commissioner goes into an extensive history of the internal revenue system of the United States and the British excise system, noting the identity of subjects of taxation in Great Britain with those of this country before the internal revenue system of the United States had been reduced to its present limits, and exhibiting statements showing the amount of revenue collected, excise and stamps in the United States during the year ended March 31, 1875, expressed in pounds sterling and in United States money, from which, the Commissioner says, it may be some consolation to know that, grievous as are our burdens laid upon such of our population of 42,000,000 or more, as consume the articles taxed by our internal revenue laws, the British public, numbering less by one-fourth than our people, paid under their excise laws during the year ending March 31, 1875, taxes, measured gold of the United States, to the amount of \$183,962,756.56, against \$110,545,154.23 paid in currency by the people of this country during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1875. This comparison, if it does not reconcile such as find fault with our system as oppressive and vexatious, should modify their complaints, since it is apparent that a given amount of taxes from some source must, under all circumstances, be raised to defray the necessary expenses of the Government to discharge its obligations and maintain the public credit. At best it is a show of means, and all reasonable men will agree that in laying taxation, articles of luxury should be preferred to articles of necessity, and that the tax should be placed upon the product in the hands of

the manufacturers or producers, so that, as in case of customs duties, it is left a matter of choice who shall reimburse the manufacturer or importer the taxes he has paid.

THE RECEIPTS FOR THREE YEARS.

The report shows that the actual amount of receipts into the Treasury from all sources from and after June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1874, exclusive of loans and Treasury notes, was as follows:

Customs.....	\$1,973,710.367.91
Internal revenue.....	1,956,323,725.30
Direct tax.....	14,810,189.37
Public lands.....	22,151,918.02
Miscellaneous.....	236,084,982.94
Premium on loans and sales of gold coin.....	192,557,117.46
Total.....	\$4,395,638,311.00

Beginning with the year 1866, there has been a continuous repeal, gaining on year by year, of such internal taxes as were most oppressive, or at least as gave rise to most complaint, until at present, but few subjects of taxation remain. The taxes are now levied upon distilled spirits, fermented liquors, manufactured tobacco, snuff and cigars, upon articles embraced in schedule, upon such occupations, upon banks, checks, deposits, circulations and capital of banks. In a table exhibiting the sums collected during the several fiscal years ranging from 1867 to 1875 inclusive, it appears that the collections during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1874, were \$102,644,746.98, while the collections for the year ending June 30, 1875, were \$110,545,154.23, the collections for the former year having been, in consequence of the duties repealed from year to year, less than any single year since the system went into operation, except the first—1863—when the collections were \$41,003,192.93. The increase during the last fiscal year is owing, in part, to the increase of duties laid by the act of March 3, 1875, upon distilled spirits, manufactured tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, and in part to the taxes collected under the laws repealed, extraordinary efforts having been put forth by the Internal Revenue Office to collect the delinquent taxes due from banks and bankers, railroads, and other corporations, and taxes due on incomes, legacies and successions. A statement is given, showing the receipts under the act of March 3, 1875, up to, and inclusive of June 30, 1875, from the different articles subject to an increased tax, which were distilled spirits, cigars, cigarettes, and manufactured tobacco, showing a total tax returned of \$3,203,818.85. The tax returned upon distilled spirits was \$1,779,799.85, and the Commissioners says that it will, doubtless, be a matter of surprise, that the increased amount realized from distilled spirits during that period—March 3, 1875, to June 30, 1875—was so small. The explanation, however, is found in the fact

that it became generally known through the proceedings in Congress that an increase in the rate of the tax would probably be made, and distillers, in order to realize the benefit of the increase, withdrew from bonded warehouses, upon payment of the taxes at seventy cents a gallon, 5,430,021 gallons in the month of January, 1874, and the enormous quantity of 11,504,356 gallons in February following, leaving still in the bonded warehouses, over 7,000,000 gallons of spirits on March 3, 1875, the day when the increase of the tax from seventy to ninety cents per gallon was made by Congress. By law these spirits were allowed, after a bond was given, to remain in the distillery warehouse, one year before withdrawal, and these spirits have been, and still continue to be, placed on the market, subject only to the former duty of seventy cents per gallon. Had these spirits been subjected, like those manufactured after March 3, 1875, to a tax of ninety cents per gallon, the difference in the two rates would have yielded to the Treasury after the entire withdrawal from bond at least \$1,400,000.

THE RECEIPTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR.

The net amount of receipts from all sources of internal revenue during the last fiscal year, in the several States, is given as follows:

Alabama...	\$111,816.41	Missouri...	4,591,856.77
Arizona....	10,233.03	Montana...:	23,666.10
Arkansas...	71,823.39	Nebraska...	292,472.30
California...	2,983,595.19	Nevada.....	53,147.30
Colorado...	70,531.87	N. Hamp...	293,812.80
Conn.....	622,225.53	N. Jersey..	2,362,478.29
Dakota....	10,040.18	N. Mexico..	21,965.52
Delaware..	360,331.03	New York..	15,260,898.34
Dis. of Col.	111,027.97	N. Carolina	1,629,994.37
Florida....	184,547.31	Ohio.....	14,656,995.30
Georgia...	387,154.12	Oregon.....	47,939.64
Idaho.....	19,136.00	Pennsylva..	6,149,954.40
Illinois....	17,627,668.55	R. Island..	231,767.50
Indiana...	4,650,883.13	S. Carolina	120,818.00
Iowa.....	1,010,064.15	Tennessee..	858,910.50
Kansas....	133,535.94	Texas.....	257,448.37
Kentucky...	9,022,633.66	Utah.....	31,515.57
Louisiana...	583,151.85	Vermont...	53,251.85
Maine.....	107,261.90	Virginia....	7,659,639.97
Maryland...	2,755,845.41	Washington	21,146.60
Mass.....	2,670,491.15	W. Virginia	598,684.38
Michigan..	1,930,506.05	Wisconsin..	2,720,868.14
Minnesota	228,362.45	Wyoming...	11,942.11
Mississippi	96,085.38		

The results thus shown do not indicate that the States paying the largest amounts of internal revenue pay in proportion to their relative population or wealth, nor that the consumption of their tax paid commodities within their limits is in proportion to the amount produced, nor that they excel in general manufacturing enterprise. On the contrary, they rather show that whiskey is distilled in larger degree in the corn-growing districts; brandies in the fruit districts; that fermented liquors are brewed in sections of the country where barley abounds, or in centres where that portion of our foreign population, who prefer them as a beverage, are found in largest numbers, and that to

bacco, cigars, &c., are manufactured principally in, or near the tobacco-growing regions. Large cities, fortunate in their location, as accessible from all parts of the country by water and rail, constitute an exception to the general rule, since the manufacture of the raw materials is carried on largely there without much reference to the localities where those materials are produced, unless, indeed, the cost of transportation on bulky articles, entering into the manufacture, prove a hindrance to successful competition with the rural districts. New York is a notable example, yielding last year \$15,000,000 of revenue. It is neither a great corn nor tobacco-growing State. The city of New York is the point where most of the excisable commodities are produced, except whiskey. This is not made, to any extent, on account of the cost of bringing corn from the West, and the difficulty of successful competition with Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee, in the manufacture of that article. The number of distilleries registered during the year ending June 30, 1875, was 4,736, and the number operated, 4,608. Of the number operated, 656 were grain distilleries, seven were molasses distilleries, and 3,945 were fruit distilleries.

WHISKEY FRAUDS.

Public attention has been often called within the past few months, to extensive frauds committed in certain localities upon the revenue by distilleries and rectifiers of distilled spirits. The Commissioner says: "I propose, briefly as I can, to give an account: first, of the checks, guards and protections against frauds established by law; second, of the manner in which whiskey frauds, so-called, lately exposed, were perpetrated upon the Government; third, the extent of these frauds; fourth, the checks recently established to prevent a recurrence of the same; fifth, to suggest the legislation which, in my opinion, is necessary to insure a fuller collection in the future of taxes upon distilled spirits.

First.—The system of surveillance now in force at all distilleries to insure that none of the product may escape taxation, is based upon the presumption that all local officers are honest, and where such is the case, it works admirably, and does insure the collection of tax upon every gallon of spirits produced by the distiller. It could hardly be expected, however, that among every twenty-three hundred storekeepers and gaugers, some would not prove dishonest, especially since there is always near them, in the person of the distiller, if he happen to be an unscrupulous man, a tempter to move them by bribes. In order, therefore, to effectually prevent fraud, it is necessary to establish a system that shall surely detect it, and that

shall be followed by certain and severe penalties. With the distiller it is a matter of dollars and cents, so that if the risk in committing fraud is made so great that it does not pay, he will not only be honest himself, but will inform on others as a matter of self-protection.

THE PRESENT GAUGING SYSTEM.

The present system may be described briefly as follows: A storekeeper is assigned to every distillery, whose duty it is to record the time of the filling and of the emptying of every mash tub, to weigh every pound of grain that is used in the mash, and to see that the law is strictly complied with. The cistern-room, where the spirits are received, is placed in charge of a gauger, who determines the exact quantity produced and the gauge of each barrel into which the spirits are drawn. The pipes from the still to the cistern-room are continuous, so that the distiller has no access to the spirits until after they are gauged and the quantity determined. Each barrel filled in the cistern-room must be serially numbered, beginning with No. 1, and running consecutively without duplication. A warehouse stamp must then be affixed to the barrel, which stamp has also a serial number never duplicated, and shows the number of barrel, contents in proof and wine gallons, name of gauger and date of affixing. The barrel so marked is then placed in a warehouse on the distillery premises, where it can remain not to exceed one month without a warehousing bond, or not to exceed one year when such a bond is given. When the package is to be withdrawn, the Collector furnishes, on application and after payment of the tax, a tax-paid stamp, which is filled in with the same number of the package, proof and wine gallons as appears on the warehouse stamp, and has itself another distinctive serial number which is never duplicated. The package of spirits is now ready for market, and is so marked and branded as to enable any revenue officer to identify it wherever found, since no other package can exist legally with the same numbers, marks and brands. The distiller is required to keep a book in which he records a full description of each package, specifying all the marks and brands above specified, and the name of the party to whom each package is sold. The purchaser is required to keep a book which records a like description of the package, and states both from whom it was purchased and to whom he sells it. A complete record is thus kept of the whereabouts of each package of spirits until it is dumped for rectification or reaches the consumer.

THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS.

The system of checks as applied to rectifiers is as follows: A rectifier is permitted

to rectify spirits bought by him and place the same upon the market under a rectifier's stamp. When he purchases the spirits and is ready to dump for rectification he makes out a full description of the packages, giving all serial numbers, date of original gauge and name of the distiller producing the spirits, and sends a notice of intention to rectify the same to the Collector, who at once details a gauger to examine and regauge the spirits. It is this gauger's duty also to see the packages emptied and the stamps destroyed, and to certify the fact on the face of the rectifier's notice. An account is opened with each rectifier, in which he is credited with the total proof gallons of spirits so dumped and charged with the total proof gallons covered by rectifiers' stamps placed on spirits gauged out of his establishment. The Collector is not allowed to issue rectifiers' stamps for a number of proof gallons in excess of the number reported as dumped by the rectifier and gauger, as above indicated. It is thus apparent that if all the officers were honest, the above described checks would effectually prevent any spirits being sold in the market that had not paid the proper tax. To perpetrate fraud, the distiller must first obtain the consent of the storekeeper, to use more grain than his survey calls for. It has been proven by experience that a fermentation that will produce the largest yield of spirits from grain, cannot be made in less than forty-eight hours. The regulations, therefore, allow this time for fermentation, and forbid more than one filling of the tubs in seventy-two hours, thus requiring the tubs to remain empty for twenty-four hours. If, however, the distiller will prepare what is known as "quick yeast," he is enabled to complete a fermentation in twenty-four hours or less time, though with a loss of yield in spirits. This he can well afford if he can sell half of his production without tax. Having gained the consent of the storekeeper, who keeps his books as if the law were being complied with, the distiller makes two fermentations where one is allowed, and then has nearly double the quantity of spirits that the books show produced. The distiller who has this illicit product on hand does not dare place it upon the market in the only way possible—that is, by the re-use of stamps, since the detection of a single package so duplicated would subject him to the severe penalties of the law. He must, therefore, call to his assistance the rectifier, who, even if detected, is dealt with much more leniently by the law, while the difficulties incurred in detecting him are much greater than in the case of the distiller. To make the transfer of illicit spirits, from the distillery to the rectifying-house, the gauger in charge of the

cistern-room must either permit barrels to be filled and surreptitiously removed without stamps, or he must affix stamps which have once been used. If the spirits were removed to the rectifying house without stamps, no notice of rectification describing the same could be sent to the Collector, and therefore no credit could be had by which to obtain rectifiers' stamps.

TWO REMEDIES FOR THE DIFFICULTY.

Two methods of surmounting this difficulty have been in vogue. The first was made possible by the fact that rectifier's stamps have heretofore been so prepared that each stamp could protect any number of gallons which the gauger chose to fill in. This character of fraud will be best indicated by an illustration: A certain rectifier buys from a distiller, say one hundred packages of tax paid spirits, containing, say forty proof gallons each. He files with the Collector the descriptive notice above mentioned, and asks for an issue of rectifiers' stamps to cover 4,000 gallons of spirits after rectification. A gauger is detailed to gauge these spirits out of the rectifying tubs, carrying with him a book of blank stamps to be filled up according to the contents of each package. The gauger reports on a prescribed form that the rectifier has placed the 4,000 gallons in, say 100 packages, containing ten gallons each, and returns the stubs of the stamps, filled up in accordance with this statement. The packages so represented are afterwards found to contain, say twenty gallons each, and the stamps thereon are filled up in accordance therewith, so that in fact only fifty of the stamps were used to cover the "straight spirits," and under cover of the remaining 350 stamps 28,000 gallons of illicit spirits are placed upon the market. This case is by no means an extreme one, but is a fair sample of what was the constant practice in the specified. Second.—The second method of placing illicit spirits on the market is illustrated thus: The distilling house a number of spirits, upon which the tax has already been paid. The descriptive notice is filed, and a gauger details the stamps destroyed; while the stamps are not actually canceled are returned to the distiller, either the packages, with the stamps canceled, are returned to the distiller, or removed and placed by the distiller, on other barrels of spirits, upon which no tax has been paid. The notice is sent to the rectifier, and by some distant market with record of the transaction on the books. A modification of this consists in the rectifier's

fictitious notice containing a description of spirits which he has never received and emptying in place thereof an equal quantity of illicit spirits. In one of the two ways above described all frauds recently discovered have been committed, and the Government has lost thereby at least \$4,000,000 in the last two years. The frauds have mainly been carried on at four places, namely, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Chicago and Evansville, and all at distilleries producing what is known as "highwines." This class of spirits does not require ageing, as does the fine sour mash whiskey made for drinking purposes. It consequently does not excite suspicion to find highwines on the market to-day that were produced yesterday. This rapid transfer from the distillery to the market affords facilities for the re-use of stamps which is scarcely feasible with the whiskeys that require a year's warehousing before being ready for market, since it would be prima facie evidence of fraud if a distiller of fine whiskeys would not take advantage of the year which the Government allows his spirits to remain in warehouse without payment of tax. If once in warehouse the Government is sure of its tax, hence the comparatively small amount of fraud discovered in places producing fine whiskeys. As a further reason why fraud in these whiskeys cannot be perpetrated, it may be stated that as a rule they do not require rectification, and the frauds above indicated cannot be committed without the aid of the rectifier.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE ANNUAL REPORTS—THE LAND OFFICE— COMMISSIONER BURDETTE'S REPORT.

The report of Commissioner Burdette, of the General Land Office, contains the following statement of the business of his bureau, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875:

Disposals of public lands by ordinary	Acres.
.....	745,061
Locations	137,000
.....	2,358,057
.....	454,770
.....	9,432
.....	3,107,613
.....	47,721
.....	2,321
.....	142,384
.....	16,451
.....	8,614
.....	11,181
.....	7,070,271
.....	9,530,872
.....	2,480,601
as herds	\$1,784,001 27
Perito-	1,834,724,856
.....	26,077,532
.....	654,175,562
.....	680,233,094
.....	1,154,471,762

The falling off, as compared with the year immediately preceding, in entries, as evidenced by appropriations of public lands, under the Homestead and Timber Culture laws, is found to be \$1,501,880 26. This result may be attributed, in a large degree, to the devastations of grasshoppers, accompanied, in some places, by unusual drought in localities most inviting to homestead and timber culture settlements, to which causes must be added the falling off of immigration and the general business depression.

In the judgment of the Commissioner there will be a steady diminution in the future in this class of entries, because, in the locations most desirable for such settlement, on account of the fertility of the soil and character of climate, the lands have largely passed to private ownership. The building of railroads has induced settlement to the full, and perhaps beyond, profitable marketing of products. The purchase of this land in private ownership will thus be stimulated by the lack of desirable land for settlement which is now owned by the Government.

The report discusses the problem of the management of the mountain timber lands, and points out many difficulties and many ends to be attained, without presenting a definite method of solution. This land is not surveyed and sold under existing laws, and settlers and miners who need timber are necessarily trespassers on the domain of the United States. No attention is paid to the preservation of a proper proportion of the timber, which is necessary to prevent the too rapid melting of snows which supply the mountain streams, which, in their natural condition, are gradually fed throughout the summer. Timber on the western mountains is slow of growth, and when once cut off may never be renewed. The destruction of the mountain forests will greatly disturb the conditions of the water supply to settlements along the streams on the plains below. One suggestion is that the Government shall retain the title to these lands and sell the timber under certain regulations and restrictions. This plan is dismissed as impracticable, because it would be impossible to enforce the necessary conditions. The sale of the lands outright to the miners and settlers near is suggested as better policy, because these people would be interested in protecting themselves in their methods of using the timber and cutting it away. The Commissioner recommends a change in the Homestead laws, because of the new conditions under which the law operates west of the one hundredth meridian. The legislation heretofore has been controlled and referred to the conditions of the arable belt of the continent. West of the one hundredth meridian to the Cascade Range the country pre-

sents very different conditions for settlements. The geological, climatic, and physical conditions are all different. Agriculture, as understood in the valley of the Mississippi, has no existence. Irrigation is necessary to production. Only in limited areas can crops be secured without artificial methods of watering the soil under a system which would justify large expenditures and insure the utilization of all the water reaching the Valley from the mountain streams, and but a mere fraction of the whole area can be made fit for tillage. Homestead lands cannot be honestly acquired except in the inundated valleys of a few mountain streams. That cultivation and improvement required, which stand in the place of price, are impossible, and if attempted, are without result. For the vast area of land arable by irrigation, sales should be authorized in accordance with the necessities of the situation. Especially is this desirable along the large streams, where association of capital is necessary for profitable tillage.

Much larger portions of this vast region are unfit for pasturage. The conditions are here also different from the fertile belt. The quantity of land required for the pasturage of any given number of cattle is very greatly in excess of the amount required in the fertile region of the continent. The excellence of the pasturage consists in the fact that the grasses, which are slow growth and thin, retain their nutritive qualities throughout the year, and the range is limited only by the possibility of reaching suitable wintering places. The system which restricts the sales to quarter sections, in fact, withholds from sale the largest remaining class of public lands. Here, too, as in the case of the mountain timber lands, the herders are compelled to trespass on the public domain, and conflicting claims of rights to ranges will arise which will hereafter prove very troublesome.

The Commissioner gives this question a full discussion, and concludes that both private and public interests demand that the body of surveyed land within the "Central Plateau," so called, not embraced in the first bottom of the streams, and commonly known in the region where situated as the *mesa* lands, be offered at the earliest possible date for cash purchase, and hereafter that portion remaining unsold be made subject to private entry at \$1 25 per acre. The recommendation of the Commissioner is empathetic that the policy be adopted of resuming the public offering of land west of the 100th meridian, embraced in the *mesa* or table and pasturage lands. The report will contain an important resume of the history of the grants of public lands to railroad corporations, and will be accompanied by rain charts and

tables for the desert portion of the continent. In this report, for the first time in a public document, Commissioner Burdett gives as intelligent discussion of the new problems of national development in the western half of the Continent.

THE INDIAN BUREAU—REPORT OF COMMISSIONER SMITH.

The dealings of the Government with the Sioux, made prominent by the Red Cloud investigation and the gold discoveries in the Black Hills, will receive special discussion. The Commissioner will recommend that, in order to avoid any possibility or suspicion of fraudulent transactions in the administration of Indian affairs, and that the bureau may be made more of an educational and civilizing instrument, as much business as possible be taken away from it. He will recommend the abolition of the contract system, and that all purchases be made by the War Department; that the purchases of clothing, tents, farming and household utensils, cattle and horses, be made by the Quartermaster's Department, and be transported under the direction of that department to the post; there inspected by officers of the Army appointed for the purpose, and delivered into the agent's hands, whose duty shall be simply to attend to their distribution; that the food be distributed in the same way, after purchase through the Commissary Department. His reasons for these recommendations are that the relations between the Indians and the agents, under the present system, are such that it makes the agent seem responsible for the quality of the food, and the Indians are so prone to complain and find fault that the agent loses his moral influence over them.

The Black Hills are treated of at length. The Commissioner relates the history of the visit of the Sioux Indians here last spring, and the failure of the commission appointed to treat with them for the relinquishment of the Black Hills. He refers to the fact that there are 1,000 or more miners already in the Sioux country, or on their way there, even in the face of the most stringent prohibitory orders from the military authorities, and a number of miners are organized into an association for mutual protection, and have adopted laws and regulations; have staked out and reserved claims, in the rights in which they expect hereafter to be protected by the Government. In this complication the Commissioner thinks there is only one alternative for the Government: either to increase the military force so as to compel a strict observance of the rights of the Sioux, or to put such restrictions upon the exercise of the large bounty now granted to them by the Government, as to procure their assent

to the cession of the Black Hills country.

Commissioner Smith thinks the experience of last summer proves the utter impracticability of keeping American citizens out of a country where gold exists. The occupation of the Hills by the white man is inevitable, but no reason exists for making this an occasion of wrong to the Sioux. If the Sioux were independent and self-supporting, able to demand that hereafter the United States Government should leave them alone in the possession of their own country, and until 1898 of such annuities as the treaty of 1868 guarantees them, there would be a show of wrong, which is not now so clear, in persistently asking for a portion of their country. As the original proprietors of the land, and occupants *in perpetuum* by formal contract on the part of the United States, the Sioux would be entitled to be let alone, but the facts are otherwise. They are not capable of self-support, and the withdrawal of the Government rations for a single season would reduce them to starvation or to live by marauding. While the Government continues to appropriate for the maintenance of the Sioux Indians a sum of one and a quarter millions of dollars annually, in excess of all amounts stipulated by treaty, the Sioux are not in a condition to ask to be let alone. If the Government is obliged, by considerations of humanity and for the protection of the frontier, to supply the necessities of the Indians, they may properly be asked that the Government shall have an equivalent in gold fields. Cession produced in this manner, Commissioner Smith thinks, would be preferable to a continuation of the present disturbed condition of affairs. The Commissioner will recommend that legislation be sought from Congress, offering a full equivalent for the country lying between the north and south forks of the Cheyenne river, in Dakota, and for the relinquishment of whatever rights the Sioux may have to the Big Horn Mountains, in Wyoming, and on the condition that the bounty of the Government in food to these Indians, be part of the consideration; and that they be made fully aware that any further receipt of rations by them would be held by the Government to be an acceptance of the terms offered.

The Commissioner will recommend strongly the expulsion of all those persons known as "squaw men"—the white husbands of squaws—from the Indian reservations, and the removal of the Spotted Tail and Red Cloud Agencies to the Missouri river. He will also recommend that the Indians be compelled to labor in return for the rations given them by the Government. To obtain these results three things must be done, and Commissioner Smith recommends: First—To increase appropriations for the next two

years in order to pay expenses of removal. These appropriations, after two years, the Commissioner thinks, may be steadily lessened until they cease altogether. Second—The Commissioner thinks that, to secure these objects, there must be a hearty co-operation of the War Department. Third—In order to afford a suitable location for the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies, the removal of the Ponca Indians from their present reservation, which is in the Sioux country, will be necessary. The Poncas can be consolidated with the Omahas, a kindred tribe on the reservation of the latter, in Nebraska, and they have already consented to the removal.

The reports of the agents on the river that have been received at the office, indicate that it is possible to civilize the Sioux, provided a suitable country can be found for their occupation, and the Government and its agents can be patient. At the Cheyenne agency, bands of Indians, which, three years ago, were as intractable and impatient of labor as Spotted Tail and his immediate followers now are, have been induced to erect log houses and open farms, to such an extent that the agent is able to report a large number of Indian families living in houses like civilized people, a large number of male Indians who are laboring at civilized pursuits with their own hands, and a large proportion of the Indian children in schools.

The Commissioner will recommend that all Indians living within the limits of the organized States be transferred to the care of those States, and the bureau be relieved of them. He gives the following reasons for this recommendation: These Indians are becoming civilized to a great degree, and will soon make attempts to become citizens. They cannot be classified with the wild Indians, and the same system of government and treatment does not apply to both. He thinks the States can care for them with less expense and with greater benefit to the Indians than if they remained under the care of the General Government.

There are in New York, in round numbers, 6,000 Indians on reservations forty miles long and from one to five miles wide; in Wisconsin, about 7,000 Indians on vast reservations; in Michigan, 8,000; in Minnesota, 6,000. In each of these States Indians own property enough, which, if judiciously managed, would educate them all, and would leave them farms, town sites, &c.

It is probably not generally known that Pius IX.—now in his eighty-fourth year—has already buried more than a hundred cardinals, part of them created by his predecessors, and the rest named by himself since he came into office.

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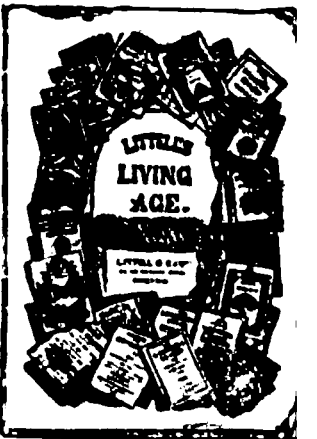
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Vol. VI.—No. 2.

FEBRUARY, 1876.

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It will give credit where credit is due; and impartial criticism whenever required.

It will seek to hold up intelligence as the safeguard to National safety, and will defend our free-school system as essential to its preservation.

It will advocate improvements, that experience may commend, in the education of the young; but will oppose all efforts to divide the public-school funds, or to introduce into the schools sectarian influences.

It will advocate the perpetuation of the Republican party as the best, if not the only means to secure the preservation of the Union, and the impartial execution of the laws.

It will labor earnestly to bring about such reforms as the spirit of progress may demand, and in all things seek to present those methods of administration, which the wisdom and experience of a century have confirmed.

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To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI. WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY, 1876. No. 2.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

THE CASE OF M'MILLEN.

A long debate sprang up in the Senate on the case of W. L. McMillen, heretofore claiming a seat in the Senate from the State of Louisiana—the motion being on his request to withdraw his credentials from the files of the Senate. It was a dispute about the old condition of things in that State, and ended where it began, with the passage of the resolution by a vote of 30 to 28. So a distracting element has been withdrawn, it is hoped forever, from the hall of the United States Senate.

HOUSE RESOLUTIONS.

In the House the two parties were evidently feeling each other's strength and preparing to make a record to go to the country. Mr. Blaine introduced a proposal for an amendment of the Constitution which is likely to open a long discussion and to stir the popular mind of the country to its very depths. It is as follows :

ARTICLE XVI.

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations."

This proposal was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EMPLOYEES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. Fort proposed the following resolution:

"That in all subordinate appointments

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under any of the officers of this House it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers who are not disabled from performance of duty should be preferred."

Mr. Cox offered an amendment "that inasmuch as the union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this Government," and proposed the whole subject be referred to the Committee on Accounts. It was so decided by the Democratic majority.

PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

Mr. Harrison proposed the following amendment to the Constitution :

ARTICLE XVI.

"From and after the election for President of the United States next following the ratification of this article, the President shall hold his office during the term of six years, and, together with the Vice President chosen for the same term, be elected in the manner as now provided, or may hereafter be provided; but neither the President nor Vice President, when the office of President is devolved upon him, shall be eligible for re-election as President, but shall be from and after the expiration of his office as President, unless the same be by impeachment, a Senator for life for the United States at large, and as such Senator shall have the same privileges as other Senators, except that he shall not vote as Senator, nor shall he be President *pro tempore* of the Senate, he shall have the same immunities and compensation; but his attendance upon the sessions shall not be compulsory, nor shall his compensation be abridged by reason of his non-attendance."

Mr. Morrison offered a joint resolution proposing the term of the Presidential office for six years, and to make the President ineligible for more than six years in any term of twelve years after the next Presidential election,

which resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

REDUCTION OF THE ARMY.

Mr. Springer offered a resolution "that the Committee on Military Affairs be requested to inquire into the expediency of reducing the regular army to 10,000 men, or to such number as will insure an efficient public service at an expense of not exceeding \$20,000,000 annually, and that said committee report by bill or otherwise. The resolution was adopted.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

Mr. Stone introduced a bill proposing to establish a Department of Commerce, having charge of the agricultural, manufacturing, and mining interests of the United States, so far as they are committed to the National Government by the Constitution, with a Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Chief Clerk, and such other clerks and officers as may hereafter be designated by law, and that these officers be put on the same footing as those of the other Departments of the Government; that the Department of Commerce shall be charged with the execution of all laws of the United States relating to trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, and of all laws for raising revenue taxes, excises, and duties on imports; that it shall tabulate statistics relating to the subjects with which it is charged, and make an annual report to the President.

REMOVAL OF HENDERSON.

Mr. Buckner submitted a resolution calling on the President "to transmit to the House all correspondence in reference to the dismissal of ex-Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, as one of the special counsel of the United States in the prosecution of the whisky-fraud cases before the United States Court at St. Louis." The resolution was laid over.

PROTECTION FROM RAILROAD EXTORTION.

Mr. Wilson introduced a resolution "that it is the duty of Congress to regulate commerce on inter-State railroads by appropriate legislation, so that the agricultural, commercial, and other industrial interests of the country may be protected from extortion and discrimination." It was referred to the Committee on Railways and Canals.

GOVERNMENT DEFAULTERS.

Mr. Hereford submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the House with the names of the various persons or officers whose accounts have not been settled, or who have been defaulters to the General Government since March 2, 1865, together with the amounts of each, and by whom appointed." The resolution was laid over.

CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. Cox presented a memorial from the Centennial Commission and Board of Finance for an appropriation in aid of the exposition. The memorial recites the creation of the commission by act of Congress March 3, 1871, and the subsequent steps of the Government for the furtherance of this national design. It states that the amount required to carry the work to the opening-day is \$6,724,850, of which there is now a deficiency of \$1,537,100, and makes an earnest appeal for the action of Congress. A visit of those representing the three departments of Government to the Centennial buildings and grounds was subsequently planned and accomplished—a very large number of our public men from the capital sharing the excursion. They were entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and have returned to their posts of office doubtless deeply impressed with the greatness of the occasion, and the need of Congressional assistance.

ALASKA SEAL-FISHERIES.

Mr. Payne offered resolutions calling on the Secretaries of the Navy and the Treasury for information respecting the seal-fisheries in Alaska, and the management of the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco from the date of its lease from the United States to the present time. The resolutions were agreed to.

WHISKY FRAUDS.

Mr. Randall submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all letters, telegrams, orders, and instructions relating to the organization and prosecution of the present movements against the so-called "whisky rings" of St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee." The resolution was laid over.

COURT OF COMMISSIONERS OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.

A proposition was made in the House for the extension of this court beyond the 22d of January, 1876. It was stated that in July, 1873, the amount received from Great Britain in gold to pay for damages by the rebel vessels Alabama, Florida, and Shenandoah was \$15,500,000, the value of which is estimated at present to be \$19,762,000. The judgments rendered by this commission to December 9, 1875, amounted to \$5,836,805.66. The claims that remain undecided amount to \$3,400,000, which leaves a balance in the Treasury of \$10,426,194.34. The proposal was agreed to.

STATUE OF LAFAYETTE.

Mr. Hoar submitted the memorial of B. H. Kinney requesting an appropriation of \$100,000 for the erection of an equestrian statue of Lafayette, in memory of his distinguished services in the war of the revolution, and with appropriate designs commemorating the services of other French officers and soldiers in that memorable contest.

NATIONAL AND STATE RIGHTS.

In the Senate, Mr. Morton submitted a series of concurrent resolutions declaring that the people of the United States constitute a nation, and are one people in the sense of national unity; that the Government of the United States is not a compact between the States, but was formed between the people of the United States in their primary capacity; that the rights of the States are defined and guaranteed in the Constitution, and not by any outside theory of State sovereignty; and that these rights cannot be modified except by constitutional amendment; and that State secession is an extinguished heresy.

INFRACTIONS OF REVENUE LAWS.

Senator Stevenson submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all dispatches and papers relating to the "whisky-frauds" in St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. On this resolution a spirited debate sprang up, in which it was contended that the communication of such intelligence to the country at this time would impede the prosecution of parties to these frauds, whereupon the resolution was withdrawn.

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In the House, Mr. Hale submitted a preamble and resolution reciting the commitment of the country against repudiation, and declaring it to be the judgment of the House that the former legislation of Congress on this subject should be carried out, and that for this purpose all the necessary power should be put in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

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CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. Cox presented a memorial from the Centennial Commission and Board of Finance for an appropriation in aid of the exposition. The memorial recites the creation of the commission by act of Congress March 3, 1871, and the subsequent steps of the Government for the furtherance of this national design. It states that the amount required to carry the work to the opening-day is \$6,724,850, of which there is now a deficiency of \$1,537,100, and makes an earnest appeal for the action of Congress. A visit of those representing the three departments of Government to the Centennial buildings and grounds was subsequently planned and accomplished—a very large number of our public men from the capital sharing the excursion. They were entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and have returned to their posts of office doubtless deeply impressed with the greatness of the occasion, and the need of Congressional assistance.

ALASKA SEAL-FISHERIES.

Mr. Payne offered resolutions calling on the Secretaries of the Navy and the Treasury for information respecting the seal-fisheries in Alaska, and the management of the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco from the date of its lease from the United States to the present time. The resolutions were agreed to.

WHISKY FRAUDS.

Mr. Randall submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all letters, telegrams, orders, and instructions relating to the organization and prosecution of the present movements against the so-called "whisky rings" of St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee." The resolution was laid over.

COURT OF COMMISSIONERS OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.

A proposition was made in the House for the extension of this court beyond the 22d of January, 1876. It was stated that in July, 1873, the amount received from Great Britain in gold to pay for damages by the rebel vessels Alabama, Florida, and Shenandoah was \$15,500,000, the value of which is estimated at present to be \$19,762,000. The judgments rendered by this commission to December 9, 1875, amounted to \$5,836,805.66. The claims that remain undecided amount to \$3,400,000, which leaves a balance in the Treasury of \$10,426,194.34. The proposal was agreed to.

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JAPANESE INDEMNITY FUND.

In 1863-'4, in consequence of disturbance in the Japanese Empire for damages accrued to the shipping interests of other nations, for which an indemnity of three millions of dollars was exacted by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and the United States, the share of the United States was \$750,000. The actual damages and expenses arising from the event referred to have all been paid, and amounted to less than \$50,000. The unexpended balance amounts at present to more than a million and a quarter dollars. The memorial of David Murray, presented in the House, recites the facts of the case, and offers very cogent reasons why this sum should be returned to the Government of Japan. The subject was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

FINANCIAL POLICY.

Mr. Lawrence presented a resolution "that it is the sense of this House that the policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without a shock to business, will ultimately equalize the purchasing power of the gold and paper dollar. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Currency and Banking.

SUBSIDIES.

Mr. Holman submitted the following resolution: "That in the judgment of this House, in the present condition of the financial affairs of the Government, no subsidies of any sort or kind should be granted by Congress, and that at this time all appropriations should be limited to such amounts only as shall be imperatively demanded by the public service." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 232 to 18; thirty-nine members not voting.

CURRENCY AND EXPENSES.

Mr. Anderson submitted resolutions declaring that instead of increasing revenue Congress should cut down expenses, and that the Committee on Banking and Currency be instructed to report a bill repealing the national banking law, and substituting for national bank currency a national paper money issued directly from the Treasury,

made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, including duties on imports, and to be interchangeable for registered bonds bearing 3.65 per cent. interest. The first resolution was adopted, the second referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

RECIPROCITY.

Mr. Ward introduced a resolution to authorize the appointment of commissioners to ascertain on what terms a mutual beneficial treaty between the United States and Canada may be negotiated. It was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

SENATOR SPENCER.

Senator George S. Spencer submitted some remarks touching the aspersions publicly made on the manner of his election to a seat in the Senate from the State of Alabama, and offered a resolution that the Committee on Privileges and Elections be instructed to investigate and report upon the same. The resolution was agreed to.

THE MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

Senator Morton offered a preamble and resolution in regard to the alleged fraud and violence of the recent election in this State, which was taken up for consideration. A long and spirited debate ensued—conducted by Messrs. Morton, Bayard, and Thurman, pending which the Senate entered into executive session. The extent of the scandal of this election is beyond any parallel in the history of the country, and if one-tenth part of the allegation is true, it is a cause of shame that should bring a blush to the cheek of every lover of American institutions.

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Senator Edmunds offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, since the last session of the Senate the Vice President of the United States has deceased, therefore

"*Resolved*, That on the 7th of January next at one o'clock, P. M., the Senate will proceed to the election of a President *pro tempore*."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The subject was subsequently brought to the attention of the Senate by the following resolution offered by Senator Edmunds:

"*Resolved*, That Mr. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from the State of Michigan, be the

President of the Senate until January 7, 1876, and until a fresh appointment shall be made."

The resolution was agreed to.

PETITIONS, BILLS, AND RESOLUTIONS.

To a stranger the number of papers offered in Congress on all subjects is something most surprising. Already in the first month of the session there is a flood of business pouring in upon the new Congress—for increase of pensions, for the relief of private persons, for the division of States into judicial districts, touching the disposition of the Geneva award, for the completion of a naval monument, for the amendment of the revised statutes of the United States, for new post-routes, for the reduction of rates of postage, concerning the transmission of merchandise through the mails, for a joint high commission to settle by arbitration all disputes among nations, for the reduction of tariff on wines, for the relief of Methodist churches, for a commission of inquiry into the alcoholic traffic, for the establishment of new signal stations, and indeed for every thing and all things that it ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive. Surely the right of petition is in full exercise among our fellow-citizens. At this present writing 169 bills have been offered in the Senate, and 384 in the House.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEES.

As the House is Democratic, great interest was manifested in the forty-seven standing committees. This was one of the last acts of Speaker Kerr before the adjournment for the holidays. The committees as at present constituted show a great preference given to the West and South, and an almost total disregard of New England. Many surprises were excited, and the ambition of some prominent gentlemen in the Democratic party has no doubt been disappointed. Time alone will prove with what judgment the Speaker has acted in this important matter.

PAGE'S RESOLUTION.

On Friday, December 17, 1875, Mr. Page submitted the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the Constitution of the United States as framed by the fathers of the Republic imposes no limit upon the eligibility of

any citizen to the office of President, further than that he shall be native-born, and of a certain age, and time of residence; therefore be it

"Resolved, That in the judgment of this House the right of selecting candidates for the office of President can only be lawfully exercised by the people under the existing Constitutional restrictions, and has never been delegated by the people to the House of Representatives, or to any members of the same, and that any attempt by the House of Representatives to limit or forestall the public will on a question of such importance is an invasion of powers reserved to the people at large, to be freely exercised by them without any interference from any legislative body whatever."

The resolution was permitted to lie on the table. On Monday Congress adjourned for the holidays to Wednesday, January 5, 1876.

The light of the Centennial year has broken upon us—a year to be memorable in the history of the Republic.

AFTER RECESS.

Both Houses met January 5th, 1876, and proceeded to business. In the Senate little but routine business has occurred up to the present date. Tuesday, January 11th, was set apart for eulogies upon the life and character of Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who deceased during the summer recess of the Senate; and Thursday, January 13th, was set apart for eulogies on Henry Wilson, the late Vice President of the United States. Both occasions were marked by much feeling and the utterance of honest and kindly words.

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

The question raised by Senator Edmunds before the recess upon the status of the presiding officer of the Senate has been disposed of in the following action of the Senate. Mr. Morton, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, submitted the following resolutions:

1. That the tenure of office of the President *pro tempore* of the Senate elected at one session does not expire at the meeting of Congress after the first recess, the Vice President not having appeared to take the Chair.

2. That the death of the Vice President does not have the effect to vacate the office of the President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

3. That the office of President *pro tempore*

of the Senate is held at the pleasure of the Senate.

4. That Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from Michigan, who was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate at the last session, is now the President *pro tempore* of the Senate by virtue of said election.

Senator Merrimon contended that when a President *pro tempore* has been elected he may rightfully continue to hold the office so long as his term of Senator continues, or unless he be removed for cause, until the Vice President shall return to the chair, or a new Vice President shall be elected. An investigation of the records shows the first four cases occurring prior to 1804, which were treated upon the assumption that the office ceased on the reappearance of the Vice President, or on the meeting of the Senate after the first recess. But subsequent to 1804 forty-nine cases are given in support of the position that the office continues without re-election.

Senator Saulsbury maintained that the Senate does not exhaust its power over the question by the choice of a President *pro tempore*, otherwise a state of things might occur in which the business of the Senate must stop.

Senator Jones, of Florida, concurred in the views of Senator Merrimon, and argued that the Senate has only an implied right of removal, while the law of Congress devolving the duties of President on the President *pro tempore* of the Senate in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice President has constitutional authority; and that in a conflict between an implied right of the Senate and a law of constitutional authority the implied right must give way to the constitutional authority.

The question being then taken on the first and second resolutions by yeas and nays they were unanimously adopted.

On the third resolution, Senator Thurman held that the solution of this question depends upon the meaning of the phrase *pro tempore*, and in view of the circumstances moved that the resolution be indefinitely postponed—pending which the Senate adjourned. On Wednesday, January 12th, the subject again recurred. Senator Edmunds

argued that the phrase *pro tempore* means "for the time being," "for the instant," and that the framers of the Constitution so intended. He cited the practice of the English House of Lords in confirmation of this view. He also contended that the power of appointment or election implies the power of removal and change. He supposed a number of cases where any other construction would create confusion, and possibly arrest the legislation of the country.

Senator Wallace held that the President *pro tempore* of the Senate is an officer of the United States as well as of the Senate. He cited the early action of the framers of the Constitution in proof of this, showing their manifest intention to place the possible succession to the Presidency only upon an officer of the United States. He advanced other cogent proofs of this construction from the legislation of 1792, and from the remarks of Mr. Seward upon the subject in the 33d Congress.

Senator Morton concurred in the views of Senator Edmunds that the Senate has power to elect a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President at its pleasure, quoting in support of his position from Cushing on Parliamentary Law.

Senator Norwood put the question, "Suppose the President of the United States should die to-day, would not the President *pro tempore* immediately become acting President—and if so could we by a vote of the Senate here to-morrow change the first and put another man in his place?" To this question Senator Morton replied that he could not answer, as that is one of the very points which remain in doubt. He expressed the opinion, however, that in the case supposed the incumbent would hold both offices and be bound to discharge the duties of both. Instances analogous were cited from the States of Arkansas and Illinois.

Senator Stevenson maintained that the office of President *pro tempore* of the Senate is one of fixed tenure, not subject to change at the mere pleasure of the Senate, citing in confirmation the opinions of the eminent jurists, Collamer of Vermont and Bayard of Delaware. There was no difference between them on the point that the office was fixed

by the Constitution, although they reached different results as to its duration. He held that while the tenure of the office of President *pro tempore* is of uncertain duration, it is fixed and determined, not by the Senate, but by the Constitution, hence the act of 1792 and a long series of precedents subsequently arising giving this construction.

Senator Conkling put the following case: Suppose the President *pro tempore* should enter on the duties of the Presidential office, and his term as Senator should expire before the close of the Presidential term, would he continue to be acting *ex officio* as President of the United States though the term of his Senatorship by virtue of which he came to be President *pro tempore* had expired?

Senator Stevenson replied that in his opinion such acting President should continue to act though his term as Senator had expired. He likewise contradicted the view of Senator Morton that a President *pro tempore* on assuming the duties of President of the United States should be bound at the same time to act as presiding officer of the Senate. He cited a case of himself in the State of Kentucky in refutation of such a view, and Senator Thurman of Ohio added two cases in his own State where the governorship of the State devolved on the speaker of the Senate, and it was decided in both cases that the speaker accepting the office of Governor thereby vacated his office as Senator.

Senator Morton added the case of Pinchback, who became Governor of Louisiana; meantime his office as Senator expired, but he continued to act as Governor till Governor Kellogg was installed.

Senator Stevenson contended that this case was directly in support of his views on the question now pending.

Senator Thurman stated that at first he was induced to take the view of the report of the committee, but that the discussion had changed his mind, and that now he inclined to believe that the preponderance of argument was against the power of the Senate to change the presiding officer of the Senate as was contended in the report. He further argued that on assuming the duties of the President of the United States the President *pro tempore* would vacate his office as Senator:

Senator Alcorn argued in favor of the view that when the President *pro tempore* assumes the duties of President of the United States he is then beyond the reach of the Senate. He cited authorities from his own state of Mississippi in support of this position, while at the same time contending that the power to appoint implies the power to remove. But he thought these questions did not really conflict.

The question being taken on the indefinite postponement of the resolution, the Senate refused to postpone.

Senator Whyte offered an amendment in pursuance of the view that when the President *pro tempore* assumes the duties of the President of the United States he steps beyond the reach of the Senate.

The amendment was rejected, and the resolution was agreed to by a vote of 34 to 15.

Senator Stevenson suggested that this action had left the whole question in great uncertainty, and that he should propose a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to look into this matter and by necessary and proper legislation provide for any and every contingency that may occur.

The fourth resolution, declaring that Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from Michigan, who was elected President *pro tempore* at the last session, is now the President *pro tempore* by virtue of said election, was withdrawn on the ground that in view of the other resolutions already adopted this resolution is unnecessary.

And so after all the efforts on this subject nothing has been settled but a temporary decision of the Senate that it may at its will supersede one incumbent of the office by the election of another, and this rule may itself be reversed at some future time by another vote of the Senate. But the discussion has shown one thing, namely: the great defects of existing legislation upon the whole question, and the imperative necessity in so important a matter of passing an act which will clear the case of its present difficulties and avoid the formidable evils which might now arise in a very palpable contingency.

1876.

PROSPECTUS. Vol. 6.

THE REPUBLIC,

A Political Science Monthly Magazine.

THE REPUBLIC begins its sixth volume with the Centennial year, January, 1876.

It is now in public favor, and has received substantial encouragement from every Territory in the Union.

Its promises have been made good. Its pages have been filled with political information with the suggestions of wisdom growing out of experience, with facts and figures skillfully arranged, making a fund of knowledge, of itself, a valuable text-book to be used in Governmental affairs.

At the Presidential election, which takes place in 1876, the REPUBLIC desires to increase its field of usefulness by adding to its list of subscribers. It already numbers among its readers, many of the most thoughtful and intelligent citizens of the country. The deep interest expressed by them in the work, is to the publishers, evidence of an appreciation that thousands of others would entertain of the REPUBLIC, could it be brought to their attention. Will not our friends take upon themselves the slight labor of inviting other good citizens to add their names and their influence to a magazine that is published in the interest of public morality and good government.

In the future, as in the past, the REPUBLIC will advocate an honest administration of Government, whether municipal, State or National.

It will favor loyalty, honesty, economy, and personal ability as pre-requisites for office.

It will give credit where credit is due; and impartial criticism whenever required.

It will seek to hold up intelligence as the safeguard to National safety, and will defend our free-school system as essential to its preservation.

It will advocate improvements, that experience may commend, in the education of the young; but will oppose all efforts to divide the public-school funds, or to introduce into the schools sectarian influences.

It will advocate the perpetuation of the Republican party as the best, if not the only means to secure the preservation of the Union, and the impartial execution of the laws.

It will labor earnestly to bring about such reforms as the spirit of progress may demand, and in all things seek to present those methods of administration, which the wisdom and experience of a century have confirmed.

It will give to its readers a clear insight into the various branches of Government, by a faithful record of their doings.

These are among the leading features of the work to which the REPUBLIC is devoted. It pledges anew its best energies to make the Centennial volumes worthy the Nation it serves, and the year it enters upon.

To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

TERMS:

THE REPUBLIC is a magazine of sixty-four pages, published monthly, at \$2 a year, or six copies for \$10. The postage, in all cases, will be paid by the publishers. A few copies of the back volumes may yet be obtained, either bound or in numbers. Remittances should be made by postal money-order or registered letter.

RE

COMPANY, Washington, D. C.

THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VI. WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY, 1876. No. 2.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

THE CASE OF M'MILLEN.

A long debate sprang up in the Senate on the case of W. L. McMillen, heretofore claiming a seat in the Senate from the State of Louisiana—the motion being on his request to withdraw his credentials from the files of the Senate. It was a dispute about the old condition of things in that State, and ended where it began, with the passage of the resolution by a vote of 30 to 28. So a distracting element has been withdrawn, it is hoped forever, from the hall of the United States Senate.

HOUSE RESOLUTIONS.

In the House the two parties were evidently feeling each other's strength and preparing to make a record to go to the country. Mr. Blaine introduced a proposal for an amendment of the Constitution which is likely to open a long discussion and to stir the popular mind of the country to its very depths. It is as follows :

ARTICLE XVI.

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations."

This proposal was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EMPLOYEES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. Fort proposed the following resolution:

"That in all subordinate appointments

under any of the officers of this House it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers who are not disabled from performance of duty should be preferred."

Mr. Cox offered an amendment "that inasmuch as the union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this Government," and proposed the whole subject be referred to the Committee on Accounts. It was so decided by the Democratic majority.

PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

Mr. Harrison proposed the following amendment to the Constitution :

ARTICLE XVI.

"From and after the election for President of the United States next following the ratification of this article, the President shall hold his office during the term of six years, and, together with the Vice President chosen for the same term, be elected in the manner as now provided, or may hereafter be provided; but neither the President nor Vice President, when the office of President is devolved upon him, shall be eligible for re-election as President, but shall be from and after the expiration of his office as President, unless the same be by impeachment, a Senator for life for the United States at large, and as such Senator shall have the same privileges as other Senators, except that he shall not vote as Senator, nor shall he be President *pro tempore* of the Senate, he shall have the same immunities and compensation; but his attendance upon the sessions shall not be compulsory, nor shall his compensation be abridged by reason of his non-attendance."

Mr. Morrison offered a joint resolution proposing the term of the Presidential office for six years, and to make the President ineligible for more than six years in any term of twelve years after the next Presidential election,

which resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

REDUCTION OF THE ARMY.

Mr. Springer offered a resolution "that the Committee on Military Affairs be requested to inquire into the expediency of reducing the regular army to 10,000 men, or to such number as will insure an efficient public service at an expense of not exceeding \$20,000,000 annually, and that said committee report by bill or otherwise. The resolution was adopted.

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Mr. Hereford submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish the House with the names of the various persons or officers whose accounts have not been settled, or who have been defaulters to the General Government since March 2, 1865, together with the amounts of each, and by whom appointed." The resolution was laid over.

CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.

Mr. Cox presented a memorial from the Centennial Commission and Board of Finance for an appropriation in aid of the exposition. The memorial recites the creation of the commission by act of Congress March 3, 1871, and the subsequent steps of the Government for the furtherance of this national design. It states that the amount required to carry the work to the opening-day is \$6,724,850, of which there is now a deficiency of \$1,537,100, and makes an earnest appeal for the action of Congress. A visit of those representing the three departments of Government to the Centennial buildings and grounds was subsequently planned and accomplished—a very large number of our public men from the capital sharing the excursion. They were entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and have returned to their posts of office doubtless deeply impressed with the greatness of the occasion, and the need of Congressional assistance.

ALASKA SEAL-FISHERIES.

Mr. Payne offered resolutions calling on the Secretaries of the Navy and the Treasury for information respecting the seal-fisheries in Alaska, and the management of the Alaska Commercial Company of San Francisco from the date of its lease from the United States to the present time. The resolutions were agreed to.

WHISKY FRAUDS.

Mr. Randall submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all letters, telegrams, orders, and instructions relating to the organization and prosecution of the present movements against the so-called "whisky rings" of St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee." The resolution was laid over.

COURT OF COMMISSIONERS OF ALABAMA CLAIMS.

A proposition was made in the House for the extension of this court beyond the 22d of January, 1876. It was stated that in July, 1873, the amount received from Great Britain in gold to pay for damages by the rebel vessels Alabama, Florida, and Shenandoah was \$15,500,000, the value of which is estimated at present to be \$19,762,000. The judgments rendered by this commission to December 9, 1875, amounted to \$5,836,805.66. The claims that remain undecided amount to \$3,400,000, which leaves a balance in the Treasury of \$10,426,194.34. The proposal was agreed to.

STATUE OF LAFAYETTE.

Mr. Hoar submitted the memorial of B. H. Kinney requesting an appropriation of \$100,000 for the erection of an equestrian statue of Lafayette, in memory of his distinguished services in the war of the revolution, and with appropriate designs commemorating the services of other French officers and soldiers in that memorable contest.

NATIONAL AND STATE RIGHTS.

In the Senate, Mr. Morton submitted a series of concurrent resolutions declaring that the people of the United States constitute a nation, and are one people in the sense of national unity; that the Government of the United States is not a compact between the States, but was formed between the people of the United States in their primary capacity; that the rights of the States are defined and guaranteed in the Constitution, and not by any outside theory of State sovereignty; and that these rights cannot be modified except by constitutional amendment; and that State secession is an extinguished heresy.

INFRACTIONS OF REVENUE LAWS.

Senator Stevenson submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for copies of all dispatches and papers relating to the "whisky-frauds" in St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. On this resolution a spirited debate sprang up, in which it was contended that the communication of such intelligence to the country at this time would impede the prosecution of parties to these frauds, whereupon the resolution was withdrawn.

SPECIE PAYMENTS.

In the House, Mr. Hale submitted a preamble and resolution reciting the commitment of the country against repudiation, and declaring it to be the judgment of the House that the former legislation of Congress on this subject should be carried out, and that for this purpose all the necessary power should be put in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES.

Mr. Randall presented a preamble and resolution proposing to remove all remaining disabilities upon persons in the United States arising out of the late civil war, which was made a special order on the Tuesday following.

PAYMENTS TO DISLOYAL PERSONS.

Mr. Vance introduced a bill proposing to repeal the former legislation of Congress prohibiting payments to disloyal persons, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

OATH OF OFFICE.

Mr. Morey introduced a bill prescribing the following oath of office for persons elected or appointed to offices under the Government of the United States: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign or domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this oath freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God;" that said oath, so taken and signed, shall be preserved in the files of the proper office, and any person who shall falsely take the said oath shall be guilty of perjury, and on conviction, in addition to the present penalties for this offense, shall be deprived of his office, and rendered incapable forever after of holding any office or place under the United States. The second section provides that no other oath shall be required; but this act shall not be construed as relieving persons from any disabilities under which they may lie at present.

The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

JAPANESE INDEMNITY FUND.

In 1863-'4, in consequence of disturbance in the Japanese Empire for damages accrued to the shipping interests of other nations, for which an indemnity of three millions of dollars was exacted by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and the United States, the share of the United States was \$750,000. The actual damages and expenses arising from the event referred to have all been paid, and amounted to less than \$50,000. The unexpended balance amounts at present to more than a million and a quarter dollars. The memorial of David Murray, presented in the House, recites the facts of the case, and offers very cogent reasons why this sum should be returned to the Government of Japan. The subject was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

FINANCIAL POLICY.

Mr. Lawrence presented a resolution "that it is the sense of this House that the policy of finance should be steadily pursued which, without a shock to business, will ultimately equalize the purchasing power of the gold and paper dollar. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Currency and Banking.

SUBSIDIES.

Mr. Holman submitted the following resolution: "That in the judgment of this House, in the present condition of the financial affairs of the Government, no subsidies of any sort or kind should be granted by Congress, and that at this time all appropriations should be limited to such amounts only as shall be imperatively demanded by the public service." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 232 to 18; thirty-nine members not voting.

CURRENCY AND EXPENSES.

Mr. Anderson submitted resolutions declaring that instead of increasing revenue Congress should cut down expenses, and that the Committee on Banking and Currency be instructed to report a bill repealing the national banking law, and substituting for national bank currency a national paper money issued directly from the Treasury,

made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, including duties on imports, and to be interchangeable for registered bonds bearing 3.65 per cent. interest. The first resolution was adopted, the second referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

RECIPROCITY.

Mr. Ward introduced a resolution to authorize the appointment of commissioners to ascertain on what terms a mutual beneficial treaty between the United States and Canada may be negotiated. It was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

SENATOR SPENCER.

Senator George S. Spencer submitted some remarks touching the aspersions publicly made on the manner of his election to a seat in the Senate from the State of Alabama, and offered a resolution that the Committee on Privileges and Elections be instructed to investigate and report upon the same. The resolution was agreed to.

THE MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

Senator Morton offered a preamble and resolution in regard to the alleged fraud and violence of the recent election in this State, which was taken up for consideration. A long and spirited debate ensued—conducted by Messrs. Morton, Bayard, and Thurman, pending which the Senate entered into executive session. The extent of the scandal of this election is beyond any parallel in the history of the country, and if one-tenth part of the allegation is true, it is a cause of shame that should bring a blush to the cheek of every lover of American institutions.

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

Senator Edmunds offered the following resolution:

"Whereas, since the last session of the Senate the Vice President of the United States has deceased, therefore

"*Resolved*, That on the 7th of January next at one o'clock, P. M., the Senate will proceed to the election of a President *pro tempore*."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The subject was subsequently brought to the attention of the Senate by the following resolution offered by Senator Edmunds:

"*Resolved*, That Mr. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from the State of Michigan, be the

President of the Senate until January 7, 1876, and until a fresh appointment shall be made."

The resolution was agreed to.

PETITIONS, BILLS, AND RESOLUTIONS.

To a stranger the number of papers offered in Congress on all subjects is something most surprising. Already in the first month of the session there is a flood of business pouring in upon the new Congress—for increase of pensions, for the relief of private persons, for the division of States into judicial districts, touching the disposition of the Geneva award, for the completion of a naval monument, for the amendment of the revised statutes of the United States, for new post-routes, for the reduction of rates of postage, concerning the transmission of merchandise through the mails, for a joint high commission to settle by arbitration all disputes among nations, for the reduction of tariff on wines, for the relief of Methodist churches, for a commission of inquiry into the alcoholic traffic, for the establishment of new signal stations, and indeed for every thing and all things that it ever entered into the imagination of man to conceive. "Surely the right of petition is in full exercise among our fellow-citizens. At this present writing 169 bills have been offered in the Senate, and 384 in the House.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEES.

As the House is Democratic, great interest was manifested in the forty-seven standing committees. This was one of the last acts of Speaker Kerr before the adjournment for the holidays. The committees as at present constituted show a great preference given to the West and South, and an almost total disregard of New England. Many surprises were excited, and the ambition of some prominent gentlemen in the Democratic party has no doubt been disappointed. Time alone will prove with what judgment the Speaker has acted in this important matter.

PAGE'S RESOLUTION.

On Friday, December 17, 1875, Mr. Page submitted the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the Constitution of the United States as framed by the fathers of the Republic imposes no limit upon the eligibility of

any citizen to the office of President, further than that he shall be native-born, and of a certain age, and time of residence; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this House the right of selecting candidates for the office of President can only be lawfully exercised by the people under the existing Constitutional restrictions, and has never been delegated by the people to the House of Representatives, or to any members of the same, and that any attempt by the House of Representatives to limit or forestall the public will on a question of such importance is an invasion of powers reserved to the people at large, to be freely exercised by them without any interference from any legislative body whatever."

The resolution was permitted to lie on the table. On Monday Congress adjourned for the holidays to Wednesday, January 5, 1876.

The light of the Centennial year has broken upon us—a year to be memorable in the history of the Republic.

AFTER RECESS.

Both Houses met January 5th, 1876, and proceeded to business. In the Senate little but routine business has occurred up to the present date. Tuesday, January 11th, was set apart for eulogies upon the life and character of Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who deceased during the summer recess of the Senate; and Thursday, January 13th, was set apart for eulogies on Henry Wilson, the late Vice President of the United States. Both occasions were marked by much feeling and the utterance of honest and kindly words.

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE.

The question raised by Senator Edmunds before the recess upon the status of the presiding officer of the Senate has been disposed of in the following action of the Senate. Mr. Morton, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, submitted the following resolutions:

1. That the tenure of office of the President *pro tempore* of the Senate elected at one session does not expire at the meeting of Congress after the first recess, the Vice President not having appeared to take the Chair.

2. That the death of the Vice President does not have the effect to vacate the office of the President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

3. That the office of President *pro tempore*

of the Senate is held at the pleasure of the Senate.

4. That Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from Michigan, who was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate at the last session, is now the President *pro tempore* of the Senate by virtue of said election.

Senator Merrimon contended that when a President *pro tempore* has been elected he may rightfully continue to hold the office so long as his term of Senator continues, or unless he be removed for cause, until the Vice President shall return to the chair, or a new Vice President shall be elected. An investigation of the records shows the first four cases occurring prior to 1804, which were treated upon the assumption that the office ceased on the reappearance of the Vice President, or on the meeting of the Senate after the first recess. But subsequent to 1804 forty-nine cases are given in support of the position that the office continues without re-election.

Senator Saulsbury maintained that the Senate does not exhaust its power over the question by the choice of a President *pro tempore*, otherwise a state of things might occur in which the business of the Senate must stop.

Senator Jones, of Florida, concurred in the views of Senator Merrimon, and argued that the Senate has only an implied right of removal, while the law of Congress devolving the duties of President on the President *pro tempore* of the Senate in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice President has constitutional authority; and that in a conflict between an implied right of the Senate and a law of constitutional authority the implied right must give way to the constitutional authority.

The question being then taken on the first and second resolutions by yeas and nays they were unanimously adopted.

On the third resolution, Senator Thurman held that the solution of this question depends upon the meaning of the phrase *pro tempore*, and in view of the circumstances moved that the resolution be indefinitely postponed—pending which the Senate adjourned. On Wednesday, January 12th, the subject again recurred. Senator Edmunds

argued that the phrase *pro tempore* means "for the time being," "for the instant," and that the framers of the Constitution so intended. He cited the practice of the English House of Lords in confirmation of this view. He also contended that the power of appointment or election implies the power of removal and change. He supposed a number of cases where any other construction would create confusion, and possibly arrest the legislation of the country.

Senator Wallace held that the President *pro tempore* of the Senate is an officer of the United States as well as of the Senate. He cited the early action of the framers of the Constitution in proof of this, showing their manifest intention to place the possible succession to the Presidency only upon an officer of the United States. He advanced other cogent proofs of this construction from the legislation of 1792, and from the remarks of Mr. Seward upon the subject in the 33d Congress.

Senator Morton concurred in the views of Senator Edmunds that the Senate has power to elect a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President at its pleasure, quoting in support of his position from Cushing on Parliamentary Law.

Senator Norwood put the question, "Suppose the President of the United States should die to-day, would not the President *pro tempore* immediately become acting President—and if so could we by a vote of the Senate here to-morrow change the first and put another man in his place?" To this question Senator Morton replied that he could not answer, as that is one of the very points which remain in doubt. He expressed the opinion, however, that in the case supposed the incumbent would hold both offices and be bound to discharge the duties of both. Instances analogous were cited from the States of Arkansas and Illinois.

Senator Stevenson maintained that the office of President *pro tempore* of the Senate is one of fixed tenure, not subject to change at the mere pleasure of the Senate, citing in confirmation the opinions of the eminent jurists, Collamer of Vermont and Bayard of Delaware. There was no difference between them on the point that the office was fixed

by the Constitution, although they reached different results as to its duration. He held that while the tenure of the office of President *pro tempore* is of uncertain duration, it is fixed and determined, not by the Senate, but by the Constitution, hence the act of 1792 and a long series of precedents subsequently arising giving this construction.

Senator Conkling put the following case: Suppose the President *pro tempore* should enter on the duties of the Presidential office, and his term as Senator should expire before the close of the Presidential term, would he continue to be acting *ex officio* as President of the United States though the term of his Senatorship by virtue of which he came to be President *pro tempore* had expired?

Senator Stevenson replied that in his opinion such acting President should continue to act though his term as Senator had expired. He likewise contradicted the view of Senator Morton that a President *pro tempore* on assuming the duties of President of the United States should be bound at the same time to act as presiding officer of the Senate. He cited a case of himself in the State of Kentucky in refutation of such a view, and Senator Thurman of Ohio added two cases in his own State where the governorship of the State devolved on the speaker of the Senate, and it was decided in both cases that the speaker accepting the office of Governor thereby vacated his office as Senator.

Senator Morton added the case of Pinchback, who became Governor of Louisiana; meantime his office as Senator expired, but he continued to act as Governor till Governor Kellogg was installed.

Senator Stevenson contended that this case was directly in support of his views on the question now pending.

Senator Thurman stated that at first he was induced to take the view of the report of the committee, but that the discussion had changed his mind, and that now he inclined to believe that the preponderance of argument was against the power of the Senate to change the presiding officer of the Senate as was contended in the report. He further argued that on assuming the duties of the President of the United States the President *pro tempore* would vacate his office as Senator.

Senator Alcorn argued in favor of the view that when the President *pro tempore* assumes the duties of President of the United States he is then beyond the reach of the Senate. He cited authorities from his own state of Mississippi in support of this position, while at the same time contending that the power to appoint implies the power to remove. But he thought these questions did not really conflict.

The question being taken on the indefinite postponement of the resolution, the Senate refused to postpone.

Senator Whyte offered an amendment in pursuance of the view that when the President *pro tempore* assumes the duties of the President of the United States he steps beyond the reach of the Senate.

The amendment was rejected, and the resolution was agreed to by a vote of 34 to 15.

Senator Stevenson suggested that this action had left the whole question in great uncertainty, and that he should propose a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to look into this matter and by necessary and proper legislation provide for any and every contingency that may occur.

The fourth resolution, declaring that Hon. Thomas W. Ferry, a Senator from Michigan, who was elected President *pro tempore* at the last session, is now the President *pro tempore* by virtue of said election, was withdrawn on the ground that in view of the other resolutions already adopted this resolution is unnecessary.

And so after all the efforts on this subject nothing has been settled but a temporary decision of the Senate that it may at its will supersede one incumbent of the office by the election of another, and this rule may itself be reversed at some future time by another vote of the Senate. But the discussion has shown one thing, namely: the great defects of existing legislation upon the whole question, and the imperative necessity in so important a matter of passing an act which will clear the case of its present difficulties and avoid the formidable evils which might now arise in a very palpable contingency.

NEUTRALITY BETWEEN SPAIN AND CUBA.

Senator Conover submitted a concurrent resolution, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed, which was to the effect that the President should issue a proclamation of strict neutrality between Spain and Cuba, and that the President place in full force and operation the same provisions made and enacted by the Government of Her Majesty, the Queen of Spain, June 17th, 1861, on the occasion of the outbreak of the civil war in the United States.

NATIONAL AND STATE RIGHTS.

Senator Whyte gave notice of a substitute for the resolutions of Senator Morton on National and State rights, which substitute recites the old Democratic doctrine on this subject as held before the late war for the suppression of secession and rebellion.

WOMEN'S PETITION FOR POLYGAMY.

Senator Sargent presented the memorial of 22,626 women of Utah, of the Mormon faith, with the remark that while he did not concur in the objects of the petition, but believed them to be wholly detrimental to society, yet recognizing always the people's right of petition he desired that the memorial might be read and referred to the Committee on Territories. The petition prays that Congress may make no law prohibiting the practice of plural marriages as found in the Territory of Utah, and that Utah may be received as a State into the Union.

Strange fanaticism! Can society, for whose protection Government exists, permit such a solecism in the nineteenth century? This is the problem. Men and women claim, under the American doctrine of personal conscience and private judgment, the right to perpetuate as a part of their religious faith this relic of a civilization which was long ago worn out and cast aside through the length and breadth of Christendom.

THE HOUSE.

On the first day of meeting after the recess Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, in Committee of the Whole, offered resolutions assigning the different portions of the President's Message to their respective committees, which being reported to the House caused considerable debate, particularly as to the assignment

questions on currency and finance to the Committees of Ways and Means and of Banking and Currency. This resulted in the adoption of the resolutions as they stood.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

Mr. Holman offered a resolution recommending that the people of every county in the United States assemble on the 4th of July, 1876, in their several counties, and cause to be delivered a historical sketch of the county from its formation, a copy of which shall be filed with the Librarian of Congress. The resolution was referred to the Centennial Committee.

WORKING MEN OF THE DISTRICT.

Mr. O'Brien presented a long memorial, prepared by John Pope Hodnett, in behalf of the working men of the District of Columbia, setting forth a great variety of facts and figures in relation to the condition of labor, and the system of contracts, and the scale of prices, and the claims of laborers under the direction of the Board of Public Works, and the indebtedness of contractors to working men of the District, as well as detailed accounts of the same, and praying an appropriation to pay these men, and the appointment of a disbursing officer to see them paid.

This petition, signed by fourteen thousand working men, was ordered to be printed in the *Congressional Record*.

MANAGEMENT OF NAVY-YARDS.

Mr. Goode submitted a resolution of inquiry on the management of the navy-yards and of ship building, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

PACIFIC RAILROAD SUBSIDY BONDS.

Mr. Lawrence submitted a resolution of inquiry as to what legislation may be necessary to secure the United States indemnity from the Pacific Railroad Company, which was adopted and referred to the Judiciary Committee. He stated that this company received from the United States over twenty-seven millions in bonds, and now refuses to pay the full interest on these bonds. At the same time the company is taking no measures to pay this interest save what is paid in certain amounts of freight, leaving a large balance unprovided for, which balance in bonds and arrears of interest amounts to forty-eight millions of dollars.

EDUCATION.

Mr. Monroe submitted the following preamble and resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:

"Whereas it is commonly admitted that the general education of the people is indispensable to the prosperity and even to the continued existence of a republic in which the responsibilities of suffrage are universal; and whereas the last census reveals the alarming fact that more than one-fifth of the population of the United States above the age of ten years is unable to read or write, and that nearly one-fourth of all the legal voters of the nation is in this condition of illiteracy; and whereas this want of the rudiments of knowledge among those who elect the officers of the State and nation exists largely by the act of the National Government through the extension of the right of suffrage and in States which are disabled by the waste and impoverishment of war, from making adequate provision for the support of common schools; and whereas our soundest jurists have held, with Judge Story, that the Constitution confers the power upon Congress, in the exercise of a sound discretion and with proper regard to the just autonomy of the States, to apply the money raised by taxation to the promotion of the general welfare of the United States: Therefore,

"Resolved, That the Committee on Education and Labor be requested to inquire in regard to the expediency of making moderate appropriation from the Treasury, upon the ratio of illiteracy, for the voluntary acceptance of States which have established or will establish a permanent system of common schools for the education of all their youth, and supported in fair proportion, by the taxation of their own people; and that the said committee report by bill or otherwise."

Mr. Randall. I would like to hear that resolution read again, as it seems to be a very important one.

Mr. Monroe. It is only offered for reference, and not for adoption.

Mr. O'Brien asked if it would be proper to include in this reference of the resolution to the committee that it should never come back again?

Mr. Buckner objected to its going in the Record!

These gentlemen are Democrats.

ECONOMY AND REFORM.

Mr. Morrison submitted the following, which was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means:

"Resolved, That the several committees of this House having in charge matters pertaining to Indian affairs, military affairs, naval affairs, post-office and post-roads, public lands, public buildings and grounds, claims and war claims, be, and they are hereby, instructed to inquire, so far as the same may properly be before their respective committees, into any errors, abuses, or frauds in the administration and execution of existing laws affecting said branches of the public service, with a view to ascertain what change and reformation can be made so as to promote integrity, economy, and efficiency therein; that the Committees on Expenditures in the State Department, in the Treasury Department, in the War Department, in the Navy Department, in the Post-Office Department, in the Interior Department, in the Department of Justice, and on Public Buildings, be, and they are hereby, instructed to proceed at once, as required by the rules of the House, to examine into the state of the accounts and expenditures of the respective departments submitted to them, and to examine and report particularly whether the expenditures of the respective departments are justified by law; whether the claims from time to time satisfied and discharged by the respective departments are supported by sufficient vouchers, establishing their justness both as to their character and amount; whether such claims have been discharged out of funds appropriated therefor, and whether all moneys have been disbursed in conformity with appropriation laws; whether any, and what, provisions are necessary to be adopted to provide more perfectly for the proper application of the public moneys and to secure the Government from demands unjust in their character or extravagant in their amount; whether any, and what, retrenchment can be made in the expenditures of the several departments, without detriment to the public service; whether any, and what, abuses at any time exist in the failure to enforce the payment of moneys which may be due to the United States from public defaulters or others; and to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the several departments and the accountability of their officers; whether any offices belonging to the branches or departments, respectively, concerning whose expenditures it is their duty to inquire, have become useless or unnecessary; and to report, from time to time, on the expediency of modifying or abolishing the same; also to examine into the pay and emoluments of all offices under the laws of the United States; and to report, from time to time, such a reduction or increase thereof as a just economy and the

public service may require. And for the purpose of enabling the several committees to fully comprehend the workings of the various branches or departments of Government, respectively, the investigations of said committees may cover such period in the past as each of said committees may deem necessary for its own guidance or information, or for the protection of the public interests, in the exposing of frauds or abuses of any kind in said departments; and said committees are authorized to send for persons and papers, and may report by bill or otherwise.

"Resolved further, That the Committee on Public Expenditures be instructed to investigate and inquire into the matters set forth in the foregoing resolution in the legislative department of the Government, except in so far as the Senate is exclusively concerned, and particularly in reference to the public printing and binding, and shall have the same authority as is conferred upon the other committees aforesaid."

This action is regarded as the entering wedge of investigation that knows no end, and will entail on the Treasury an extra expense of uncertain limit with results wholly inadequate to the pains employed.

UNION SOLDIERS.

Mr. Cason submitted the following, which was finally adopted:

"Whereas the people of the United States have lately passed through an internecine war in which one section of the country has been arrayed against the other, brother against brother, and father against son; and whereas we owe the preservation of the Union, the establishment of peace, and the enforcement of law and order to the bravery and patriotic devotion of the loyal soldiers to the Union and its cause: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, That we recognize the brave and gallant services rendered by the loyal soldier to his country in the time of its greatest need and peril, and that we do earnestly recommend to the people of our common country the utmost care and watchfulness over the rights and interests of these brave men, securing to each one in need employment, and to such and their families the necessities and common comforts of life; and in all cases of public employment and in the bestowment of the emoluments of office, that, all other things being equal, the soldier should have the preference over the civilian, and, as one branch of the legislative department of this Government, we are in favor of laws being enacted by Congress giving liberal pensions to the deceased and crippled soldiers, and to the widows and children and dependent

fathers and mothers of those who have died of wounds or diseases contracted while in the service of the Union army, and to each living soldier, and to the widows and heirs of those dead, such bounties and homesteads as a generous Government can afford to those who have won and preserved to the nation its unity and Constitution."

In pursuance of the above Mr. Fort submitted the following, which was referred to the Centennial Committee:

"Resolved, That the doctrine just announced by the House in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Cason) is so wise and just, that in the judgment of this House it should be followed by officers of the House in filling subordinate places under their authority, and that in all such cases they are hereby instructed to give to well qualified Union soldiers preference over soldiers of the late Confederate army."

Mr. Cox styled it "a big thing."

Mr. Wood spoke of "buncombe resolutions." So it was buried in the Centennial Committee room.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Mr. Hopkins reported a bill appropriating \$1,500,000 for completing the Centennial buildings, and other preparations for the Centennial anniversary, which was ordered to lie on the table.

FRATERNAL FEELING.

Mr. New submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the fraternal feeling and good-will now existing in all sections of the United States, and the manifest disposition and purpose of the men who battled against each other in the late civil war to join hands as one people in the future is a most auspicious ushering in of the Centennial year; and while the people are thus making an honest effort to live together in peace and uphold the same flag for an undivided country, their representatives in Congress should do no act which will unnecessarily disturb the patriotic concord now existing and increasing, or wantonly revive the bitter memories of the past."

Which was unanimously adopted—whereupon Mr. Fort submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in consideration of the existence of the auspicious harmony expressed in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana, just passed, wounded Union soldiers ought not to be removed from positions in this House which they may be qualified to fill."

Which the chair decided out of order.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BONDS.

Mr. Slemons offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

"Whereas an act of Congress approved June 20, 1874, authorizing the sinking fund commission of the District of Columbia to issue bonds of the District payable in fifty years from date, bearing interest at the rate of 3.65 per cent. per annum, for the payment of which, interest and principal, the faith of the nation is pledged, does not limit the amount of said issue : Therefore,

"Be it resolved, That the House Committee on the District of Columbia be, and they are hereby, instructed to report as early as practicable what legislation is necessary to the protection of the United States and the District of Columbia against loss on account of the unlimited power of said sinking fund commission in the premises."

Mr. Durand submitted a resolution looking to legislation which shall prohibit assessments or demands on Government employees for political purposes, which was adopted without debate or discussion.

DIFFICULTIES ON THE MEXICAN BORDER.

Mr. Schleicher offered the following :

"Resolved, That the portion of the President's message which refers to the inroads, robberies, and murders along the Mexican border in Texas be referred to a special committee of five members, with instructions to inquire into the cause and the nature and extent of those depredations, and the measures that might prevent their continuance, and to report at as early a day as practicable."

Which, after considerable debate, was adopted.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Mr. Oliver offered the following, which was ordered to be printed in the Record :

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States so as to elect the President and Vice President thereof by a direct vote of the people thereof.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of each House concurring therein,) That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution, to wit :

ARTICLE—.

After the year 1876 the President and Vice President of the United States shall be elected by a direct vote of the people of the sev-

eral States, and the electors in each State shall have the same qualification as the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

The person receiving the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, and the person receiving the greatest number of votes for Vice President shall be the Vice President ; but if two or more persons shall each receive an equal and the greatest number of votes for President, then the House of Representatives shall from such persons immediately choose the President ; and if two or more persons shall each receive an equal and the greatest number of votes for Vice President, then the Senate shall from such persons immediately choose the Vice President. In such elections each House shall vote *viva voce*, and each member shall have one vote, and the person receiving a majority of the votes cast shall be elected ; and in case of a tie the presiding officer shall determine it.

The election for President and Vice President shall be held at the time now provided by law for choosing the electors of such officers, but Congress may prescribe a different time, which shall be the same in all the States ; and Congress shall prescribe the manner of holding and conducting such elections and making the returns thereof ; and in case of failure so to do, that duty shall devolve in the order named, first, on the President of the United States ; second, on the Legislature of each State within that State ; and, third, upon the chief executive of each State within that State.

The returns shall be canvassed at the time and in the manner now provided or which may be hereafter provided by the joint rules of the two Houses or by law, by and in the presence of both Houses of Congress, who shall be the judges (each House voting separately) of the returns and election ; but in case the two Houses shall not agree, then the matter of disagreement shall be referred to the Supreme Court of the United States, which shall forthwith decide the same ; and such decision shall be final.

Also the following in relation to the election of United States Senators :

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of each House concurring,) That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution, to wit :

ARTICLE—.

"The Senate of the United States shall be

composed of two members from each State, who shall hereafter be elected by a direct vote of the people for six years; and the electors in each State shall have the same qualifications as the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but the Congress may by law provide for conducting and holding the election and canvassing the vote.

AMNESTY.

Mr. Randall moved to suspend the rules in order to consider the amnesty bill which had been introduced by him.

The bill proposes (two-thirds of each House concurring) to remove all the disabilities imposed and remaining upon any person by virtue of the third section of the fourteenth amendment, and that whenever such person from whom such disabilities are removed by this act shall be elected or appointed to any post or office of honor or trust under the Government of the United States he shall take the oath prescribed by section 1757 of title 19 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, or such other official oath as may be hereafter prescribed in such cases by any future act of Congress.

As soon as the bill was read, Mr. Blaine indicated a desire to offer an amendment as a substitute. Then lively skirmishing commenced on the Democratic side to prevent any amendment and to restrict debate. The Democrats attempted to pass the bill under the operation of the previous question. They failed in this by a vote of 175 to 97, 18 not voting, whereupon Mr. Blaine, as a privileged question, moved to reconsider this vote, and gave notice that upon the motion to reconsider being agreed to he would move the following amendment, and would debate the question:

"Be it enacted, etc., That all persons now under the disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, with the exception of Jefferson Davis, late president of the so-called Confederate States, shall be relieved of such disabilities upon their appearing before any judge of a United States court and taking and subscribing in open court the following oath, to be duly attested and recorded, namely: I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the

same; that I take this obligation free without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of a citizen of the United States."

He proceeded to give the legislative history of amnesty from the passage of the fourteenth amendment, which at the time of its becoming a part of the Constitution, included about 18,000 men in the South. In a time when the Republicans had a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress, they began to remit the disability imposed. The very first bill relieved some 1,578 citizens. The next bill set free 3,526 gentlemen. Many of the gentlemen on this floor to-day, said Mr. Blaine, were relieved by these two bills. The next step was a general law passed May 22, 1872, since which time no one has been refused who petitioned for amnesty, with one single exception, and in no instance of amnesty granted has there been any other than a unanimous vote. This clemency has been going on under Republican legislation till the number remaining under disability in the South is not more than 750 persons. As nearly as can be ascertained of those who were educated at West Point, were officers in the Army and went into the rebellion, there are 325, those in the Navy about 295; those under other heads, Senators, Representatives, officers in the judiciary service, heads of Departments and Foreign Ministers, make up a still smaller number.

Mr. Blaine continued, observing that with one exception he saw no reason why these gentlemen should not all receive amnesty, as it had been granted to others of the same class. But he argued that if they were to be clothed with citizenship they should at least ask for it and take an oath that they would be good citizens. He cited Robert Toombs, of Georgia, as having spoken contemptuously both in this country and Europe of asking for American citizenship, and declared that if Mr. Toombs could not ask for citizenship he could stay out, and that the people of the country could stand it.

But while he excepted Jefferson Davis, it was not on the ground of his being President of the rebel government, nor of any special

damage done to the Union by him above others, nor of any personal or special consequence attaching to him, but because he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville. He declared that the atrocities in this rebel prison transcended anything to be found in history.

Mr. Robbins, of North Carolina. That is an infamous slander!

Mr. Blaine continued, holding up the report of a committee of Congress, alleging that the facts could not be disputed or gainsaid. He supported this position by citing portions of the report and the evidence on which it is based. After showing that nobody proposed to punish Jefferson Davis, he concluded by saying that he should protest by his voice and his vote against crowning with the honors of American citizenship the man who organized that murder.

Mr. Cox obtained the floor and made a speech in opposition to Mr. Blaine's amendment, made up of poetical citations, passages of Scripture, and various odds and ends of sharp wit and saucy retort. His speech was withheld for revision before being published in the *Record*.

Mr. Kelley lifted up a cry for unqualified amnesty, coupled with an appeal for an appropriation for the Centennial celebration.

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, an ex-member of the rebel Senate, obtained the floor, pending which the House adjourned. The next day when the amnesty amendment of Mr. Blaine came up, Mr. Hill made a speech, which, like that of Mr. Cox, was withheld for revision. The points of his speech as revised and published in the *Record* are as follows:

1. That the whole evidence of the alleged cruelties at Andersonville and ascribing their authorship to Jefferson Davis is *ex parte*, taken in fury and rage and mutilated at that. To prove this statement he introduced the testimony of Dr. Jones, a Confederate surgeon who was sent to Andersonville to investigate the alleged cruelties—as though the testimony of Dr. Jones was not also *ex parte*. He likewise referred to the trial of Wirz, the keeper of Andersonville prison, and adduced the testimony of one Lewis Schade, who was counsel for Wirz, and a man of such char-

acter that it is surprising he should be taken into consideration for a single moment. He then undertook to insinuate motives on the part of Mr. Blaine by connecting with the discussion General Grant and the whiskey frauds, the Credit Mobilier, the Sanborn contracts, and the Board of Public Works in the District of Columbia.

2. His next point was an attempt to show that the Confederate government did all they could to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners at Andersonville, by providing a healthy locality, pure water and shade trees, by permitting the prisoners to purchase vegetables. They could not furnish them clothing or medicine, for they had them not. The stockade at Andersonville inclosed twenty-seven acres permeated by a stream of water. He attempted to prove that the rebel prisoners at Elmira were worse treated than the Union prisoners at Andersonville, by citing the fact that in round numbers the rebel prisoners in Union hands were 220,000, out of whom over 26,000 died, while the Union prisoners in rebel hands were 270,000, out of whom 22,000 died.

3. His next question was—Who is responsible for this state of things? And he undertook to show that the whole responsibility was on the Union Government in refusing an exchange of prisoners, or listening to any arrangement by which they might be returned.

Mr. Hill was permitted to exceed his hour, and as he was about to continue his speech, Mr. Blaine read an extract from the records of the Confederate congress showing that Mr. Hill as a Senator in that congress had introduced resolutions to the effect that if any person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States shall be captured on Confederate soil he shall be presumed to have entered Confederate territory to incite insurrection and abet murder, and shall suffer death, and asked Mr. Hill if he was the author of that resolution. Mr. Hill did not recollect. His memory was evidently at fault. He continued, citing the testimony of General Grant and some statements of the prisoners themselves, and a letter from a Mr. Brown, a contributor to *Harper's Monthly*, to prove that the only man respon-

sible for all these horrors was Edwin M. Stanton, the Union Secretary of War!

In the conclusion of his speech, he threw down the glove to the Republican party—that great party that saved the Union and gave him leave to speak so freely in that forum—in these terms, “But to you gentlemen who seek still to continue strife, to you we make no concessions. Martyrs owe no apologies to tyrants!” and with this flourish of rhetorical insult he sat down.

The next day General Garfield replied in a speech of great calmness and force, and with tremendous effect, because it was the utterance of truth.

He began by expressing regret for the necessity of recalling the horrible details of the past. He spoke of the importance of the question, and of the purpose of the Democratic majority to put through their measure for amnesty without permitting an adequate discussion, or anything in the shape of amendment. Two points had been suggested for the improvement of the bill. The Republicans were now anxious to close this matter of amnesty in good faith, and in a manner befitting the gravity of the occasion. They wished to imitate the mercy of God which, though free, had still to be implored. That was the first point. The second was to make one only exception—that of Jefferson Davis. The Democratic proposition was affirmative, and should be supported by affirmative reasons. If the Republicans objected, they should have been met soberly. But how have their objections been treated? The speech of Mr. Cox was like joking at a funeral. The speech of Mr. Hill was an arraignment, not only of the Republican party, but of the whole twenty-five millions of Union people in the country. The war not only abolished slavery and set free four millions of bondmen, but it decided the conflict between the Republican and Democratic theories of allegiance. He then discussed the question under the figure of an issue at law when, during the progress of the trial, some of the members of the bar and parties to the contest had been disbarred. He said, using this illustration, there are 750 persons now disbarred before the Constitution, and we are

all agreed as to the full restoration of all these persons with one exception.

The reason assigned for this exception is that Jefferson Davis did so violate the laws of war as to make it unfit to restore him to his former privileges as a citizen, and he might have added that there was in the camp of Christ one man so traitorous to God and humanity that there was for him no forgiveness in heaven, earth, or hell.

But how, said he, has this argument been met? They have met it by denying the atrocities at Andersonville. They called the committee of Congress which made the report proving these atrocities “a humbug committee,” an “*ex parte* committee that made its report in fury and rage.”

He then recited from public documents the history of the report, and of the evidence taken upon the trial of Wirz. He showed the infamous character of Winder, the tool of Jefferson Davis, sent expressly by him to do whatever the malignity of his nature prompted him to do. He adduced the protest of the Confederate Inspector General Chandler against the continuance of these atrocities. Winder was left, however, to go on with his cruelties till he had caused the death of 12,644 Union soldiers in his horrible prison-pen at Andersonville—nearly as large a number of men as fell in the English army in the ten great European battles, commencing with Talavera and ending with the Crimea.

The next answer of the Democrats is that the Union prisons exhibited greater atrocities than the rebel prisons. In reply to this, Mr. Garfield appealed to the Democratic members on the floor from those localities where the Union prisons were to know if they would indorse such a statement. It was indignantly denied by those gentlemen. He produced other incontestible proof of the utter falsity of the allegation, till Mr. Hill was compelled to explain that he meant only to say that the rebel prisoners in Union prisons were subjected only to such hardships as are always incident to war.

Mr. Garfield then showed how the thirty or forty maimed Union soldiers who had been employed about the Capitol have just been

turned out to make places for rebel soldiers. This statement called forth an interruption from Mr. Reagan, who said that in the last Congress 18 Federal soldiers had been appointed by the Doorkeeper of the House, while 24 had been appointed by the Doorkeeper of this House.

Mr. Garfield explained that he hoped it was so, but that in the post office of the House a statement just placed in his hands showed that while 9 Union soldiers were on the roll in the last Congress, they have all been removed in this Congress, and 13 rebel soldiers have been placed upon the roll. He was willing the two statements should go together.

He then referred to the number of prisoners taken on either side during the war. He held a statement which showed that the Union forces had taken 476,169 rebel prisoners, while the rebel forces had taken 188,145 Union prisoners, and he gave cogent reasons why the rebel prisoners were not, as a body of men, as strong and capable of endurance as the Union soldiers, and that this was one of the causes of their greater mortality.

He then discussed the question of exchange of prisoners during the war, and showed the reasons which controlled the policy of the Union Government in this matter, and which clearly proved that it was owing to the Confederate hatred and inhumanity toward the blacks, and that the loyal people chose to abide by the laws of war among all civilized nations, at whatever cost, rather than desert the bondmen for whose cause the war was maintained.

He then appealed to the ex-rebels on the floor, and said, "Do you wish easier terms for others than those on which you yourselves came back?" This led to a colloquy, in which Messrs. Hill and Tucker engaged with some pertinacity—the ex-rebel Tucker remarking that he did not speak "to excuse himself, but to excuse some of the noblest men he had ever known, and of whom the gentleman might be proud to claim to be a peer." Of this bravado Mr. Garfield took no notice.

He then replied to the charge of Mr. Hill that all the wrongs of the South were charge-

able to Northern fanaticism, and he did this with a dignity and power which should have caused the faces of men with the least sensibility to tingle with the blush of shame, and he concluded one of the most effective and exhaustive speeches that have been delivered in Congress in many years by saying, "I join you all in every aspiration that you may express to stay in the Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its glory, and to forget the evils and bitterness of the past. But do not, for the sake of the 300,000 heroic men, who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives, carrying in their hearts the memory of what they suffered in the prison-pen—do not ask us to vote to put back into power that man who was the cause of their suffering—that man still unshrived, unforgiven, and undefended."

After this a running minor debate followed between Messrs. Seelye, Randall, Frye, Banks, Hill, Blaine, Reagan, Atkins, and Jones.

Mr. Blaine contended that he had the right of reply under the rules. It was finally agreed that Mr. Blaine should have the right of reply for one hour, and then move the previous question, upon which the House adjourned.

The next day the subject was resumed, and Mr. Knott, from the Judiciary Committee, reported the amnesty bill with an amendment requiring an oath to be taken by the person amnestied. No debate, no suggestion, not even from the minority members on the committee was permitted, and the Democrats attempted to put the bill through by a direct vote, which stood 182 to 97; two-thirds not concurring, the motion was lost.

Mr. Blaine then took the floor and moved to reconsider the vote. Attempts were made to obstruct his purpose, but they were foiled on every side. He then read a letter from ex-Governor Holden, of North Carolina, dated January 12, 1876, directed to himself, in which Mr. Holden shows that he has been impeached and disfranchised in that State, and that there is no proposition for amnesty towards him. Mr. Blaine said "gentlemen of the South must come here with clean hands before they asked for amnesty for Jefferson Davis. Do not come here with that request

while you are persecuting men in the South for no crime but simply being Republicans!" This was a telling shot. He then asked unanimous consent to offer his bill, and would yield to any gentleman on the other side to strike out the clause excepting Jefferson Davis. Mr. Randall objected. Mr. Blaine made other efforts for unanimous consent, which being persistently rejected he said he would end the matter right here, and withdrawing his motion to reconsider he resumed his seat.

Mr. Randall appealed to him not to withdraw his motion, but the only response was a call for the regular order, and so amnesty was killed in the house of its friends!

This great debate will develop to the country the feelings and purposes of both the political parties as represented in Congress. Republicans have nothing to fear from such an agitation. It is only the apathy of the country and the siren song of fraternity while the designs of the Southern leaders and their plastic allies in the North are being carried forward that the true patriot and loyal citizen has to fear and guard against.

Our Best Men for the Convention.

The Republican Convention that is to meet for the selection of our standard bearers in the Presidential campaign should be a model one in every respect. The people should send to it none but first-class men, men whose character is above reproach, and whose patriotism is beyond question. The Convention will be one of the most, if not the most, important ever held in this country. On its deliberations will depend, in a great degree, the future weal or woe of the Republic. Therefore the most sagacious and reliable men in the Republican ranks must be selected to represent the loyal masses in whose name they are to act. To secure such men the delegates who appoint them must be chosen by the people with especial reference to their high character as citizens and their fitness for the duty which devolves upon them. Republicans everywhere should see to it that no personal ambition nor groundless prejudice should be allowed to trammel the freedom of those who are to meet in

National Convention to make choice of the best man for the highest office in the gift of the people. On the choice made the success or failure of the Union cause and the party pledged to its maintenance largely depends. No human sagacity can foretell the direful consequences which would follow in the track of Democratic ascendancy. Our national credit would be imperiled, our rights of citizenship destroyed, our public treasury plundered in the name of law, and those forces of social and political anarchy which were defeated on the battle-field would triumphantly assert their sway over a people that could no longer resist their encroachments.

The safety of the Republic lies in the wisdom of the Convention that is to name the man who is to bear the banner of Republicanism in the approaching struggle. Therefore we plead with the people to send to the Convention the best men of the nation, whose patriotism and judgment can be relied upon, and whose decision will command, not only the respect, but the confidence of the American people.

STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER.—When the halls of Congress are converted into a forum for the defense and justification of the late rebellion, and the acts of a loyal people in conducting a great war for the preservation of the Union are criticised and denounced by men who owe their lives to the magnanimity of the loyal masses, is it not about time for the friends of the Union to stand shoulder to shoulder in guarding the nation against renewed attacks of the once defeated enemies of the Government?

GRATITUDE OF REPUBLICS.—Faith in the gratitude of Republics would have been sadly shaken if the victims of deliberate starvation at Andersonville could have looked beyond their misery and beheld the authors and abettors of their sufferings standing on the floors of Congress, defending the cruelties practiced, and holding up to the loyal people of America that arch traitor, Jefferson Davis—whose life has been spared through the magnanimity of a Republic he endeavored to destroy—as a model of patriotism and public virtue.

SOME PHASES OF ENGLISH LAND TENURE, AND PLANS OF LAND TENURE REFORM.

The relations subsisting between English tenant farmers and their landlords were some time since illustrated in connection with a disagreement that arose between the Earl of Darnley and a certain Mr. Lake, who, besides being the tenant of one of Lord Darnley's farms, is Mayor of Gravesend, and therefore a person of some social importance. It seems that Mr. Lake has a son in the West Kent Yeomanry Cavalry, the Colonelcy of which was some time ago resigned by Lord Darnley in consequence of a quarrel with the captain of one of his companies. A majority of the members of that company—most of them being tenants, or the sons of tenants, on the Darnley estate—took sides with his Lordship, and followed his example in leaving the service. This course, however, was not pursued by the son of Mr. Lake, although he was a member of the same company. At this Lord Darnley felt aggrieved, and appealed to the elder Lake to use his influence with his son to induce him to leave the troop. Mr. Lake replied that he "could not think the relations between a loyal subject and his Queen should in any way be interfered with by those between a landlord and his tenant." In short, Mr. Lake refused to interfere, and as a return for his contumacy was served with a notice to quit the farm.

But the point which most interests us is the theory of English land-tenure laid down by the Earl in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Lake on the subject of their differences. It seems that for some years past his Lordship has observed on the part of Mr. Lake a neglect of some of those marks of deference which he regarded as appropriate to the position of a tenant. He complains, for instance, that since 1871 Mr. Lake had not honored him with his company at the annual dinner given to the tenants on his estate, and, indeed, at the last five dinners had been present only once. He then goes on to say: "Now what I wish to suggest for your consideration is how far any person has a right thus to maintain a position of isolation under such circumstances. It is the charac-

teristic of the tenantry on the large estates of this country that they are not mere rent-payers or customers for the commodity called land; but on the contrary retain just so much of feudal tradition as, without compromising their due independence, serves to establish some kind of sympathy of sentiment, and identity of interest between themselves and their landlord." In a subsequent note he says: "If I were willing to have tenants upon such terms as yours, I might as well put up my farms to public competition; indeed, it would be foolish not to do so, as I should get higher rents than I do."

If Mr. Lake had been an average English farmer, we presume he would have recognized the feudal traditions attaching to his tenancy, and anticipated his landlord's wishes, in which case the world at large would not have been reminded, as it has been, that those feudal traditions still exist upon English estates. An English paper, in commenting upon this affair, expressed its sense of obligation to Lord Darnley for so distinctly formulating the feudal theory as to the tenure of land, but suggested that it might be fair to have it clearly stated when a farm is let "whether the transaction is commercial or feudal; whether the tenant is to hold that he has done his duty when he has paid his rent and cultivated his land in scientific fashion; or whether he is still bound to perform the feudal 'incidents' of voting with his landlord, of sharing the patronizing hospitality of tenants' dinners, and of compelling his sons to follow the landlord's flag when he happens to quarrel with the service of his Queen." * * "Of course it is understood," continues the same journal in a sarcastic vein, "that he is not to make use of the nefarious machinery of the ballot to conceal his vote. He will be required to share his landlord's religious as well as his political creed; and though all his sympathies may be with the robust Protestantism of the Baptist Chapel, he will have to worship amid the Ritualistic aids to devotion which please the esthetic piety of his bet-

ters. He must not grumble when the county hunt treads his springing corn into the ground. * * He must echo the squire and the parson at the Board of Guardians, and he must vote stoutly against a school board."

These, it seems, are some of the incidents of feudal tenure. At the same time, it must be admitted that not all English landlords are like the Earl of Darnley; and it is a fact, which any one who visits England may ascertain for himself, that either through the force of "feudal tradition," or for some other reason, a considerable portion of the land comprised in the great estates of the nobility is really rented a good deal below its strict commercial value. It must be observed, however, that this is only another way of saying that the men who have monopolized the soil do not push their advantage to the extreme limit; or, in other words, that they do not exact for its use quite as much as the density of population, and the consequent keenness of competition, would enable them to obtain. The London correspondent of the *Liverpool Journal*, in commenting upon this point, says:

"A kinsman of mine is a Scotch land-surveyor, valuer, and agent. Not long ago I walked with him over a farm of six hundred acres, the property of a great Duke. The land is good, though not of the first-class. The rent is 30 shillings an acre. My friend, when he heard this, exclaimed with astonishment: Thirty shillings! Why I have let thousands of acres of land no better than this at \$4 per acre! Some time afterwards I ascertained that all the land on this estate—an estate in one of the best farming counties in England—fetched on an average 25s. 6d. an acre. Its market value, said a gentleman to the proprietor, 'is about 50 shillings per acre.' The answer was, 'I know it.' This is not a singular case in that county. The adjoining estate comprises, on the whole, better land—some of it, indeed, is very excellent land—but the average rent is only 27 shillings an acre. The proprietor of this estate told me that his farms have not been valued for seventy years."

During a recent visit to England the writer of this article became cognizant of cases quite similar to those just mentioned. A mechanic occupying a comfortable brick cottage with about two acres of good land

it paid a rent of £5 10s. per

annum. The cottage, which was built about two years ago, contains six rooms, which have a height of from 8 feet 6 inches to 9 feet from floor to ceiling, and is situated on a good turnpike road within four miles of a market town, within less than two miles of a railway station, and but a few hundred yards distant from a local post office and a national school. This is on the estate of Lord Hanmer, near Whitchurch, Shropshire. While some of the great proprietors are allowing their cottages to fall into decay, and merging the small plots of land attached to them into the adjoining farms, this nobleman is taking here and there a few acres from his farms and erecting thereon comfortable cottages for the laborers and mechanics of the neighborhood. And while he lets these tenements at very moderate rates, he does not appear, like the Earl of Darnley, to expect in return the privilege of treating his tenants as feudal dependents. In religious matters he is especially liberal, and the only thing towards which he appears to be downright intolerant is the vice of intemperance.

Within a few miles of Lord Hanmer's estate is one which was purchased, about twenty-five years ago, by the son of a wealthy manufacturer. Its purchaser having been brought up in a commercial atmosphere, naturally expects to get for it its full commercial value, and does obtain higher rents than most other landholders in the same part of the country. Although more ready than some of these other landholders to invest capital in the improvement of his farms, he is far from being a favorite among the people in his neighborhood, who regard him as a keen, close trader, always ready to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.

What has been said will help to explain the position of the different parties of land-tenure reformers in England. Justly disgusted with assumptions of feudal prerogatives, such as that to which the Earl of Darnley has given an indiscreet publicity, and holding that the monopoly of the soil by a small privileged class is contrary at once to public policy and the laws of nature, leading members of the Liberal party, such as

Mr. Bright, are seeking to break up the great estates by removing all obstacles to the transfer of land and making it as easy to sell a piece of real estate as it now is—to use Mr. Bright's own language—to sell a ship. Believing with their whole hearts in the doctrine of free-trade, reformers of this class think that the application of this principle to land would result in dividing it up into comparatively small properties and establishing the very best system of land-tenure which is attainable.

From this view the more radical land reformers wholly dissent. They know that in a country so densely peopled as Great Britain, and one in which wealth is so abundant, yet so unequally divided, free trade in land might, indeed, result in a large increase in the number of landed proprietors, but could not possibly result in a wide distribution of land among the people and the creation of a freeholding peasantry such as now exists in France and Belgium. They know, too, by observation and experience that the large landholder who has inherited his estate from remote ancestors, and whose income even from a moderate scale of rates is usually very large, is apt to make an easier landlord than the proprietor who has purchased land out of the profits gained in trade or manufactures, and whose property may be barely sufficient, even when let to the best advantage, to yield him an income adequate to his real or imagined needs. Hence, if they were reduced to a choice between the adoption of the Bright programme and letting things remain as they are they would probably decide for the latter, on the ground that the mass of the people, whose poverty would still keep them in the position of tenants, are better off under a few comparatively easy landlords than they would be under a large number of more exacting ones.

They do not propose, however, to let things remain as they are, for they do not believe themselves restricted to the alternative just mentioned. Like Lord Darnley, they recognize the "feudal traditions" which cling to the estates of the English nobility, but unlike him they recognize in those traditions a sword with two edges, of which by far the keener one is turned towards the nobility

themselves. Nor do they especially mourn on account of the one which is turned towards the farmer, the object of their solicitude being the working people. In short, they propose the adoption of a policy based upon the fact that under the feudal system—the system under which the great estates were established—the nobles were only tenants *in capite*, holding their lands from the Crown, to which they owed in return homage and service, just as the inferior tenants owed the same to them. In course of time the Crown ceased to exercise its prerogatives, and, as the nobles were left to do about as they pleased in their relations with their tenants, their estates came to be practically the same as if they were their own property. Nevertheless, in the eye of English law the land has never ceased to be the property of the Crown; and under the present constitutional form of Government, the Crown means the nation. Consequently the English estates are legally public land. But although this may be accepted as legal theory, the proposition to reduce it to practice by ejecting the present holders without compensation would shock the English legal and judicial mind quite as much as if no such theory existed. Even the Radicals, however—at least the more prominent and influential of their number—do not propose so much as this. They do propose, however, to take advantage of the nation's legal right so far as to rescue for the masses of the people at least a share of those original rights in the soil of which they have been despoiled.

The plan proposed by the late John Stuart Mill was that of reviving the dormant right of the State so far as regards the future increase in the value of land, except when such increase is due to labor or expenditure on the part of the landholder. This plan would leave the landholder in possession of whatever revenue he now derives from his land, and would only deprive him of his prospective profits from an unearned increase in the price of land or its rental value. In its adoption the nation would virtually say to the landholders: "The land you hold is mine, but I have been negligent in the assertion of my rights and have given you cause to suppose that I never should assert them. In this belief, or perhaps even in ignorance

of my legal position, many of you have purchased your land at the prevailing high prices of the present time, and all of you have formed expectations based upon the present value of your holdings. This value, therefore, I am disposed to leave undisturbed in your possession; but I shall not permit you to enhance it still further by taking advantage of the growing necessities of the people. I give you notice, then, that for every shilling of additional tribute which you levy upon the people in the form of increased rents, I shall take as much from you in the shape of taxes, to be used for the benefit of the people in the maintenance of free schools and other useful institutions, or in the reduction of the taxes now paid by other portions of the community."

Those who advocate this policy point out that the population of Great Britain has more than doubled since the beginning of the present century; that the average rental value of land has increased in more than the same proportion, while the increase in its selling price has been still greater; that this increase, whether in rental value or in selling price, has not been due, save in a very small degree, to labor or expenditure on the part of the landholders, but simply to the fact that increased competition for land and its products has enabled them to ask and obtain increased prices, they having the monopoly of an article, the supply of which remains absolutely fixed in quantity, however great may become the increase of demand through increase of population. They might also justly argue that if there are a very few estates like that above mentioned, the rent-roll of which has not been revised for seventy years, there are many others like that of the Duke of Westminster, which being cut up into city lots and built upon, has made the family rich beyond computation. This increase of population, they say, is still going on, though somewhat less rapidly than formerly, and may be expected to go on for a considerable period in the future; and if the Government does not interfere, rents will rise still higher, the landlords grow still richer, and the masses sink deeper and deeper into helpless and hopeless poverty.

The latest proposition on this subject

emanates from no less distinguished a personage than Professor Newman, who some months ago, it will be remembered, organized a new national union of agricultural laborers with a view to the adoption of political methods, instead of strikes, as a means of advancing their cause. In a letter to Mr. Walter, M. P. — better known as chief proprietor of the *London Times*—Professor Newman proposes that existing estates be carved into small farms, and let at a fixed rent, with a guaranty that this rent shall never be raised on individuals separately, but only by a national act adding to the rents existing at the time of its passage such uniform percentage as may be deemed proper. This statement, which is taken from a short paragraph on the subject in an English paper, probably fails to give a precise idea of Professor Newman's scheme, but it serves to show how the idea of putting into exercise those national rights over the land which have so long been held in abeyance is gaining ground among English thinkers, and being disseminated among the people.

Such ideas will probably strike most people, even among republican Americans, as decidedly revolutionary in their character; but desperate evils require desperate remedies, and considerations affecting the very existence of the nation may ere long force the British Government to repair the wrong by which the masses of the people have been robbed of their interest in the soil.

There is a suspicion abroad that British power has entered upon a period of decay, and if that be true, it is high time to do something calculated to infuse new spirit among the masses of the British people. When Russia found herself beaten in the Crimean war her most sagacious statesmen perceived that the emancipation of her peasants was necessary to the development of her full strength. A few years later the new Emperor issued the ukase giving freedom to the serfs, and that was accompanied by measures designed to raise those serfs to the position of freeholders. When Prussia, like all the rest of continental Europe, lay trembling at the feet of the first Napoleon, her great statesman, Baron von Stein, whose monument has recently been dedicated at

Berlin amid the acclamations of a grateful people, saw plainly enough what was necessary to restore her strength. "To lift a people up," said he, "it is necessary to give liberty, independence, and property to its oppressed classes, and extend the protection of the law to all alike. Let us emancipate the peasant, for free labor alone sustains a nation effectually. Restore to the peasant the possession of the land he tills, for the independent proprietor alone is brave in defense of hearth and home."

In former times English armies were largely made up of the yeoman class. "And you, good yeomen," cries Henry V. at Harfleur, "whose limbs were made in England, show us here the mettle of your pasture." In Shakspeare's time the yeoman class still formed a considerable part of the population, and Nasse points out that "in the beginning of the seventeenth century Coke could say in a well-known judgment that the third part of England consisted of copyhold." But copyholds and common lands have alike been swallowed up in the great estates, and the agricultural population of the England of to-day consists of tenant farmers, few of whom enjoy any real independence, and wage-laborers, who pass through life with the possibility of ending it in the poor-house ever before their eyes.

To devise and carry out a practical reform which shall not merely create a yeoman class, but turn to the highest advantage of the entire people those rights in the soil which, in belonging to the nation, belong in part to each one of its citizens; to establish a system which, so far as is possible, will preserve these rights against new encroachments, and transmit them unimpaired through successive generations—to do this with the requisite boldness, and yet without unnecessary harshness, will require statesmanship of the very highest order. Until such statesmanship is developed it is to be hoped that things may be allowed to remain as they are, or, at least, that the principle of "free-trade in land," advocated by Mr. Bright and others, may not be embodied in legislation. Such a measure would be a formidable obstacle to any thorough and radical reform at a future day, for it would

involve a practical surrender of the reserved rights of the Crown, and after thus depriving the people of that share in the soil which already belongs to them, it would offer them a privilege of which not one in fifty would ever have the means to avail himself—that of *buying* land with somewhat less of legal impediment than now attends its purchase.

On the Other Limb.

It is a homely but apt proverb which illustrates the change men feel when the boot that pinches is on their own leg, or their own ox, not a neighbor's, is being gored. The Democratic and "Liberal" newspapers and politicians are just now writhing under such a pressure—mildly applied, it is true. The day of the silent men in public affairs seems to be upon us. What an amount of wit and printers' ink has been spilled over the Republican party during the last few years, owing to the reluctance far more than inability of President Grant to make speeches. The poetasters and humorists, the satirists and logicians, have all alike united in affirming his unfitness because of this fact for the high administrative duties of a position which requires only that its incumbent should *write*, not verbally deliver, his views and recommendations. Most American Presidents have been polished talkers, but no one of them was elected to that high position simply on account of his possessing such talent.

A change has come over the critical dream. Mr. Speaker Kerr has appointed as "leader of the House" a man who having served for four years in that body without opening his lips, either in colloquial debate or set speech, must of necessity be presumed to be especially well qualified for a post which is commonly supposed requires in a pre-eminent degree the capacity to think on one's feet, and to speak readily and clearly at all times and to the point. Mr. Kerr is praised for doing this by the same pens and tongues that have heretofore found no vocabulary copious enough to abuse the Republican President, who has never pretended to be a speech-maker. There is a distinction with a difference—don't you see? Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Ways and Means, ought to be able to speak, and either can't or won't, while the President is not required to, and having neither taste nor inclination therefor, simply avails himself of his privilege and refrains.

DEMOCRATIC PROMISES VS. PERFORMANCES.

In his speech of December 4, as Chairman of the Democratic Caucus that nominated a candidate for Speaker, Mr. Lamar, of Mississippi, announced the programme of Democracy on their temporary return to the control of the House of Representatives.

Two paragraphs of his speech are suggestive on account of the subject-matter, and also because we have already had an illustration of the old truth that performance does not always keep pace with the high sounding proclamation which precedes it.

Speaking of the needed reform in the "Civil Service," Mr. Lamar said:

"There has been for some time in the public mind a conviction, profound and all-pervading, that the civil service of the country has not been directed from considerations of public good, but from those of party profit, and for corrupt, selfish, and unpatriotic designs. The people demand at our hands a sweeping and thorough reform, which shall be conducted in a spirit that will secure the appointment to places of trust and responsibility of the honest, the experienced, and the capable."

How has this patriotic and unpartisan declaration been followed out during the thirty days of subsequent performance? If change is reform, then the reform has been "sweeping and thorough."

Indeed, it may almost be said that the Democracy of the whole country came to Washington for the sole purpose of making it "sweeping"—and to fill the subordinate positions in the south wing of the Capitol with "experienced and capable" persons.

Two of the four subordinate officers nominated by Mr. Lamar's caucus took the modified oath. One of them, the Postmaster, late a captain in the rebel army, has appointed nearly all of his employees from Alexandria, Virginia. He has fourteen subordinates, and nine of them could not take the oath that they had never borne arms against the United States.

The Doorkeeper of the House, nominated at Mr. Lamar's caucus, had proved his "experience and capability," by serving as Sergeant-at-Arms of the rebel House of Representatives. In fact, it is becoming apparent that experience in attempting to destroy the

Union is a much better passport to position under this new civil service reform than service in the army of the Union.

For several years past thirteen disabled soldiers have been employed as assistant doorkeepers, and though seriously disabled by wounds received in defending the Union, they have performed for the House the same service which able-bodied men would have done.

On Tuesday, December 13th, a resolution was offered in the House declaring that in filling such places the preference should be given to disabled soldiers who were able to do the needed work, but it was voted down by the solid vote of the Democratic members—with the honorable exception of Mr. Holman, of Indiana.

But Mr. Lamar discussed another topic of far greater importance when he indicated the Democratic policy in reference to the Southern States. He said:

"On the part of those who have been invested with the political power and destiny of our country during the last 10 or 15 years, it has been a frequent remark that the era of constitutional politics had closed, that questions of constitutional limitations and restrictions were no longer to hinder or delay the legislation of the Government in its dealings with financial, economical, or social subjects which were, it was assumed, now the only matters worthy of public attention. And yet, amid their grand boastings, the Forty-third Congress found themselves faced with the gravest questions of constitutional law, reaching down to the fundamental principles of the system, and involving, not only the relations of the State in the Federal Government, but that of the people to their own home Government. The grandest inspiration of the Democratic party is, and its crowning glory will be, to restore the Constitution to its primitive strength and authority, and to make it the protector of every section, and of every State in the Union, and of every human being, of every race, color, and condition in the land."

This paragraph begins with a bold misrepresentation of the doctrine of the Republican party. When has Mr. Lamar heard the Republican party declare its purpose to break down the "barrier of constitutional limitations" in order to deal with "financial, economical, or social subjects?" Can

he be so reckless as to deny the right of Congress to regulate the finance and economy of the nation? If his charge means anything, his meaning is covered by the words "social subjects." It will not be forgotten that the term "social institutions" was the old Democratic euphemism for slavery and all its horrors. He makes his charge more specific by referring to the action of the Forty-third Congress—meaning, of course, the legislation in regard to the Louisiana troubles. This comes with an ill grace from Mr. Lamar, who is known to have been extremely anxious for the adoption of the Wheeler compromise, which saved that distracted State from the greatest and most dangerous complications. His meaning was clearly illustrated by the first act of his party after the election of Mr. Kerr—when he and they attempted to reopen the wounds of Louisiana by disregarding the fundamental condition of the Wheeler compromise. It was fortunate for the peace of the country that a few members of his own party were willing to unite with the Republicans to prevent the consummation of the outrage upon plighted faith. The people will not soon forget that first day's work of the Democratic House. It leaves us in no doubt of Mr. Lamar's meaning, when he says that "the grandest inspiration of the Democratic party is, and its crowning glory will be, to restore the Constitution to its *primitive* strength and authority."

Its "*primitive* strength and authority" were used by the Democracy to deny all the rights of manhood to the negro race. Mr. Lamar's declaration is brim-full of ultra State sovereignty—of disregard to the recent amendments of the Constitution which the Democracy have again and again denounced—and which they do not intend to enforce.

The protection to "every human being, of every race, color, and condition" Mr. Lamar proposes to give may be best illustrated by the protection recently given to the colored voters in his own State. A statement of the vote therein 1873 and that in 1875 will show its character. In the first named year the Republican State Treasurer received 70,462 votes; the Democratic candidate, 47,486—a Republican majority of 22,976. In 1872 the vote for President was: Republican, 82,175;

Democrat, 52,857—a Republican majority of 29,318. In 1875, when the polls and the preliminary canvass was overshadowed by the protection Mr. Lamar promises so lavishly, the vote stood as follows: Democratic candidate for State Treasurer, 97,922; Republican candidate for State Treasurer, 67,000—Democratic majority, 30,922. This shows a change of votes to the extent of more than 40,000; and an increase of 46,974 in the total vote over that of 1873.

Mr. Lamar will not assert that such a result has been achieved by honest and honorable means, and that, too, in a State where the colored population exceeds the white persons, (census 1870,) by 61,305, and the normal excess of voters of that class is at least 15,000. How the change was brought about is well understood. An extract made from a private letter, written in Monroe county, will show the methods employed by the Democracy to secure in Mr. Lamar's own State the equal protection to "every human being, of every race, color, and condition," he so grandiloquently promises:

"Several days prior to the 2d of November the Democrats began to parade with guns and artillery. They kept up a brisk cannonade all over the country in order to frighten and overawe the black voters. They pretended that a large number of colored men intended to vote the Democratic ticket, but it was discovered on election day that not one hundred of such volunteer Democrats lived in the county. Then they resorted to force and intimidation. They took guns and pistols and carried their cannon to the courthouse where the voting was to take place, and told the blacks that they must either vote the Democratic ticket or not vote at all. In about half an hour the news spread all over the precinct. A large number of colored men were coming to vote, but turned back to save themselves. Some were knocked down when they were in the act of voting. Now, I have only this to say, that every species of effectual intimidation was used, and a large number of the largest landholders in the county have refused to rent or lease to blacks who took a leading part in the election. If something is not done to protect us, I can assure you that not a vote will be cast by the black Republicans in this county for President, &c., in 1876."

This illustrates the Lamar code—the mode of protecting all rights and all men (who don't vote their ticket) when it is to be pursued under the Democratic rule. Monroe

county had, in 1870, a population of 22,631, of whom 14,000 were colored. In 1873 it cast 3,844 votes, of whom 2,007 were Republican, making a majority of 170. In 1875 the vote was 4,165, divided into Democrats, 2,619, and Republicans, 1,546—a Democratic majority of 1,073. According to the last Federal census, the number of male citizens in Munroe county was 4,336—only 171 more than the total of the last poll. The ratio to the whole population is somewhat more than one voter to every five persons, and would give to the colored population about 2,800, or a majority of more than 1,200. These figures are quite sufficient to verify the statement made in the letter already quoted.

One other instance will be sufficient. Yazoo county, with a total voting population in 1870 (U. S. census) of 3,398, gave in 1873 a Republican vote of 2,427, and a Democratic poll of 411—a Republican majority of 2,016. At the last election, when the Democracy *protected* the polls, *the Republican vote was seven* (7) and the Democratic 4,044, or a total increase of 653 votes since 1870, indicating an

addition to the population of the county of at least 3,265. Mr. Singleton, one of Mr. Lamar's colleagues, owes his election to this Yazoo county vote. This is a simple absurdity, refuted by its own statement. An influential citizen thus writes from Mississippi:

"As matters now stand, the Democrats will carry the next election as they choose, because the negroes must either vote the Democratic ticket or stay at home. I know the leading Republicans of the State are to some extent to blame, but the Democrats are armed with Winchester rifles. \$4,000 was spent in * * I am told, for guns and ammunition. You must not make public this statement, because it would make it unsafe for me here. Northern men here must do hereafter one of these things: 1st. *Leave the State.* 2d. *Vote the Democratic ticket.* 3d. *Be still at home and not vote at all.*"

Mississippi answers Mr. Lamar. The forty thousand oppressed citizens who have either been debarred from exercising the franchise, or compelled under duress to cast their ballots contrary to their wishes, are the witnesses of Mr. Lamar's false pretenses.

PAYMENT OF REBEL DEBTS.

The Congressional Record of December 16 contained the following significant item:

"Mr. Vance, of North Carolina, introduced a bill (H. R. No. 228) to repeal a joint resolution of March 2, 1867, and the act of February 4, 1862, prohibiting payment to any person not known to be opposed to the rebellion; which was read a first and second time."

The bill offered by Mr. Vance repeals the joint resolution of March 2, 1867, which a loyal Congress enacted for the protection of the United States Treasury. Under this joint resolution no claim for damages done, or property used during the rebellion, would be entertained or paid by the United States, unless the loyalty of the claimant was clearly established. It has proven a safeguard; and has excluded a class of unjust claims amounting in the aggregate to several hundred millions of dollars. The act of February 4, 1862, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to strike from the pension-roll the names of such persons as had taken up arms against the Government.

Other laws of a similar nature have been passed from time to time, having for their object the exclusion of war claims presented by those who were engaged in the rebellion.

Mr. Vance, in the first flush of Democratic ascendancy, opens a direct fire upon these loyal barriers, and has at his back a powerful influence in the House of Representatives. Of course this infamous proposition, the effect of which, if legalized, would be to double our national debt, cannot become a law. A Republican Senate and a loyal President stand in the way of its enactment. Still, the animus of Democracy is seen in this proposition of the North Carolina member. His bill reflects the views of every Southern Democrat, and at least a majority of those coming from the North.

It is safe to say that the control of the nation by the Democracy would cost the Government not less than \$1,000,000,000 within the next four years. Among the claims awaiting the restoration of the Democratic party are the following:

Payment for all slave property ; for damages done to private property by military operations ; for supplies taken by or furnished to the army ; refunding the cotton tax ; payment for property, contraband of war, seized and confiscated. These are among the leading claims held in reserve for the restoration of Democracy to power. These are among the claims that would be pressed for settlement if the bill offered by Mr. Vance should ever become a law.

It is well for the loyal element that still controls the Government to note the drift of Democracy, and to take such action as patriotism indicates to prevent the humiliating and disastrous surrender which the Democrats are building their hopes upon. The action of Mr. Vance in the House in proposing to break down the barriers which a loyal Congress had erected for the protection of the nation ; the rejection by a strict party vote of Mr. Fort's just resolution, giving preference to disabled Union soldiers in appointments made by the House ; the wholesale dismissal of wounded heroes from positions they had long occupied with credit, and the substitution of ex-Confederate officials, are such startling indications of the revolutionary policy to be pursued by the Democratic party that its encouragement and support by the American people will be little short of a crime against the Republic.

We call upon the true friends of the nation to organize for its defense. Let Republican clubs be started everywhere to keep the people thoroughly posted on the condition of affairs, and to arouse them to a sense of duty during the Presidential campaign. The common enemy is vigilant and our friends must meet it with equal vigilance. Local prejudices must be laid aside until the great question of national safety is decided. Good men must band together for the common defense. Personal ambition must bend to the public good. The skies are bright for a glorious Republican victory in 1876. But victory depends upon activity, hard work, and upon that laudable spirit of self-sacrifice that prompts each patriot to forget self in his devotion to the country he loves.

We call upon the Republican press of the

nation to renew its efforts in behalf of the noble party whose overthrow would be a death blow to the Union. Plain words must be spoken ; the truth must be presented ; the mask must be torn from Democracy, and the dangers following its restoration so clearly shown that no patriot of average intelligence need err in forming a correct judgment as to his duty in the Presidential campaign. Republican journals throughout the country have struck grand blows for liberty and justice in the past, but grander work is still before them. The Centennial year will be one of inspiration to patriotism ; let all who love the Republic labor to make it one of victory.

TURNING wounded Union soldiers out of office to make room for ex-Confederates may be fully up to the "true reform" promised by Democracy, but it will fall far short of the reform that will satisfy the country. It is bad enough to appoint ex-Confederate soldiers and leading rebels to office while tens of thousands of brave fellows can be found who served the nation in its hour of peril, and who stand in need of some employment that will yield them fair pay for honest services, but it is far worse to turn out one-legged and one-armed heroes from positions conferred by a grateful country to make room for the former enemies of the Republic. If this is the policy of Democracy, the people will effectually squelch it when it presents itself at the ballot-box at the next election.

WHEN the rebellion broke out a Captain of Police at the Capitol building deserted his post and went South to fight in the ranks of treason. He was a native of Virginia, and appointed from that State.

The Democratic control of the House of Representatives brings this valiant official into the public service again. The ex-Confederate Doorkeeper appoints him to a responsible position. Now he hails from California, having removed to that State soon after the surrender of the Confederacy. After this appointment who will doubt the love of Democracy for those who tried to destroy the Union.

THE WEAKNESS OF DEMOCRACY.

The Democratic party having been for fifteen years a party of promise has at last assumed a new position, and for a month has been endeavoring to show to the country precisely what it can do as a party of performance.

Standing aloof from responsibility in the enactment of laws and in the execution of them, with nothing to do but criticise and protest and denounce all the proceedings and propositions, and principles, and appointments of the Republicans, the managers of Democracy have had the advantage which a party out of power always enjoys, of not being held accountable for anything done. By opposing everything, they were sure to be on the record against all unpopular measures, and opposition to popular schemes is always immediately forgotten when the schemes are carried, and hence at the end of a long period of minority, the outs have obtained by immunity from responsibility a reputation for honesty, discernment, capacity and usefulness, which this country has thought worthy to have tested, and this has resulted in giving them an ample working majority in the House of Representatives, and imposing upon them the duty of showing what they can do.

The standards by which the Democratic party must inevitably be judged are two; both clearly beyond question. The work of the majority is to be contrasted with the ideals set up when the party was out of power, and with the performances of the party which has been in power. There can be no dispute on either of these points. The trial is now going on before the country, and a full month has passed since its commencement. This month has developed a state of things by no means flattering to the management which has assumed control. It has taken a whole month to organize the House and select the committees. This has never happened before since the foundation of the Government, and the circumstance at once puts at rest the claim set up that in business capacity, comprehension of the wants and duties of the hour, and a determination to

do the needful things whatever they may be, the Democratic party is superior to its opponent, but the contrary is shown. The boasted statesmanship of which we heard so much did not show itself as predicted. The beautiful material which was supposed to be lying around loose in the Democratic ranks, all fitted and planed and polished for immediate use in legislation, was not on hand at the commencement of the session ready to be worked into the new and improved political temple. In looking for a Colfax or a Blaine to occupy the Chair no such presiding genius could be found, and the nearest approach in the person of Sam. J. Randall, could not be elected—two circumstances very significant and equally unfortunate. Not to have the men out of which to make a Speaker equal to the past signifies a lowering of the standard of ability in the House, and consequently of the power to perform the promises given to the country of improved legislation. A weak legislature always fails, and invariably incurs the contempt of its constituency, and the reasons are so obvious they need not be stated. Not to be able to elect the most fit man as Speaker argues division, incoherency of purposes, and internal weakness, corresponding to the weakness in leadership. And when the new Speaker was installed and his opponents Randall and Cox acquiesced in the arrangement, and the difficulty was supposed to have been mainly surmounted, to their dismay it was found wholly unsolved and more formidable than ever. Not only was there a lack of material for the Speakership, but a greater lack of material for leadership, and for chairmanship of committees, to cope with Blaine, Garfield, Wheeler, Hear, Hale, Kasson, and the other experienced statesmen of the minority. Cox claimed to be as good as Wood, who was an older soldier, and Wood thought himself the very father of the happy family, while Morrison, an unknown man who had sat in two Congresses undiscovered, comes up and is pronounced the superior of both. The leadership falls to the unknown, and the principal chairmanships are scattered among Kentuck-

ians, Virginians, and Missourians, whose names never before reached much beyond the confines of their native counties, and in most instances not even to that extent; while New England and the great States of New York and Pennsylvania are shoved unmercifully aside, with the great Northwest also out in the cold. Were this necessary on account of the superiority of talent of the Democratic members from Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, however painful the fact might be, it could be borne and readily acquiesced in, but there being no such superiority, and the preponderance of experience being the other way, only one conclusion can be reached, and that is, that the Democratic party has not been able to take a broad view of the nature of its position, nor act in a way to command the confidence even of its own members. The failure is the most conspicuous one in history: so felt and confessed. Moreover there is no recovery from it.

The fact of superior ability and higher legislative capacity of the Republicans is one that cannot be remedied by them. The men are there for two years, and nature can add not a whit to the capacity of the Democratic elect. They will abide in all their mediocrity, and the contrasts will grow more striking as from time to time the responsibilities become more fully developed.

Failure was inevitable from the start. The Democratic party has a more vital deficiency than lack of ability and lack of cohesiveness: it is barren of ideas that constitute true nationality and national greatness. It is a party of negations, save that one of its factions is badly infected with ideas positive for mischief. It doesn't believe in doing anything to develop resources, and for the immense mass of ignorance that prevails in the inferior races and degraded masses it not only has no remedy, but it has no appreciation of the dangers which are the inseparable concomitants of ignorance and lawlessness. The make-up of the committees clearly indicates its negative position. The composition of the Democratic party makes this so necessarily. The power of Democracy is in the Southern States, and there is where their majorities are to come from in the next election. This

fact accounts for the arrangement of committees by Speaker Kerr; the South has got the preponderance, and the rebel element is predominant in the Democratic House in numbers and far more in influence and in talent: so the Southern ideas of statesmanship are sure to prevail. The key-note of this faction which is to control was sounded by Lamar in his speech to the caucus, when he said, "*we want a government which we can love.*" That is it exactly. The Republican party has preserved the national unity, destroyed rebellion and slavery and secession, the three grand enemies of nationality; has proclaimed equal rights to all races, colors, and conditions of men; has done what it could to promote the education of the poor and the ignorant; has encouraged the industrial interests of the South by affording all the protection in its power to immigrants, and preserving order when interrupted by mob law and violence; has pardoned the crime of rebellion, and restored to the men lately in arms against the Government all the rights which citizens who were always true enjoy, and has asked nothing in return save the one simple condition, that the rights of the freedmen gained by the war and the Constitutional amendments shall be accorded them in good faith and according to the spirit of the amended charter. And the Government which has preserved the Union, made freedom and equal rights sacred, and forgiven the traitors who attempted the destruction of all, they cannot love; and they can be pacified only by having a government which they can love. What kind of a government that may be is not doubtful. It must be a government of different ideas from the one which has maintained the Union and fought disunion. That the rebels cannot love a Union government is proof that they have not in their hearts accepted the results of the war. If they believed in union and freedom, and the political equality of the races, they would be Republicans, because the Republican party is the instrumentality by which these have been secured, and is the only party that is committed by a living faith to the maintenance of these grand ideas. It was not to be expected of rebels that they should love the ideas against

which they fought, and they don't, and Lamar frankly confesses that they don't. They love the opposite ideas. Not a soul of them will acknowledge that they were in the wrong. They believe and say they were right, and though crushed to earth, like truth, they hope to rise again. They believe in the Democratic party as it was, and hold with James Buchanan that a State cannot be coerced. They believe in the resolution of the State Democratic Convention of Mississippi, where Lamar is a shining light, that it is the design of the Republican party to place white men under the control of their late slaves and "degrade the Caucasian race as inferiors of the African negro, which needs only to be mentioned to be scorned by all intelligent minds." They believe with the Democratic legislature of New Jersey, which repudiated the fourteenth amendment after it had been adopted, and declared "that the origin and objects of said amendment were unseemly and unjust; that the necessary result of its adoption must be the disturbance of the harmony if not the destruction of our system of government," and in a word they believe in the old State sovereignty theories, out of which came the heresy of secession and the

iniquity and horrors of rebellion and civil war. Because they thus believe they love the Democratic party. They have been whipped, but not so whipped that they question their original right to commit treason. Their political faith is the same as before the fight, and all they want is to have the suitable opportunity to carry it out. They are not to blame for this; it is human nature. The blame is on the part of the people in trusting them with power before they have utterly outgrown and renounced their old heresies and purposes. These heresies are destructive of all government and all nationality, and no party which holds them or tolerates them can stand. This is the weakness of Democracy; this is what elected Kerr and prompted him in fixing his committees, and he readily cottoned to the rebel element and gave it the lion's share. The Northern Democracy must take back seats and play second fiddle to the men who lately stood as rebel pickets and shot down the defenders of the Constitution and the flag of the Union, and it holds the power in the House on this condition and no other. Probably it begins to see it.

THE REPRESENTATION OF CONFEDERATE TREASON.

The transaction under the apple tree at Appomattox swept out of existence the thing that was called the Confederate power; and the disbanding of the armies of the Rebellion and the relegation of the men and officers to their States and to the pursuit of their vocations, without harming a hair of their heads, swept out of existence the last vestige of the Confederate States. The rebel officers returned to their homes with mingled feelings, in which doubt of the future predominated; and while they were uncertain as to their fate, they were anxious and ready to concede anything to remove the burden, or furnish any proof of good-will that would be received. Indeed, the disloyal element in the South was whipped and cowed. Jefferson Davis fled from arrest in the guise of an old woman, valiant with a slop-bucket, yet asking the respect due to petticoats which enervated the legs of the rebel President; generals left the country, too

timid to face what they feared. It is an historic fact that the leaders and more prominent rebels realized their position, and that was, that if they had their deserts, their punishment would be severe. The spirits of these men were low and their prospects bleak; for it was known that few conquered rebels taken with arms in their hands had hitherto escaped, and if the old world custom had been adopted by the North in its hour of victory none could have complained; and it is probable that the condemnation of some of the most notorious and the publication of an account of how they demeaned themselves would have served as the warning of the age against the crime of treason.

If the South had been oppressed by unjust legislation—if it had a real cause of complaint—its rebellion would have had some ground of excuse. But the South had no excuse; and the treason of the Slave States stands forth as a crime of barbarous black-

ness, of gratuitous infamy; and for the following reasons:—The North was free and the South was slave, both of their own volition. Both had willed it so, and both were well aware of the distinctive character of the social structure in each, and what it involved. The North, yearning for progress, stretched out its hands to all who could help, and to the adoption of every appliance that could advance its material prosperity. It had railroads and canals; and ships and manufactories; it had public institutions of learning, and it loved knowledge. That its citizens might receive all the advantages of such a disposition, the multiplication of school-houses kept pace with the growth of population; and the result was that the men of the North became imbued with a civilization superior to that of Europe; a sturdy love of liberty penetrated their hearts; and they added what is not found in Europe—the control by the people of their own affairs. The South, with perhaps greater advantages of soil and climate, secluded itself from improvement, and stood aloof from enterprise although upon the Nation's highway. It built up a Chinese wall against progress, and devoted itself to casting the mind of its citizens in one mould; and that mould was Slavery. A man was appreciated—he rose in esteem—as he proved himself sound on that question. A doubt, however, upon the right of the white man to enslave the black was absolute ruin. In thus protecting the peculiar institution, Southern society was deprived of the civilizing influences of education, of association with men of art and science, of the cultivation of a generous literature which elevates the mind and draws out the noble instincts of our nature. Instead of this political and social power were seized by the hands of the slave-owning aristocracy, leaving the masses still further debased by the creation in their midst of a new class of paupers—the poor whites—who could neither read nor write, who would not work, who lived on charity—and in the brutalizing presence of a race toiling in hopeless bondage. To keep up this unnatural condition of life—this civilization of debasement—it was necessary to rear a class of braggarts who, when outside of the limits of Slave

States, should boast of the beauties of slavery, their own chivalry, and what blessings the people enjoyed; and when intending to be particularly impressive with professors of religion, though in many cases the children of the masters by slave mothers were at work as slaves on the plantation or sold to traders to work elsewhere, they boldly asked: How are the heathen blacks to be Christianized except through slavery in the religious South? Southern Senators and Members of the House were selected for the distinctive purpose of putting forth the claims of slavery; and preposterous as they were, they succeeded in allying themselves with the Democratic party, who seemed to be overawed at their condescension; and with profound servility it sympathized with the South, defended its assumption at the expense of every manly sentiment, and rendered it all the aid and comfort it was pleased to demand. The Democratic party was therefore cognizant of the aims and intentions of the South; of the character of the threats Southerners uttered and which Democrats repeated; and of the preparations being made for rebellion. And looking back upon the past it is to be observed that some of the loudest clamor was made by Northern Democrats with Southern proclivities; and some of the most offensive prophecies of the defeat of the armies of the North if they should be found fighting to preserve the Union came from the lips of the Democratic party.

The unnatural condition of the South, unknown to people generally because of the personal danger which attended the visit of men who did not hold with slavery, had borne the only fruit possible in a country where the majority of citizens were free. In spite of the threats and boastings of Southern Senators and Representatives on the floors of Congress and of Northern Democrats slavery was hemmed in; and when the leaders of the rebellion became convinced that it could not spread, they, with the sanction of the Democratic party, precipitated the war and brought upon the country the sorrow and death which followed, and the heavy war debt which is still to be paid.

The principles and customs which prevail

in the old world on the occasion of social turmoil and convulsion always have some reason for their existence. A rebellion in Europe is a calamity as dreadful as was our own, which entailed incalculable suffering and woe. But there its authors would be sure to receive their deserts. And this even when the despotism of a dynasty might be urged in mitigation. No such plea, however, could be presented here. The rebellion of the slave States was a wicked and deliberate act in the interest of slavery, in the vain hope of prolonging the existence of a social condition which God had denounced and which freemen abhorred. Freemen put down the rebellion on behalf of freedom and order; but their action towards its authors was the reverse of that if the old world. The leaders of the rebellion were sent home; and Republican statesmen introduced laws, which a Republican Congress passed, to reconstruct the ruin which had been wrought in the South. Directly the magnanimity of the Republican party was realized, the attitude of the rebel leaders changed to defiance. They spurned the flag of the Union and belittled the Federal Government. Northern men who had not been concerned in the rebellion were employed under the reconstruction laws, only to be assailed as carpet-baggers and mudsills. And treason has been rampant in the South though years have passed since the war ended. As the disabilities of rebels were removed and the franchise was restored to them, the grounds on which such restoration was made were forgotten. The same Constitution, Federal or State, under which the franchise was exercised by the newly rehabilitated Southern white conferred the right on the colored citizen. But from the day the rebel whites made the discovery that it was a mistake to have tried to destroy the Nation, and that they could get the control they wanted in the Union, they entered into a conspiracy to prevent the colored man from exercising the franchise and to secure for themselves the pretense of an election. They knew the colored majority were against them. What of that? They could do without a majority by obtaining the appearance of one by the aid of their friends. States that have a Republican majority are there-

fore in the hands of Democrats. The colored voter has been kept away from the polls by being brutally assaulted or shot down in cold blood by men who shot loyal soldiers or who skulked in the woods and are reserved for this work. The result is that a reign of terror prevails, of which the Confederate officers in the House have taken advantage.

In almost all of the late rebel States under Democratic control arrangements are being carried out to make the destiny of the blacks worse than slavery. Democrats complain of the ignorance of negroes; but what have the Democracy done to remove it? Who ever heard of the Democratic party being in favor of education? A great crime has been perpetrated on colored men in this respect. They have as far as possible been persistently shut out from instruction, with a view to the extinction of their vote. That was the object labored for, and the Southern Democracy have to a certain extent achieved it. Two very grave questions arise here in view of the condition of colored citizens: First—What is the duty of Congress in the case of States which have refused to provide sufficient educational facilities for the blacks and who have been practically deprived of the franchise? Second—Are the elections legal where the colored vote has been excluded, or enforced? Are the Confederate officers now sitting in the House of Representatives from those States entitled to their seats, which they reached in defiance of the colored majority, and by stuffing the ballot-boxes to such an excess that the ballots exceed the voters in numbers? And who do those Confederate officers represent? A Republican cotemporary says:

“The existence of Confederate sentiment in each of the slave States of the Union is a fact beyond dispute. No one should be surprised at the existence of this sentiment. It is the outgrowth of fifty years of political treachery and political agitation. The late civil war added the seal of blood to this sentiment, and thus enshrined it as the controlling political affection in the hearts of the Southern whites. It was natural that this sentiment should select its cherished leaders as its representatives, both in the State and National Legislature. This Confederate sentiment thus represented in the Government is now a fixed, permanent, and formidable

power. It will control 128 votes in the Electoral College, a vote which requires only fifty-six additional votes to make it *the Government*."

The Confederate officers in the House represent nothing more than the disloyal white vote of the late rebel army and the rebel sympathizers. This is a danger that was not looked for and had not been provided against. It is all the more alarming because it shows that the spirit of the rebellion still lives. The war is still being fought, not with arms, indeed, but with what is far worse—with a public sentiment which in time, if allowed to continue, will rear a race of rebels from their infancy; and the strength of the Republic will be sapped by holding the dry-rot of disloyalty within the Union, which cannot be sloughed off. In the early days of the Republic purity of election was considered as guaranteed to citizens by the Constitution. The fathers never could have conceived of such a departure from the true principle of representation as the appearance on the floor of the Capitol of eighty-six Confederate officers, whose treason having been pardoned, now stand forth to revive that treason in their persons and to represent it in the presence of the loyal people by whom they had been forgiven. Before the nation is a hundred years old, nay, in the hundredth year of its age, it is forced to behold the evidence that the seeds of its dissolution are sown in its bosom, unless the people come forward and pluck them up by the roots. Let them inquire whether the elections in the South, which issued in sending these Confederates to Congress, were held in accordance with the Constitution. Were they free? Did a majority or minority of the citizens vote? And which do the Confederates represent—the minority of white rebels or the majority of white and colored citizens who were loyal to the Union and the flag? If they represent the rebel minority what right have they in the National Legislature?

A class of dangerous Representatives have thus procured access to the House, apparently unchallenged, to swell the vote of the Democracy to a Congressional majority, when the nation is Republican and the Democratic

party a minority. The strange spectacle exists of a House of Representatives which does not represent the majority of the people who are supposed to have sent them there. And the most monstrous grievance of the day is the existence of the class of "Dangerous Representatives" alluded to. A Republican cotemporary asks:

"How is this dangerous power to be checked? What is to prevent the Confederate South from becoming again resectionalized, with negro serfdom as its cornerstone, as a determining balance of power in national politics? These are the questions of immediate interest in American politics. There can be but two ways of meeting this danger. One is by remanding the late Confederate States to a territorial condition, to be governed as Territories until Southern society frees itself from those elements which have always made it a danger to the Republic. The other process consists in building up the negro power at the South as a Union power side by side with this Confederate power as its counterpoise.

"The day has passed for such a policy. The Confederate is 'in' the Government and must remain in for weal or for woe. The only remaining alternative must now be embraced. The negro power must be built up by political protection and educational culture until it shall be strong enough to resectionalize the South. This policy will effectually 'break' the Confederate power and force its absorption into the Republican body politic of the nation, and it is the only policy that will or can accomplish this result."

The remedy here proposed may possibly be resorted to, but it surely cannot be the only remedy for such a state of affairs. Writers on Constitutional law involving popular and parliamentary powers say, it is ridiculous to imagine that the same law which provides a remedy for every private wrong should provide none for those public wrongs which have thrust eighty-eight spurious Representatives into a body of men dignified with the title of Representatives of the nation, and that nation having put down in blood the rebellion the eighty-six Southerners represent. If an effective remedy is not applied, and that speedily, these Confederate officers may perpetuate themselves by the same fraud and violence, or assist other rebel officers to succeed them in order to keep up the representation of disloyalty, while the candidate of the popular choice, if

all citizens had been allowed to vote according to law, is kept out, and will always be so.

The reconstruction measures of the Republican party have enriched the South, and put it on the path to progressive prosperity. The Republican party also redeemed the South from isolation, and opened to it all the appliances which are the groundwork of national greatness. Had the South accepted the situation, and settled down in good faith to the work of recovery, there is no part of the Union which it might not by this time have surpassed in material growth. But the South seems to be destined to be the abode of political turmoil and cruel chicanery. If it is chivalry to intimidate a negro and prevent his voting, and yet pretend to have been sent to Congress by stuffing handfuls of negro votes into the ballot box which had never been cast, it is either a misapprehension of the word, or Southern chivalry must be as peculiar as its late institution—only a Southern production. At all events, Southern chivalry which shoots down a negro or purloins his vote with as much pleasure as a Knight of the Round Table would rescue a beautiful lady is not esteemed very highly by gentlemen of wealth at the great centers of trade. While such chivalry prevails in the South capital locks up its coffers. Capital makes no objection to an investment among a people of the highest moral tone and honor in their dealings between man and man. But capital will not expose itself to the danger of encountering political broils and bloodshed. Capital is only safe where there is equality for all men before the law, and where there is an abiding sense of the necessity of a loyal and honorable obedience to that law, and it is apt to look a little askance on localities where indulgence in vote purloining is a frequent pastime.

The condition of the colored citizens in many parts of the South, especially where the Democracy have obtained the ascendancy, is deplorable. They are in greater danger to life and limb now that they are citizens of the United States, than when they were slaves. The Constitution affords them no protection in the exercise of their rights, while as slaves they had no rights which a

white man was bound to respect. Rebels have usurped the elective offices in the same manner as the eighty-six officers say they were sent to the House, namely, by blotting out the colored vote and stuffing the ballot-box. Formerly the South said it could not hold together without slaves, and it is free. Now, the South has colored citizens whose rights it estops, while white Southerners, like the Confederate officers who sit as Representatives, could not do without them, and have either used the rights of the colored men themselves, or by their friends, in order to be returned to Congress. If colored men complain and appeal to the State courts, the judges deny them justice. Laws are made by State Legislatures often aimed directly at the negro, and when they associate to gain strength to face a common foe, rebel emissaries murder or maltreat them in open daylight, and who, though known, are never arrested. Colored men are therefore like a rope of sand, without the power of cohesion; and being harried mercilessly through their counties are easily scattered and divided. This is not the condition the colored citizen desires, but it is the condition in which he is. He is anxious to act under the Constitution, and to send men to Congress whom the Constitution will recognize. To be violently cast aside, and to see their ballots cast by others, and their enemies said to be their representatives in consequence, colored men knew to be illegal; but they are too weak to resist the revolver, or the systematic ill-usage of the white element opposed to the freedom of their race.

The reconstruction measures of the Republican party were designed to restore and to build up, not only the material interests of the South, but to lay the foundation of social order and a reorganization of the elements of society, so that, as one of the issues of the war, all opposition should disappear beneath the healing influence of freedom. Had the participants in the rebellion gradually yielded in sentiment and effort, and entered heartily into the plans for social reorganization, the citizenship of the South would have joined with that of the North, and the dividing line between them would have been obliterated. All sectional strife

and differences would have been absorbed in the great question of how best to advance the welfare of the Union—in the accomplishment of which the South would have aided. Thoughtful and earnest men looked forward to the time when the heritage of the American citizen would have been the same in the South as in the North, when words of welcome and friendship would well up from the heart and evince the great change which had occurred. The change did not take place. The Republic is in danger.

Alas! the bitter spirit of sectionalism and rebellion could not be eradicated. It sprang up in growth like a rank weed on a favoring soil, and has overspread as with miasma the fairest portion of the land. Southerners alone are to blame for this. Injustice, rapine, and murder have stalked about the South, leaving a bloody track among the black men and such white Republicans as were held to be obnoxious. It is time for the country to cry, halt! It is hoped that the REPRESENTATION OF TREASON has for the last time made its appearance in the House of Representatives. We call upon the people to bestir themselves—to be no longer blind to so grievous a violation of the Constitution—to protest at once against so hideous a mockery—to cast their votes for men they can trust to enforce the law or to enact the law that shall prevent forever so shameless a spectacle as 86 rehabilitated rebels standing on the floor of Congress to proclaim that they are *there* through the disloyalty of the South, and as the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TREASON for the destruction of which the war was fought and the sacrifices made by a nation never more in earnest for self-preservation.

We repeat that the Republic is in danger. The South, where the representatives of treason come from, is as disloyal as ever; and if, as Mr. Lincoln said, the Union could not exist half slave and half free, but must be all one or the other, with how much greater emphasis does it come home to the bosoms of a patriotic people that the defiant disloyalty of the South is a standing menace which must be dealt with by men who fought for their country, and who are not likely to permit the great object of the war to be de-

feated by the survivors of the rebellion whose lives they generously spared?

Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights, The generous plan of freedom handed down From age to age by your renowned forefathers; So dearly bought, the price of so much blood.

THE OLD SUBSERVIENCY.—The sectional character of Mr. Speaker Kerr's committee distribution has been excused by "Liberal" apologists, on the ground that the Democratic party counts the largest proportion of its support and representation in and from the former slave States. How shallow is this apology may be seen from one fact. The section formerly slave-owning sends to Congress eighty-eight Democratic representatives. From the section always loyal and free there are eighty-nine, one more than in the South. Yet in the distribution of the committees the large majority of all the important positions are assigned to the representatives who stand for the former slave States. Fifteen of the old free States, (including five of the States that framed the Union,) are without a single chairmanship, yet they have one-fourth of the Democratic representation sent to the Capitol by the Northern States. It is the same policy that has always controlled the Democracy. The Northern Democrat has always been a Doughface. There are degrees of subserviency, and now, as in the past, the Western politician of that faith is the one most ready to make obeisances, frequent and lowly, to those whom they have always esteemed as political masters.

TOTAL estimated domestic production of the precious metals for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1875:

Arizona.....	\$1,000,000
California.....	17,000,000
Colorado.....	5,472,000
Idaho.....	2,500,000
Montana.....	4,119,852
Nevada.....	31,795,193
New Mexico.....	1,000,000
Oregon.....	1,665,000
Utah.....	6,844,570
Wyoming Territory.....	250,000
Washington Territory.....	300,000

Total.....\$71,946,615
Of the above amount about \$40,000,000 was gold.

THE DEMOCRATIC SPEAKER AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEES.

Parliamentary committees are presumed to represent the interests of a community, as well as the politics of the party dominant in the legislative body. This is especially true, or should be, of a great body like the American Congress. Parties have, of course, distinctive standpoints from which interests are to be regarded. In the distribution of the committees, to which in a body like the House of Representatives the preparatory and shaping legislative work is committed, a wise partisanship regards not only the party relations of those who are selected, but aims to secure in such subordinate bodies themselves a compendious knowledge of the subjects to be committed to them, as well as to distribute the memberships as to represent with some approach to fairness the vast diversity of interests, material, sectional, and commercial, which are so distinctive features of a continental country like our own. The statements that follow will make manifest how far short Speaker Kerr has fallen in the work entrusted to him by the majority of the House of Representatives. There is only a dreary waste of partisanship, and that, too, of the small-beer sort; an evident making-up of a slate for Presidential purposes; and worse than all, that bitter sectionalism which sacrifices the more sagacious necessities for the gratification of a microscopic pride.

Speaker Kerr served eight years before his present term in the House of Representatives. His service from 1865 to 1873 was during a period of intense interest, when the largest issues were being discussed. A man of comprehensive mind could not fail to take a broad, if extreme, view of the pending issues; nor should he have failed to obtain a clear insight into character and capacity. A narrow and prejudiced man could hardly help, on the other hand, being dwarfed into the merest partisanship by the bitterness of the strife and the very intensity of his opinions. Mr. Kerr is an apt illustration of this latter phase, and the manner in which he starts out, in the new and mighty dignity with which he is so evident-

ly overloaded, is a striking proof of the fact.

His make-up of the committees proves the truth of this criticism. He has followed the worse traditions of *ante bellum* Democratic management, when he has not been wholly controlled by Kerr-ish prejudices and antipathies. They are "fearfully and wonderfully made," as was to be expected, being in the main evolved from his own "inner consciousness." It is a profound abyss, into which only Southern and sectional rays seem to penetrate. The Republicans can look on without compunction, under the plea that it is not "their funeral," but even the most indifferent may be pardoned for having a lively apprehension of the "fitness of things." In the present case, however, there is little of that or any other congruous article.

But the opposition may be left to settle that at their leisure. Being comparatively free from responsibility, Republicans can find leisure to analyze the curious *olla podrida* by which the Democratic Speaker has completed the organization of the present House of Representatives.

The leading principle employed in the selection, if any were employed, appears to have been that of an entire new deal. The experience and acknowledged ability of the older members, so well understood in connection with important committees, and which a wise man would have endeavored to utilize in making such important selections, has been almost systematically ignored. There is to a large degree a failure to utilize the experience of those whose capacity is a "household word." But the distinctive feature of the slate is that of sectionalism. This is most glaring, and overtops all evidence of incapacity for properly utilizing the men who are to be found in Democratic ranks. Analysis of the sectional arrangement of the committees will best illustrate the force of this criticism.

The House of Representatives consists of 292 members. Of these, 106 are from the States formerly slave-owning. This embraces West Virginia. The remaining 186 are from

the States known before the civil war as non-slaveholding, or free. The States of Kansas, Nebraska, and Nevada have been admitted since the civil war begun. There are eighty-eight (88) Democrats from the section formerly slaveholding, and eighty-nine (89) from the other States. Of the Southern, or Confederate Democrats, fifty-six (56) are from the slave States that went into rebellion. The remaining thirty-two (32) are from Kentucky, (9,) Missouri, (13,) Maryland, (6,) West Virginia, (3,) and Delaware, (1.) Of Northern Democrats, sixty-eight (68) are from the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana. Adding to the votes thus located those of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri—thirty-one, (31,) and there is a total Democratic vote of ninety-nine, (99,) a majority of twenty-one, (21,) in a belt of States where more recent elections show a large revival of Republican strength and a great falling off in Democratic victories.

The relative Democratic strength of the two sections can be appreciated from the foregoing analysis. Now let us turn to the committees :

In all there are forty-eight, (48,) including the Special Committee on the Centennial. Thirty-three of these committees are regarded as leading, but only a score are of real importance. There are 410 places, requiring therefore that at least 117 members shall serve on two committees. The Territorial delegates are allowed a member on the Committees on Territories and Mining.

Of the forty-eight chairmanships, the former slave States, (fifteen in number,) with less than two-fifths of the population, have twenty-four. These include all the important ones, after Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Banking and Currency. Their associates of the old free States are left to bask in the minor places.

In accordance with the old time policy of the sectional Democracy, nearly every Northern chairman of a committee is handicapped by a strong Southern Democrat as the second man on the committee. The section indicated has thirty of the second places, making in all fifty-four out of eighty-eight Democrats from the former slave States

who are put in leading positions. To analyze a little closer, the ex-rebel States have thirteen chairmanships, and seventeen of the second position. The most notable fact, however, is to be seen in the lion's share that is given to the Democratic delegations from Kentucky and Missouri. Two motives appear to have dictated the strange partiality displayed by Mr. Kerr. These seem to be the desire to reward his personal supporters, and to secure the most unmitigated Bourbons in distinctive positions without risking too large a degree of that odium which would have followed an exclusive selection from the Confederate politicians of the rebel South. Missouri presents an unbroken Democratic delegation of thirteen, and secures five chairmanships, with eight of the second important posts. The first are the District of Columbia, Post Offices and Post Roads, Manufactures, Expenditures of the Post Office Department, and Mines and Mining. Missouri Democrats are second on Military Affairs, Public Buildings and Grounds, Revolutionary Pensions, Private Land Claims, Public Expenditures, Railways and Canals, and Mississippi Levees. Eighteen appointees in all are made from that State. The nine Democrats from Kentucky have the chairmanships of four important committees and three of the second places, while the delegation serves on seventeen committees. The Speaker has solved the knottiest problem of the organization by placing a man known as a wit, but not as a lawyer of wide repute, at the head of the Judiciary Committee. Durham has the Committee on the Revision of the Laws. Public Expenditures and Railways and Canals also fall to this State. The Speaker has given nearly one-fifth of the committee chairmanships, including several of the most important, to two States, which returned only but one-ninth of the entire Democratic vote of the House. No one who knows the men will presume to say that such great favoritism has been shown because of the notable talents of those selected. Five out of the nine chairmen are parliamentary nonentities—one of them, Jones of Kentucky, not having previously served in Congress. The combination by which Mr. Kerr was elected Speaker

crops out all through the committees. Bargain and sale is everywhere apparent. Ohio and the inflation Democracy there are recognized with thirty-three appointments, of which five are chairmanships and four second places. The chairmanships are Printing, Territories, Military Affairs, Public Lands, and Militia. Illinois, which led the contest for Mr. Kerr, with the rallying cry of "hard money," received four chairmanships—one being that of Ways and Means. War Claims and the Committees on Expenditures of the State Department and of the Department of Justice constitute the others. It has thirty-three appointments, and one second place. It will be seen that the bulk of Mr. Kerr's support came from the moderate inflationists, and that they are amply repaid by his distribution of the powers of the majority.

The Northern States send 186 members, and have 292 places on committees. Their Democratic members number eighty-nine, and Mr. Kerr has distributed among them twenty-three chairmanships and fourteen of the second places.

Examining the distribution still further, and it will be found that the New England States, the Northwest, and the States west of the Mississippi are all left "out in the cold." It is believed for the first time in the history of the Union, not a single chairmanship has been assigned to the representatives from New England, embracing five out of the thirteen original States. An excellent beginning this is for the Centennial Congress. Two second positions, one on Elections and the other on Expenditures in the State Department, are assigned to Mr. Thompson, of Massachusetts. Mr. Chapin is given the sixth place on Ways and Means. The six New England States, with a membership of twenty-eight in the House, have thirty-seven positions assigned them, a majority being insignificant in character, while Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, and North Carolina, with twenty-four members, have forty-three positions, inclusive of five chairmanships, a large proportion being on prominent committees. It cannot be said, either, that the New England Democrats, nine in number, are without capacity or experience.

Certainly not, when that possessed by Mr. Kerr's sectional nominees is considered. Messrs. Thompson, Phelps, Warren, and Tarbox, at least, are regarded as able lawyers, while Barnum and Chapin, as business men, rank very high, yet Mr. Kerr finds in such legislative tyros as Jones, of Kentucky, Ellis, of Louisiana, Scales, of North Carolina, and in such confessedly "light weights" as Caldwell, of Alabama, Gunter, of Arkansas, Hunton, of Virginia, Bland and Stone, of Missouri, Milliken, of Kentucky, Hereford, of West Virginia, and Vance, of North Carolina, among others, the material out of which efficient chairmen for important committees are to be found. But the truth is that New England Democrats belong, as a rule, to a different school from that to which the Speaker is allied. This is certainly true of the four from Massachusetts, who were loyal supporters of the Union, and one of whom, at least, sustained it in the field as a soldier. Probably it is true of others. The return to Democratic associations of those named grew out of the reconstruction policy. Mr. Kerr greatly prefers for prominent positions those who wore the Confederate grey, and marched beneath the "Stars and Bars." Next to them come those whose sympathies, if not their acts, were with the Confederate cause. The round dozen of Confederate generals and colonels who figure with the ex-Vice President of the Confederacy as chairmen of influential committees offer a striking proof of Mr. Kerr's sympathies and relations. They balance admirably against the one ex-Union colonel from Ohio, who, with a bar-sinister on his Democracy, as the last relic of the Greeley conjunction, finds himself stranded as a good-humored figure-head for the Military Committee.

Ancient Democrats like Heister Clymer, of Pennsylvania, or Smith Ely, jr., of New York, men tried in the coppery furnace of anti-war sympathies, must feel themselves greatly gratified at the systematic ignoring they receive from the Speaker they have elected. The Northern Democrats receive the chairmanships of the following large committees: Ways and Means, Appropriations, Banking and Currency, Public Lands,

Military Affairs, War Claims, Public Buildings, Invalid Pensions, Printing, Territories, with the Centennial Committee—ten in all. They are also at the head of Militia, Civil Service Reform, Accounts, and of eight of the minor Committees on Expenditures in the several Departments. These latter are usually esteemed as positions of no importance whatever.

The Southern Democrats receive Elections, Pacific Railroad, Judiciary, Revision of the Laws, Foreign and Naval Affairs, Commerce, Post Office and Post Roads, Claims, Patents, Education and Labor, District of Columbia, Indian Affairs, Public Expenditures, Manufactures, Agriculture, Weights and Measures, Mines and Mining, Private Land Claims, Railways and Canals, Mississippi Levees, Revolutionary Pensions, Expenditures in the Post Office Department, and Enrolled Bills—in all, twenty-four. The selection of Mr. Harris, of Virginia, as chairman of the Committee on Elections, seems to have been based on no reasonable grounds of fitness. There is, however, an important contest pending from that State, in which the right of the Republican contestant, Mr. Platt, would be unquestioned before any fair-minded committee, but the claims of the sitting member, Daniel Goode, jr., are championed by Judge Harris, hence the remarkable fairness displayed in putting him in as the presiding examiner of the case, on whose merits he has already declared and committed himself.

Of the nine (9) Committees on the Expenditures of the several Departments Mr. Kerr has given the chairmanships of eight to Northern Democrats. They will probably do no special service therein, and the selections he has made are not likely to try. So much was said after the list was announced on this last point that the friends of the Speaker, if not himself, have been compelled to credit him with making up these committees with the view of their doing the important work for which they were originally provided. That work is to be found in what the name indicates—an examination into and supervision over departmental expenditures. But it requires only a very cursory examination of the committees as an-

nounced to prove this claim to be a mere apologetic afterthought.

The following table, which shows the proportion of Democratic members from each section assigned to the larger committees also illustrates the ingenuity with which it is attempted to avoid the charge of sectional unfairness :

NAME OF COMMITTEES.	From former slave States.	From the old free States.
Elections	4*	3
Ways and Means	4	3*
Appropriations	4	3*
Banking and Currency	2	5*
Pacific Railroad	5*	2
Judiciary	3*	4
Public Lands	2	5*
Foreign Affairs	3*	4
Military Affairs	3	4*
Commerce	3*†	4
Post Offices and Post Roads	3*	4
Claims	4*	3
† War Claims	4	3*
Naval Affairs	4*	3
Revision of Laws	2*	5
Education and Labor	4*	3
District of Columbia	3*	4
Public Buildings	4	3*
Patents	4*	3
Invalid Pensions	3	4*
Revolutionary Pensions	4*	3
Weights and Measures	4*	3
Indian Affairs	5*	2
Territories	3	4*
Agriculture	4*	3
Private Land Claims	5*	2
Public Expenditures	4*	3
Railways and Canals	3*	4
Mississippi Levees	5*	1
Reform in the Civil Service	3	4*
Manufactures	4*	3
Militia	4	3*
Mines and Mining	3*	4
Printing	1	1*
Library	1	1*
Centennial	1	6*
Mileage	1	2*
Accounts	1	2*
Enrolled Bills	1*	1
Total	126	124

The asterisk (*) indicates the *locale* of the chairmen. There are twenty-three (23) from the Southern and sixteen (16) from the Northern division, the small committees not being included.

† The Chairman is from West Virginia.

† There are four Southern members whose constituents are interested in the business that goes before them on this committee.

To return to our analysis. The annexed tabular divisions are of value in this connection. They present the reason for their arrangement in themselves: First in order comes those States on which the Bourbon Democracy most largely depend, and with whose associations and principles politi-

ment of the House committees. At any rate, their whole construction indicates the difficulty which must be encountered by a Northern Democrat who bows before the Southern Baal. He is not allowed even to defer to those prejudices which Lord Bacon said a statesman was bound to consider. But then no one ever accused Mr. Kerr of statesman-

ship, and this last piece of work proves that no injustice is done thereby. But even if he were, it would be impossible to exercise it fairly with such a pressure as he endures. No one can doubt but that he yielded, and to all appearance with that alacrity which has always been so marked a feature of Northern and Western Democracy.

RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC SPEAKER.

THE MORAL OF IT.

The election of the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, as Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth Congress is an event of more than ordinary political significance. So much has been said of the acceptance of "the situation" by the Southern Democracy, that on the principle that constant iteration produces belief, there has come to be a widespread, though vague, acceptance of the truth of this statement. Perhaps no better evidence of the fallacy concealed therein could be found than the conduct of the Democratic majority that now controls the present House of Representatives. The election of Speaker speaks to the point. The three candidates—Kerr, Randall, Cox—were all from the North. This fact was strategic, and would be sufficient, it was supposed, by the ex-Confederate leaders who virtually rule to mask their real meaning. Messrs. Randall and Cox were Democrats of the most pronounced type. But there were to them two insuperable objections: both were from States whose interests are necessarily national, and not sectional; while they themselves had proven the force of associations and sentiment in voting for all the supplies necessary to sustain the military and naval forces by whose aid the slaveholders' rebellion was suppressed. Mr. Cox also voted to abolish slavery. To have sustained the Union army and emancipated the slave was altogether too much for the Democratic associates who resisted both. Mr. Kerr was chosen over their head, though it is generally conceded that he is no more able as a public man, and not as competent for the post to which he is called as either of his competitors. Of Mr. Randall it is generally conceded that he would have been so

worthy a successor of Blaine, Colfax, and Banks as a presiding officer that the present majority would have had no cause to dread such party disasters as those that will follow the leadership they have chosen.

But an examination of Mr. Kerr's previous Congressional career offers abundant reasons for the preference shown him by the ex-Confederate Democrats and their allies of the West. Mr. Kerr entered public life with the Thirty-ninth Congress—a body which contained many of the ablest men that have served the American Republic, and was charged with the most momentous task that could have fallen to the hands of a great legislative body. In many respects that task was greater even than that which greeted the Thirty-seventh Congress when it convened in special session during the early war-summer of 1861.

The Thirty-ninth Congress was called to the duty of binding up the nation's wounds, and of not only restoring the Union, but of reconstructing it on a definite and pronounced Republican basis. The President who had led the country through the Red Sea of civil war had fallen by the bullet of a Democratic assassin. His chair was occupied by one who made haste to show that in the difficult task before the Government the sympathies of the Executive were sectional, and not national. It was evident, also, that Andrew Johnson was bound to enlarge the function of his office to the utmost. He set up a policy of his own, and aimed, as it was termed, to secure a "restoration" of the Southern States.

Under the Executive initiative the machinery of Government in the rebel States was attempted to be set in motion. Those who were called upon to do this work proved beyond peradventure that they at least had

no sympathy with the massive results that have been a consequence of the slaveholders' rebellion, its progress and final defeat. The emancipation of the slave was to be nullified by every means that could then be made available. When the surrender of Lee, Johnston, and Kirby Smith completed the disbandment of the rebel Democracy, the general feeling throughout the South was one of surprised satisfaction at being allowed to return unmolested to their homes—devastated perhaps, but unavoidably so by the war themselves and their leaders had created. Mr. Johnson's course soon evoked and re-aroused the ancient spirit, and there grew up the feeling expressed by an able ex-rebel colonel of West Tennessee, who said to a Federal army officer within six months after Lee's surrender: "In two years, major, you (meaning the loyal States) will be in rebellion, and we (meaning the Southern or rebel States with their sympathizers North) will be the Government."

It was upon this stage, then, Mr. Kerr entered, representing an Indiana district, known only for its virulent rebel sympathies. He had no history behind him other than that of being a man of personal integrity, a good lawyer, and a bitter partisan. In the hope so distinctly formulated by the rebel colonel referred to, Mr. Kerr became one of the most vigorous of workers, as the annexed record of his Congressional career will prove beyond question. The man himself is of no great importance, but as he possessed the courage both of his convictions and his partisanship he early assumed a prominent place. Because thereof he has now become a representative public man in the most marked sense of the term. What he has said and how he has voted are therefore of grave consequence. Let the records show.

Mr. Kerr entered Congress December 4, 1865, and at once took rank as an advocate of extreme Southern State rights opinions, and as an able, alert, and unscrupulous opponent of the reconstruction and other measures of the Republican majority.

REBEL REPRESENTATION.

His first recorded vote (December 4, 1865,) in Congress after the election of Speaker was given against the proposition introduced by

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, providing for a committee to inquire into the condition of the so-called Confederate States, and whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress, pending the report of which committee no member should be received from such States. This was the first initial step in reconstruction legislation—a vote against which was a vote in favor of the immediate admission of the ex-rebel representatives.

December 11, 1865, he voted in favor of giving representatives from the late rebel States, claiming seats in Congress, the privileges of the floor. On the following day, December 12, 1865, Mr. Kerr voted *against* admitting the loyal representatives from Tennessee, who had been elected under a Republican Constitution, to the privileges of the floor, and also against their admission to seats.

AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY.

December 19, 1865, he voted against a proposition looking to the expulsion of Representative Benjamin G. Harris, of Maryland,* who had been convicted by a court-martial for giving aid and comfort to the public enemy, and for expressing his regret that the assassination of President Lincoln had "came too late to be of any use to the rebels."

January 10, 1866, he voted in favor of a resolution allowing the late rebel States to "resume their position and functions in the Union without delay"—i. e., without reconstruction, pledges, or conditions.

January 16, 1866, he voted against authorizing the Committee on the Condition of the Southern States to take testimony.

January 8, 1866, he voted in favor of withdrawing the military forces from the late rebel States, but on January 21, 1867, he voted against a resolution inquiring into the use of the army by Andrew Johnson to enable disfranchised rebels to vote in Maryland.

June 11, 1866, Mr. Kerr voted against a resolution directing the trial of Jefferson Davis for treason.

* This is the person who was recently candidate for Sergeant-at-Arms on the ground of his avowed sympathy with the rebel South.

REBEL CLAIMS.

Mr. Kerr's first resolution, offered December 11, 1865, looked to making provision for the payment of claims in the rebel States for supplies alleged to have been taken by United States troops, and his first bill, presented December 21, 1865, was for the "relief" of owners of personal property which had been forfeited for criminal acts connected with the rebellion.

He was conspicuous throughout his Congressional career in the presentation and advocacy of all "Southern claims" designed to draw money from the Treasury for the benefit of that section. As Speaker, he has again shown his active animus in this direction by such an organization of the House Committee "on War Claims" as to insure favorable consideration for the class of claims committed to that body, and which he has always so consistently supported. Leaving out "compensation for slaves," at least of non-combatants, and there is a demand on the Treasury for not less than two or three hundred million dollars.

THE COTTON TAX.

In harmony with his general course in respect to favoring the late rebel States and the former slaveholding citizens at the expense of the people of the whole country, Mr. Kerr was an ardent advocate of that stupendous fraud—the attempted refunding of the cotton tax.

Mr. Kerr's last elaborate speech in Congress, February 18, 1873, was made in favor of this measure, which calls for at least SIXTY-EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS FROM THE NATIONAL TREASURY. His consistency is shown by the fact that on May 14, 1867, he voted against the proposition to prohibit the Southern States from repudiating debts due to loyal citizens.

REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES—TEST OATH.

During Mr. Kerr's former service in Congress he introduced a large number of bills removing the disabilities of persons who had been engaged in the rebellion, and was conspicuous in these efforts to restore to the Democratic party its voting and fighting strength. He was also the especial champion of the repeal of the test oath.

One of his earliest votes, December 18,

1865, was in favor of dispensing with this requirement.

January 15, 1866, he voted in favor of allowing attorneys in the rebel States to practice without taking the test oath. January 12, 1870, he introduced a bill repealing the test oath for jurors in United States courts. January 22, 1867, he made a heated speech against the test oath, which will be referred to hereafter.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Mr. Kerr's first speech in the House of Representatives was made January 22, 1866, in opposition to the fourteenth amendment, which he opposed as "not justified by the circumstances of the country." He fiercely assailed both its principles and its scope, declaring that it would make Congress "supreme over the States," and that under the power claimed, "Congress can go into South Carolina and take suffrage from the lately disloyal whites and give it to the negroes." "We have indeed," continued Mr. Kerr, "fallen upon evil times."

His speech was an elaborate argument against the power of Congress to regulate suffrage in the States, and was a complete reproduction and reassertion of all the ultra Southern State sovereignty theories of the *ante-bellum* period.

Throughout the struggles in which the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were finally the dearly-won results of our great national conflict, Mr. Kerr assumed a leading part in opposition to their passage, and actively participated in all the dilatory measures and other parliamentary expedients of resistance, recording his vote against the amendments in any form in which they were presented, and at every stage of their progress. It is important to remember, too, that no word of Mr. Kerr's appears upon record by which he stands committed himself, or commits his party, to an acknowledgment of the validity of either of these amendments since their incorporation into the Constitution; nor can it be denied that, with the single exception of the Baltimore platform of 1872, there is not a single authoritative act of the Democratic party which looks in that direction, while there are many of a contrary character.

On the 30th of March, 1868, Mr. Kerr voted against returning to that body the resolutions of the Democratic Legislature of New Jersey, purporting to withdraw the assent of that State to the fourteenth amendment. It will be remembered that a distinct effort was made, of which the New Jersey episode was one, to secure from several States in which the Democracy had obtained control of the Legislative branch of the government thereof a repudiation of the ratification previously voted.

Mr. Kerr made numerous speeches, which will be referred to, in opposition to measures designed to secure the rights guaranteed by the aforesaid amendments.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

December 13, 1865, Mr. Kerr voted against a resolution introduced by Mr. Farnsworth favoring "equal rights and privileges to all citizens irrespective of color."

December 18, he voted in favor of "referring the question of suffrage to the several States, and denying the right of Congress to extend the elective franchise."

On the same day he also voted against a resolution offered by Mr. Baker denouncing class rule and aristocratic principles of Government, and favoring the largest attainable liberty to the whole people of the Republic, irrespective of class or race. On the 18th of January, 1866, he voted against the passage of the bill extending suffrage in the District of Columbia.

STATE RIGHTS.

The theories upon which the institution of slavery had been maintained within the Federal Union, and upon which secession was justified and the war of the rebellion defended, were also the theories upon which the former slaveholders of the South attempted to regain possession of the Government they had failed to destroy. Among the Northern Democratic allies of the Southern faction which sought thus to reverse the judgment of the war none were more bold, defiant, and audacious than Mr. Kerr, who is still their consistent advocate.

The mantle of Calhoun would seem to have fallen upon his shoulders. On every available question he asserted the doctrine of State inviolability as the basis and backbone

of his argument. This dreary waste of State sovereignty logic was usually enlivened by rhetorical scintillations denunciatory of the "Radical party," calumniating Republican leaders, and especially villifying the negro, as well as all Southern Republicans of native or Northern origin. His consistency will be seen by his votes.

RECONSTRUCTION.

January 9, 1866, he voted in favor of resolutions indorsing the "restoration" policy of Andrew Johnson.

In a speech upon reconstruction delivered January 21, 1868, Mr. Kerr argued that the rebel States had forfeited no rights under the Constitution—that they never were out of the Union. He alleged that "the war was but a mighty display of the police power of the Government in aid of the civil authorities in the States," and charged that the policy of the Republican party was "a confession of insincerity, of hypocrisy, and a covert purpose of revolution." He sustained all the acts of Andrew Johnson—opposed any attempt to enforce the provision of the Constitution requiring Congress to guarantee to the several States a republican form of government, and characterized all such attempts as "an insult to a free people's will;" as "a most mischievous purpose;" as "attempts to subordinate all government in the States to the partisan purposes of the 'fierce will of the majority,'" and stigmatized the expressions "American nationality," "the nation," "the people's will," and "the life of the Republic," as "*transcendental terms and phrases*, all intended to operate upon the people as a sort of political *mirage*, to inspire them with false hopes and lead them into political chaos or despotism."

He denounced the whole scope of Republican legislation as "a monstrous policy" and as "most extraordinary assumptions of power and most revolutionary threats against the integrity of the Constitution."

January 15, 1868, on the motion to censure Fernando Wood for using the words (in reference to the reconstruction bill) "a monstrosity, a measure the most infamous of the many infamous acts of this most infamous Congress"—Mr. Kerr voted "No."

January 16, 1868, in a speech against the

reconstruction acts, Mr. Kerr defended the pro-slavery, State rights decisions of Judge Taney, and declared that "It is the sole duty of Congress to go into those" (the rebel) "States, and to vindicate the *pre-existing* governments." He styled Republican measures "the vandal tread of radicalism and absolutism," called the loyal Constitutional Conventions which had been held in the South, "revolutionary negro Conventions," and declared that he indorsed the language for which Fernando Wood had been the day before censured at the bar of the House.

December 19, 1868, he voted against a proposition to require the Southern States to repay to the Treasury a portion of the expenses incurred in carrying the reconstruction acts into effect.

ADMISSION OF RECONSTRUCTED STATES.

As Mr. Kerr was one of the most persistent advocates of recognizing the unreconstructed States with their Confederate Democratic Governments, so he was one of the most persistent opponents of the admission of those States under Republican Constitutions.

March 28, 1868, in a speech upon the admission of Alabama, Mr. Kerr said: "The first speech I had the honor to make in this House was against this wicked, this revolutionary heresy now so rapidly being adopted by the Radical party of this country—that Congress may regulate suffrage in all the States of this Union."

He styled the enfranchisement of the colored race a refusal of the "radical party" to "remit these negroes to the control of the natural law and the law of God," and declaimed against appropriations for educational purposes in the South.

The Republican Constitution of Alabama was disposed of by Mr. Kerr in language of which the following is a specimen:

"The radical party of Alabama sacrificed their manhood; they surrendered their God-given right of self government and got down upon their miserable knees to the Radical party in making this Constitution, and in its presentation to Congress and asking it to be forced upon the people of Alabama."

He described the acts of Congress as "the dictation of such terms as Congress pleases to the tools of Congress in Alabama."

The efforts to make Congressional legislation acceptable to the opposition he styled as "inducements to white men to stultify themselves, surrender their judgments and become allies of the Republican party in its efforts to force a hateful, odious, and anti-republican Constitution on all the people." Any attempt to prescribe terms upon which those who had participated in the rebellion might resume the prerogatives of citizenship he characterized as "usurpation," and the presence of troops in the South for the protection of loyal men he habitually designated as "continuing your military despotism in full force." He was especially severe in his animadversions upon the clause in the new constitutions providing that they should not be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen, or class of citizens, of the right to vote who were by those constitutions entitled to vote. These provisions were, in Mr. Kerr's language, "shackles upon the limbs of States," "irrepealable brands of degradation and inferiority." Such provisions established "a hateful union of unequal members," constituted "a most dangerous innovation," and would "erect a most vicious precedent in our history." A Republican government in the South he defined to be "a government that the people despise, that they loathe, that they reject in every way that is left to them by military despotism to express their feelings." The conditions of admission, as to the future non-exclusion of citizens from the right to vote, he affirmed to be "degrading conditions precedent."

Reconstruction in Alabama he termed "a shameful and disgraceful spectacle," and the soldiers of the Union army and other Northern citizens who had settled in that State were, in Mr. Kerr's vocabulary, "political adventurers and vultures."

The test oath was "only fit to mark and disgrace the sway of an oppressor." The doctrine of the civil and political equality of all men Mr. Kerr proclaimed as "*existing only in the imaginations of political utopians or demagogues.*" Nobody but "purblind fanatics" would take an oath not to restrict negro suffrage. The right to "deprive any person or persons, on account of race, color, or previous condition, of any political or civil right, privilege, or immunity enjoyed by

any other class of men, Mr. Kerr held to be "*one of the rights* of a free American citizen." The exacting of a pledge not to do this Mr. Kerr affirmed as "disclosing a purpose not only to control the actions, but also to debase, demoralize, and enslave the judgments and consciences of men."

Speaking incidentally of the fourteenth amendment he said, "I pray God it shall never be adopted, and if it ever is it will be against the will and judgment of the white people of this country. It will be done under the lash of military power." The provision in the Constitution of Alabama exempting small homesteads from sale or execution he denounced as "a bid for negro votes, a bid for the control of a debased, demoralized, corruptible population." The provision for the maintenance of a public school system in Alabama he styled provisions "for the levying of most onerous taxes." "Who," said Mr. Kerr "will enjoy the benefit of that" (the school) "fund?—Negroes alone, not white men." Its purpose was "to further burden the white people of Alabama." He whined about the crippled resources and diminished prosperity of Alabama, but did not attribute this to its secession and the waste of the war of the rebellion. No, it was all owing to Radical "agitation"—to the "horrible oppression of the whites" under "an unholy and infamous government." In conclusion, Mr. Kerr maintained that "this State should be admitted at once to representation under *her own*" (Johnson) "constitution, not this mongrel and bastard instrument, because *she was never out of the Union, and never lost or forfeited her rights, and is now simply the victim of superior brute force.*"

December 21, 1869, Mr. Kerr made a violent speech against the bill for the admission of Georgia, which imposed fundamental conditions, prohibiting secession, repudiation, and disfranchisement. He declared this bill "cruel and infamous," an "attack" upon the State, "precipitated with indecent haste and zeal." He villified the Republicans of Georgia and repeated the whole vocabulary of rebel slanders against the Union men of that State who were aiding in the process of reconstruction. They were "dishonest and

corrupt, defaulters, speculators, and robbers." No epithets were strong enough to express Mr. Kerr's abhorrence of Republicans who presumed to live in the State of Georgia, no words too suave with which to caress the unreconstructed rebels and the brutal murderers of loyal citizens in that State. "These fundamental conditions were a monstrous wrong," he said, "and ought to be rejected with emphasis and indignation."

The bill for the admission of Georgia was again opposed March 5, 1870, by Mr. Kerr in a speech especially directed against those clauses which provided that the State of Georgia should never deprive any citizen of the right to vote or hold office, except as a punishment for crime. This he declared to be "an initial step in the infamous system of congressional legislation," "a fundamental outrage on free institutions," "an abominable measure," which "had no precedent in the hitherto unparalleled legislation of Congress." He was "prepared to believe that we are now upon the threshold of a new career of aggressive, reckless, and abominable legislation which may lead this country God knows where," such bills as these would reduce the States "to the condition of abject, miserable, and most pitiable dependence upon a great central Republican despotism, having its seat in this capital, and from here with the strong hand of power destroying every franchise, every guaranty, every limitation upon power hitherto held absolutely inviolable and sacred."

STATE GOVERNMENTS REPUBLICAN IN FORM.

March 18, 1868, Mr. Kerr made a bitter speech against the bill "to guaranty to the several States of the Union a republican form of government." He said the title ought to be changed so as to read "a bill to corrupt the blood, demoralize the lives, and undermine the foundations of all constitutional government, and the civil liberties of the people of this country, and perpetuate the ascendancy of the Radical party," such was "the deliberate policy of Radicalism." Denouncing as cowards "those white men who marshaled themselves under the leadership of the Radical party, and seek to skulk and intrench themselves behind the power and influence and aid of a negro population, he described the colored men of the country as of

"the most inferior and ignorant and corruptible races of the earth." The Republican measures of enfranchisement were described as "a revolutionary and corrupting policy." The Democratic party was "compelled to meet the ignorance, and barbarism, and stupidity, and vice of the country controlled by the political party in power," and it (the Democratic party) "trembled for the welfare of the country." "The Democratic party is to-day, and has been throughout the whole history of this country, the truest and best friend of the negro; and always will be." But "the negro should have no political power. The government should remain in the hands of the white race." This bill proposed "to corrupt that ruling race," and to "appeal to that ignorant and inferior race to help the party in power to retain the political control of the country."

Mr. Kerr voted against the joint resolution "excluding from the electoral college votes of the States lately in rebellion which had not then been recognized," and in favor of sustaining Andrew Johnson's vetoes of that and other Republican measures. Of course he voted against the tenure of office bill and against every other measure calculated to resist Executive usurpations.

IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

March 30, 1868, Mr. Kerr voted in favor of restricting the power of the impeachment managers to obtain necessary testimony, and throughout the impeachment proceedings he assumed a leading part in the Democratic defense of Mr. Johnson.

The following paragraph from one of his assaults upon Secretary Stanton, (February 25, 1868,) illustrated the animosity, perversion, and falsehood which characterized his frequent utterances:

"Mr. Chairman, why do the majority here and Mr. Stanton himself resort to such extraordinary measures, such questionable expedients, to keep him in office? Why does he, with their assistance, cling with such selfish trembling and indecent tenacity to this office? Does he fear to expose the secret and unpublished record of that Department to the eye of any successor, to the knowledge of the people? It seems so. It may be that the frauds, the concealments, the oppressions, the crimes of that Department during his administration are such as to lead him to shrink from their exposure. The viola-

tion of law, the invasions of the rights of persons and property, the outrages upon personal liberty, the contempt of the Constitution, and the scandalous prostitution of his office to the base purposes of his party may well deter him from any voluntary exposure of his official conduct during the last seven years. * * * He ought to have been removed years ago."

This was Mr. Kerr's tribute to the man who, probably, more than any other one person contributed to carrying the nation safely through the rebellion. It was because of the loyal devotion of Edwin M. Stanton to his country and to his official duty that Mr. Kerr's abuse was showered upon him.

CIVIL RIGHTS.

March 8, 1866, Mr. Kerr made an elaborate speech in opposition to the original civil rights bill. The first section of that bill declared "all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power—excluding Indians not taxed—to be citizens of the United States without distinction of color." This declaration Mr. Kerr averred to be "utterly vain." "Congress had no right to declare who should be citizens." This was "an invasion of the rights of the States." The bill was "inherently vicious." He argued in favor of the right of States to make discriminating laws against "inferior races," and defended State laws which excluded colored children from the public schools.

THE ENFORCEMENT ACT.

The bill to enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution providing for the protection of citizens as voters and as witnesses when summoned before the courts, offered May 27, 1870, Mr. Kerr opposed in a similar vein to that which marked his opposition to all Republican measures.

In another set speech against the bill to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, delivered March 28, 1871, Mr. Kerr emphatically denied that "citizenship" carried with it the suffrage as a necessary right. The qualifications for suffrage were to be prescribed only by "States," and could "as perfectly exist without as with citizenship." Mr. Kerr, himself, emphasized the following sentence of his speech by causing it to be printed in italics: "*No person ever did exercise the right of suffrage in virtue of the naked unassisted fact of citizen-*

ship." "But," he continued, "in every instance the right depends, and the franchise of suffrage is exercised, upon some additional fact and cumulative qualification prescribed by the laws of the State, *which may as perfectly exist without as with citizenship.*" "The word citizenship has not in any of its elements or meanings under the Federal Constitution, nor have the words 'privileges' and 'immunities,' in any of their just interpretations, anything to do with or any power to set aside or disregard any of the *distinctions*, requirements, or rights based upon domicile or residence in the respective States."

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

In the debate (April 12, 1870, *et. seq.*) upon the Louisiana credential cases Mr. Kerr eulogized as "men of integrity and honor," and as gentlemen of "culture," the leaders of the "White Camelia" and "Sicilian Innocents" who had led the murderous attacks upon the Republican members of the Legislature of that State, had participated in the slaughter of hundreds of fleeing negroes, and who, in accordance with the rebel sense of "integrity" and "honor," had, as witnesses before the Congressional committee, denied under oath not only their participation in those outrages, but even the fact that any outrages had been committed. With a like inversion of truth and justice, Mr. Kerr at the same time stigmatized as "bad, unscrupulous, corrupt," as "covered all over with crime," as "vile, low, mean, and unprincipled"—who? the banditti, who with revolvers and bludgeons had invaded the hall of Representatives and had made the streets of New Orleans literally run with blood? It was not these men to whom Mr. Kerr applied such epithets. It was against the Republicans of Louisiana, whose offense was that they supported the National Government, and believed in the equal rights of all citizens, black as well as white.

Throughout this debate, which continued for several days, Mr. Kerr denied every conclusively proven fact respecting the condition of affairs in Louisiana, and indorsed, commended, and eulogized as true every proven perjury of the Ku-Klux leaders and their instruments.

The officially corroborated record he styled

"a common stock of slanders; baseless and foolish cries." He strenuously fought for every point on the floor of the House favoring the admission of the Democratic claimants who had attempted by violence and fraud to prevent the polling of Republican votes, and resisted by every device of parliamentary strategy the seating of Republicans returned as properly elected.

ELECTIONS.

On the 8th of January, 1868, in a speech upon the contested Kentucky election case of McKee vs. Young, Mr. Kerr declared that "suffrage is not a natural or absolutely indefeasable right," that it might be alienated or destroyed on other grounds than as a penalty for crime, and that the States had a right to disfranchise negroes or other classes of persons.

In a later speech (February 3, 1868,) upon the same contested election case, Mr. Kerr argued that Congress had no right to require persons who had been engaged in the rebellion to take a test oath, and defended John Young Brown upon proven charges of active and persistent disloyalty as doing only "what he deemed to be his duty as a man and a citizen of Kentucky." He repeated these views June 20, 1868, in a speech favoring Brown's admission.

In every case of contest for seats in the House of Representatives Mr. Kerr advocated and voted for the admission of the rebel claimants, and against the loyal claimants, without exception.

So in all other contests between Democratic and Republican contestants Mr. Kerr invariably opposed and voted against the Republican contestant, no matter how indisputable the right of such Republican, and in like manner urged and voted for the admission of the Democrat, no matter how clearly baseless or illegal his claim.

In reply to an accusation of this character made on the floor of the House, Mr. Kerr declared that he had on more than one occasion voted for the admission of Republicans, and against Democrats. The explanation of this statement is that one or two Republicans were included in the delegations from the unreconstructed States which Mr. Kerr had voted to admit, and likewise that the dele-

gates elected under the reconstruction acts, against the admission of whom Mr. Kerr steadily voted, also embraced some Democratic members.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

February 2, 1866, Mr. Kerr made one of his usual set speeches in advocacy of State Rights doctrines, holding that Congress had no power over the late rebel States—that those States had never been out of the Union, and that therefore they were entitled to recognition without condition. This speech was delivered in opposition to the bill to establish the Freedmen's Bureau. Upon the question of slavery he claimed that it was a "domestic relation" and not a "public relation." All efforts to preserve the freedom which had been secured by the thirteenth amendment he denounced as "unconstitutional"—as "uncalled for," and as constituting a "centralization of power." He bitterly opposed the bill, and declared that such legislation "condemns to merited reproach those who favor it." The measures proposed in Congress looking to the protection of the negro were, he affirmed, "radically and wickedly wrong." He especially opposed the educational feature of the Freedmen's Bureau bill, sneeringly asking "what is a 'common school education,' and who long will it take some negroes to acquire it?"

On the 19th of March, 1863, he voted against continuing the educational features of the Freedmen's Bureau.

AID TO EDUCATION.

On the 14th of December, 1865, Mr. Kerr voted against a resolution introduced by Mr. Donnelly, of Minnesota, for the establishment of a bureau of education as a permanent part of any system of reconstruction.

The bill to establish an educational fund and to apply the proceeds of the public lands to the education of the people, proposed February, 1872, was also opposed by Mr. Kerr, who, with more truth than usually characterized his utterances, avowed that it was "precisely out of the line of the Democratic policy, and of the conduct of the Democratic party in the past, and precisely in the line of the present and past policy of the Republican party."

That provision of the bill that no State should partake of its advantages which did not provide for the free education of all its children between the ages of six and sixteen years was especially abhorrent to Mr. Kerr. He wanted the "States" to use their respective shares of the proposed Congressional appropriation as they saw fit, without imposing upon them such "unjust conditions."

The proposition to establish a system of national education met, as a matter of course, with uniform hostility from the Democracy. In a speech made February 17, 1871, against this measure Mr. Kerr made a more than usual violent and defamatory State rights and negro hostility speech, arraigning the Republican party as being guilty of nearly all the crimes in the calendar, which, in Mr. Kerr's view, seemed synonymous with any measure of justice towards the freedmen of the South or with any effort to promote education and civilization among the ignorant whites of that or other sections. "On the overthrow of the South," Mr. Kerr affirmed, "the revolution had been continued in the Capitol by the leaders of the Republican party." "They," (the Republican leaders,) "proceeded from one aggression to another." Their shibboleth was "centralization of power." "State rights to them are hateful." * * "This proposition to establish a system of national education was a New England idea and policy," and its provisions indicated "the animus, the peculiar statesmanship, and the cruel sectarianism attempted to be concealed by New England in this measure." It would impose upon "the South" most "unequal, unjust, and oppressive burdens." To enforce taxation for the support of public schools, especially in "the South," "violated every principle of just government." The bill he said "seeks under cover of a false pretense to accomplish a great outrage upon the people of some sections of our country, and to override and defy the original and necessary jurisdiction of the States." To compel those who had been so long supported by negro labor to aid in providing for the education of the children of such negroes, was, in Mr. Kerr's view,

a "great outrage" upon "the people" of "the South."

The whole scope and purpose of such persistent parading of State sovereignty dogmas on all occasions, opportune or otherwise, by the Democratic leaders, orators, and press, is clearly seen to be the justification of the rebellion, to maintain the former pretexts for future action, excuse the violation of reconstruction conditions, prepare the way for a repeal of the Constitutional amendments, and to reduce the freed people to the condition of civic serfs, if not chattels personal—after pay for the slaves emancipated through the war shall have been demanded and received. Mr. Kerr is the boldest and most representative defender, among Northern Democrats, of the theories, arguments, and logic on which all these policies and possibilities are to be sought and defended. His election as Speaker is their indorsement.

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July 16, 1866, Mr. Kerr, with his Democratic colleagues in the House, on a strict party division, voted *against laying on the table* a resolution favoring payment for slaves taken for military purposes.

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Mr. Kerr in a speech made upon the apportionment bill, December 13, 1871, argued in favor of a restricted, as against an increased popular representation in Congress. This position, taken by an acknowledged and conspicuous party leader, is in the direct line of the aristocratic and unrepugnant idea of small representative bodies and extended terms of office; while it derives additional significance from the concurrent facts of almost daily observation showing the Democratic disposition to discredit suffrage, and generally to condemn the processes of a popular administration of the Government.

COMMERCE AMONG THE STATES—RELATED MEASURES.

On June 16, 1866, Mr. Kerr made another of his familiar State Right speeches against the exercise of the Constitutional power of Congress to "regulate commerce among the several States," arguing against its right even to protect the Treasury from the grasping demands of private State corporations, the transportation of the mails and of Government supplies, and reiterating the whole schedule of fallacies and assumptions which distinguish the Calhoun school.

On February 4, 1869, the same speech was repeated, the same array of exploded "opinions."

April 11, 1872, Mr. Kerr opposed the bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals while in transit on railroads, upon the alleged ground that "it invades the jurisdiction of States." According to the Democratic party the "Constitutional rights of the States" are always in the way of national protection against outrages, whether upon men or animals. The "Constitution" as it was, or was claimed to be under Democratic interpretation, is ever invoked as a shield to

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oppression and cruelty. The Constitution, as it was in fact, and as it now is, must be held insufficient in its plainest provisions to guarantee justice or protection. This is plainly the theory of the Democratic party as explained by Mr. Speaker Kerr, whose fidelity to the past constructions, and whose hostility to the Constitution as amended, has been approved by his election to the position he now holds.

COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE CONDITION OF LABOR.

December 13, 1872, the Committee on Education and Labor reported a bill providing for a commission "to inquire into the condition of the laboring classes, and how the same are affected by existing laws regulating commerce, finance, and currency."

This wise and thoughtful measure in the interests of the working men and women of the country was, of course, at once opposed by the Democratic party, and Mr. Kerr subsequently made a prepared speech against the bill, in which he correctly defined his first opposition as "simply instinctive." But mature deliberation brought to Mr. Kerr's mind no more enlightened views. Mr. Kerr affirmed that there was "no need of this bill." He further styled it a "partisan measure," (i. e., Republican,) and asserted that all "good Democrats" should "oppose and reject it."

THE TARIFF.

Mr. Kerr's decided free trade record is well known. His speeches upon this topic were numerous, and often forcible. His action, however, as Speaker, in appointing a Committee upon Ways and Means which fails to represent either his own or his party's expressed views of national policy, shows with what facility a Democratic leader can ignore all past assertions, and how easily the Democratic party can subordinate economic questions or other incidental issues to its one great purpose—the re-establishment of sectional Democratic supremacy.

THE CURRENCY.

Mr. Kerr's first speech in Congress upon the currency question was a direct "hard money" argument, and comprised an explicit and peremptory demand for an immediate "contraction of the currency," and a "speedy

resumption of specie payments." Necessarily hostile to the financial measures which had carried the country through the rebellion, he stigmatized the national currency as "rags," and with an equally patriotic desire to hamper the Government in its efforts to fund the national debt, and also to interrupt the processes of reconstruction through financial embarrassments, he wanted contraction and resumption precisely at the time when the results mentioned must inevitably have followed such an attempt.

But at a later period, when, reconstruction accomplished and the national debt secured, the Democratic party sought to devise new means to lure Republicans from their political fealty, Mr. Kerr's tone upon the financial question became sensibly altered.

In a speech made January 22, 1870, he was "willing" that specie payments should be resumed. He would "not delay resumption a month beyond the period when it shall have become practicable without a dangerous and injurious shock to the prosperity and business of the country." But there was no "royal road to resumption." It could not be accomplished by any mere act or device of legislation. "It can only result from a general condition of the country."

He advocated the absolute and complete separation of banks and financial institutions from the business of currency-making. The decision of the Supreme Court that Congress had the power to issue a credit, as well as a coin currency, "did not meet his approval," but "if it would lead to a separation of all financial institutions from all control or influence over the making of currency, and aid the more speedy resumption of specie payments," he should "rejoice that it was made." "Let whatever currency the country possesses, whether good or bad, belong to all the people."

He demanded that the Government "call in and cancel every dollar of currency issued to the national banks."

He declared that the principal of the bonds deposited by the national banks for the security of their circulation was "payable in the currency of the country, not in gold, * * until gold becomes a part of that currency." He demanded the taxation of Government

bonds by the United States, and the repeal of the provision exempting them from State and municipal taxation. He protested against "immediate resumption," declaring that its attempt would work "infinite injury."

He opposed contraction, and favored "the redemption, not the purchase of bonds," and held that they should be redeemed at par "in the common currency of the country," i. e., Treasury notes.

It was at this time that the House instructed the Committee on Banking and Currency to report a bill increasing the currency to the amount of at least \$50,000,000. A bill was reported providing for a further issue of \$95,000,000 in national bank notes, and the retirement of \$45,000,000 in three per cent. certificates. Mr. Kerr's speech June 8th, 1870, shows that he opposed this bill because it failed to carry out the order of the House. "This order," he said, "is clear and definite in terms, and, in my judgment, means an increase of \$50,000,000 in the greenback currency of the country, not in national bank currency." He opposed it, in the second place, because it offered "no relief to the country." "It offers," he said, "no better currency than we have. The best credit currency we now have is the greenback; but this bill reduces the amount of that by \$40,000,000. It offers the expansion of the worst currency we have, the national bank paper. To that it would add \$95,000,000." He opposed it, in the third place, because it proposed "to add directly and most effectively to the power of the system of national banks in this country." "Such a system," he said, "such a fearful agency for monetary and political control, is dangerous in the extreme in any country, but supremely so in a republic." He opposed it in the fourth place, because it would "lead to a contraction of the currency." "The country" he said, "now demands an increase of the currency. If the system should be changed at all, it should be by an increase of the currency, and not by contraction." He believed that, besides the retirement of the treasury notes and the three per centum certificates, there would be in practice a retirement of "\$9,000,000 in the increased amount of reserves required by the national bank law, making an aggregate contraction of \$104,000,000." Deducting from this \$95,-

000,000 increase of national bank notes, and there would be left "a net contraction of \$9,000,000." He opposed it, in the fifth place, because it did not provide in good faith for "a redistribution of the currency." "It discriminates," he said, "against the West and the South, and in favor of the States that now have such a great excess of the currency of the country." He opposed it, in the sixth place, because it proposed to redeem \$40,000,000 of the existing greenback currency of the country by the issue and sale of gold-bearing bonds. Among other things Mr. Kerr said:

"I would, therefore, retire every farthing of the national bank currency and issue such an amount of greenbacks in redemption of bonds at par, dollar for dollar, as would make the aggregate amount of greenbacks equivalent in the uses of the country to the amount we now have, and more.

"Issue more greenbacks and redeem bonds, thus giving more currency and also reducing the annual interest on the public debt, giving the country more money and less taxes."

OFFICIAL UNFAIRNESS.

As a member of the Committee on Elections in the Fortieth, Forty-first, and Forty-second Congresses, Mr. Kerr assumed the especial championship of the Democratic party, and was the recognized leader of all aggressive movements in that committee and upon the floor of the House for seating unreconstructed Southern rebels and fraudulently elected Northern Democrats. He was more than once reprovved in debate by Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, Mr. Stevenson, of Ohio, and others, for attempting to override the rules of the House, for violating the proprieties enjoined by the committee, for ignoring all equities in his treatment of contested election questions, and for his frequent defiance of fact in his statements of evidence presented.

His habitual unfairness and utterly unscrupulous partisanship were especially shown in his conduct in the investigations ordered by Congress in the case of the New York election frauds, and in the contested election cases in Louisiana.

The Democratic party naturally being deemed as on trial, whether the charges under inquiry related to repeating and ballot-box stuffing in New York, or to intimidation, outrage, and murder in the South, Mr.

Kerr, as a member of committees charged with these investigations, took upon himself the role of counsel, substituting for his official duty of investigation a strictly partisan defense.

More than this, he notoriously sought to thwart the investigations he had been directed to assist in making, and his efforts to this end were marked by all the audacity of Democratic hardihood. The conduct of these investigations exhibited upon the Democratic side the customary policy of overloading testimony with irrelevant matter in cross-examination, the concealment of proper evidence, the bold denial of established facts, and the constant introduction of false rebutting testimony, and Mr. Kerr personally participated in the attempted intimidation of witnesses before the committee of which he was a member through the instrumentality of illegal processes and the encouragement of ruffianly force.

On this head Mr. Kerr may speak for himself. The journal of the select committee in the New York election frauds contains the following paragraph:

NEW YORK, January 8, 1869.

The committee met pursuant to adjournment.

Present: The chairman, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Kerr, and Mr. Ross.

* * * * *

The proceedings of the committee were interrupted by the arrest of several witnesses, as reported to the committee by the sergeant-at-arms, as follows:

"MR. CHAIRMAN: I have a report to make upon which I desire the instructions of the committee. Several of the witnesses summoned before this committee, including some who have been examined and were directed to remain for further examination, and others who have not yet been called, have just been arrested in the hall of this building by the sheriff of this county and his deputies. *I have reason to believe that these arrests were made without warrant or other lawful authority, and for some ulterior purpose connected with this investigation.* I desire to be informed if I have any power, or this committee has any power, to protect from arrest the witnesses summoned before it."

Mr. Kerr stated that the arrests were made at his instance, and that he would take the responsibility of the act.—Lawrence's Report, Journal, page 165.

The facts in this case, which can be established by living witnesses, and which, as to

Mr. Kerr's complicity, the foregoing extract confirms, are understood to be that during the investigation in New York Mr. Sheriff O'Brien, with the concurrence of the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, a Democratic member of the Congressional committee, caused the United States court-house in which the sessions of the committee were being held to be invaded by a body of more than seventy special deputy sheriffs, recruited from among the prize-fighting and shoulder-hitting elements of the Democratic party of that city, for the recognized purpose of terrifying witnesses called before the committee, who, having been employed in "repeating" under the immediate direction of the Democratic officials of New York, were in possession of conclusive evidence of these frauds.

The arrangement was that all such witnesses should be arrested as soon as they left the committee-room, and for this purpose they were to be pointed out by the Democratic members of the committee. Then perjured testimony was to be manufactured in rebuttal, (the evidence necessary to be thus refuted being communicated by the Democratic members to a volunteer Democratic committee composed of William M. Tweed, Sheriff O'Brien, and A. Oakey Hall,) and when the original witnesses should be sought to be recalled they would not be found. In pursuance of this arrangement the arrests reported to the committee were made, Mr. Kerr, as stated by eye-witnesses, leaving the committee-room and passing down the hall in company with the Sheriff, pointed out the persons whose testimony had been deemed especially damaging, who were then and there summarily seized and removed from the building.

In the inquiry thereupon instituted by the committee, Robert Murray, United States Marshal, testified in answer to question 5512, and in presence of Mr. Kerr, as follows:

"I was standing in the hall, looking for one of my men to go on some errand. Mr. Kerr was out in the hall at the time pointing out certain parties to the sheriff. The sheriff ordered the arrest of some of these."

Sheriff O'Brien being called admitted (testimony, page 517,) that the arrests were made without warrant and at Mr. Kerr's instance.

Upon another occasion three deputy sheriffs had in like manner been stationed at the door of the committee-room, which indignity was reported to the committee by the sergeant-at-arms as follows :

"MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to report that I find three of the deputies of the sheriff of this county stationed at the door of this room. I respectfully ask to be informed if these officers are so stationed by the direction of this committee. And I desire further to state that I have already experienced great difficulty in retaining the witnesses summoned before this committee, on account of the intimidation exercised by the presence in this building of sheriff's officers and other persons who watch, follow, attempt to manipulate, and, in some instances, maltreat them. —*Journal*, page 165.

For this outrage Mr. Kerr was also responsible. These are some of the acts for which he stands condemned upon the record. Yet, in Democratic language, he is "an honorable man." And it was for his services to the Democratic party in thus attempting to crush this investigation that the New York Democracy then pledged to him their future support—a pledge they have since fulfilled.

IN CONCLUSION.

These facts, drawn from the record, and in which naught is "set down in malice," prove conclusively how thoroughly Mr. Kerr represents the most positive and logical opinions—those which under Southern Democratic leaders kept the Union in a turmoil from 1820 to 1861, with the aggressions of the slave power, and then having failed to rule, attempted to destroy, by plunging into civil war and seeking the destruction of the Union. Mr. Kerr is in hearty accord with this sectional philosophy; he is an ingrained belittler of the national life; one who, like Calhoun, constructs a shapely pyramid and then attempts to make it stand on its apex. No man north of Mason and Dixon's line could now be found in public life so ready to do the behests of the Southern or Confederate Democracy. He is, as has been shown, a daring partisan, ready to sacrifice even the comity of gentlemanly intercourse to accomplish a purpose. His election as Speaker is the most significant event in the present partial resumption of Democratic power.

SECRETARY BRISTOW AND THE WHISKY RING.

—A desperate attempt is being made by the kings of the whisky ring to break the force of the prosecution against them by publishing throughout the country base rumors against the President and Secretary Bristow. Column after column has been devoted to pure fiction, in the vain hope that the public would demand immunity for the revenue thieves while considering the charges against their prosecutors. Money has been freely used to start a counter current, and the ring could supply millions more if success were possible. But every effort to escape has thus far failed. The hand of the law has been laid upon these wrong-doers, and its grasp will not be released until justice is satisfied. The President has said, "Let no guilty man escape," and Secretary Bristow is determined, so far as human foresight and courage can avail, to carry out this order both in spirit and in letter. The Secretary of the Treasury need fear nothing from his enemies. He has already entrenched himself in the confidence of the people, and they will sustain him in enforcing the laws, and in prosecuting those who violate them. The administration of President Grant will take no steps backward in prosecuting those who have been defrauding the revenue. It is in downright earnest, and will punish the guilty whenever or wherever they are discovered, or whoever they may be.

THE Presidential campaign will be one of the most active in our history. Democracy will not relinquish its foothold upon the House of Representatives, much less its hopes of national control, without a desperate struggle. Every means available will be brought to bear to overthrow the Republican party. The stake is a grand one—no less than the nation itself—and to secure it Democracy will marshal, in battle array, every element and shade of opposition. Republicans must be wide awake to the nature and necessities of the conflict. Clubs must be organized; the local paper must be made a power for good; the people should be enlightened, and no stone should be left unturned to secure a glorious victory for the cause of Justice and Union. Republicanism saved the nation from overthrow; Republicanism can alone preserve it.

THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

The Comptroller of the Currency in his late annual report to Congress gives a very full history of the national banking system, and of many of the financial measures proposed or adopted by the Government since the commencement of the war of 1812. He states that during that war the bank currency of the country, according to an estimate of Secretary Crawford, was increased in volume from \$29,000,000 in 1812 to \$99,000,000 in 1815; while at the same time treasury notes amounting to \$60,500,000 were authorized, of which \$36,680,000 were issued by the Government. The effect of this great increase of currency was that the bank notes became very greatly depreciated, and specie almost entirely disappeared from circulation. The treasury notes, although bearing interest at the rate of five and two-fifths per cent. per annum, or "one cent and one-half a cent per day," on each one hundred dollars, were also discredited, but instead of continuing as part of the circulation of the country they were mostly exchanged, under the law authorizing their issue, for funded six per cent. stock of the United States.

The policy of the State banks at that time seemed to be antagonistic to the Government, and to correct this antagonism various propositions were made with a view to identify the interests of the various monetary institutions with those of the United States. Fifty years later this was accomplished by the establishment of the national banking system. He also gives the information that as early as 1815 a plan was proposed by a magazine writer of that period which embodied the substantial principles of the present national banking system.

Under the head of "The discussion and passage of the national bank act," he states that in December, 1861, the Secretary of the Treasury proposed two methods for obtaining the necessary means for carrying on the war. His first proposition was to substitute demand notes, payable in coin, in place of the notes of private corporations. The sec-

ond was the gradual issue of national bank notes secured by the pledge of United States bonds to replace the existing bank notes authorized by the laws of the several States.

The report of the Secretary was prepared with the expectation, then prevalent, that the war would be of short duration; but soon the magnitude of the struggle became evident, and the large drafts upon the Treasury, caused by the expenditure of more than a million of dollars daily, made it plain that the urgent necessities of the Government could not be supplied through the associated action of the existing banks, nor depend wholly upon the sale of its bonds.

A national bank bill was introduced into Congress in 1861, by Mr. Spaulding, of New York, but was not then finally acted upon; and in December, 1862, the Secretary again called the attention of Congress to his second plan of the year previous. In February, 1863, the banking bill previously introduced was reported, with amendments, from the Senate committee by Mr. Sherman, and subsequently passed both houses of Congress. Prior to this the issue of \$300,000,000 of treasury notes had been authorized, which were fundable into a six per cent. Government bond; but on March 3, 1863, the right to exchange legal tender notes for six per cent. bonds was limited to July 1, 1863, and the act of June 30, 1864, provided that the total amount of United States notes issued, or to be issued, should not exceed \$400,000,000, and such additional sum, not exceeding \$50,000,000, as might be lawfully required for the redemption of temporary loans.

He quotes the report of the Secretary for 1865, in which the opinion is expressed that the legal-tender acts were war measures, and ought not to remain in force one day longer than should be necessary to enable the people to prepare for a return to the gold standard; and that the paper circulation of the country should be flexible, increasing and decreasing according to the requirements of legitimate business; while, if furnished by the Government, it would be quite likely to be governed by the necessi-

ties of the Treasury or the interests of parties rather than by the demands of commerce and trade. Besides, a permanent Government currency would be greatly in the way of public economy, and would give to the party in possession of the Government a power which it might be under strong temptations to use for other purposes than the public good—keeping the question of the currency constantly before the people as a political question, than which few things would be more injurious to business.

He also adduces the action of the House of Representatives during the same month in passing a resolution, by 144 yeas to 6 nays, cordially concurring in the views of the Secretary as to an early resumption of specie payments. In order to carry into effect this resolution, Congress, on March 12, 1866, authorized the funding of the legal-tender notes, and under that act more than \$72,000,000 were retired. In January, 1868, however, any further reduction was prohibited, the amount then outstanding being \$356,000,000. On March 18, 1869, an act was passed in which the United States "solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of United States notes in coin;" and the act of June 20, 1874, provides that "the amount of United States notes outstanding and to be used as a part of the circulating medium shall not exceed the sum of \$382,000,000."

The Comptroller also states that a banking system similar to that now existing was again suggested in 1831 by Albert Gallatin; and it is said that a similar policy was proposed by Alexander Hamilton, before his appointment to the Secretaryship of the Treasury, when, on being asked by Washington, "What is to be done with our terrible debt?" he answered, "Bank on it; it is our only available capital, and the best in the world."

He then briefly reviews the policy of the Government and of the banks from 1812 to 1863, and says that the Government currency won its honors and secured the confidence of the people at a time when no other form of currency then existing could command general circulation. It borrowed the war debt from the people, and at the same time

supplied them with the indispensable medium of exchange in all business transactions. The Government was then contracting debt day by day, and the people cheerfully received its promises to pay in exchange for their commodities and services. It purchased largely, and its creditors were content to wait until it should regain the ability to redeem its promises.

He says of the national bank act, that its success has more than fulfilled every expectation. The interest-bearing, convertible, and interchangeable treasury notes issued in the early days of the Government were withdrawn from circulation two years after the close of the war of 1812; and it is evident, from the reports of finance ministers, from the debates in Congress at the time of the passage of the legal-tender act, from the uniform legislation since that time, including the measures adopted by the last Congress, and, finally, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that it was intended that the national banking system should be permanent, the institutions organized under it being by the express terms of the law authorized to continue for a period of twenty years; and that the issue of treasury notes should not be increased in amount, but were to be withdrawn from circulation as rapidly as possible.

He adds that the United States notes have performed every service expected of them, and that the national bank issues have the same security; and he concludes this branch of the subject by saying that reason and experience alike teach us that we must either continue to adhere to the national banking system, or yield control of the issue and management of bank currency to the varying and conflicting legislation of forty or fifty different States and Territories, accompanied, as it surely will be, by all those evils and disasters which are the natural attendants upon the organization and perpetuation of State banking institutions.

In considering the objections to the national banking system, the Comptroller first notices the charge that it is a monopoly, and says that the system, so far from being a monopoly, has in fact uprooted the real banking monopoly, which has existed in this

country from the foundation of the Government down to a late day; and that it is the only national system not a monopoly in operation in any country.

A monopoly is a privilege; something so valuable that it commands a premium, and which its owner does not willingly surrender without a struggle. But the national banks have, since the passage of the act of June 20, 1874, voluntarily surrendered more than \$33,000,000 of their circulation; and forty-three banks, with a total capital of \$5,040,000, have since that date gone into liquidation, chiefly for the reason that the privilege of circulation is not a profitable one, and because the restrictions of the system are onerous in comparison with those imposed by State legislatures. If the national bank act contained no restrictions upon the banks, or imposed no taxes upon their circulation, and if currency were issued to them equal in amount to the value of bonds deposited, then the interest received by them upon the bonds would, it is granted, be in the nature of a gratuity. This condition of things was true in some of the States previous to the organization of the national banking system, but it has not at any time been true of the national banks.

He then proceeds to show that the idea commonly entertained that the national banks derive great profit from their circulation is an erroneous one, and adds that if specie payments should be reached within a few years, the premium paid by the national banks upon their bonds would be nearly if not entirely lost, while investments by private bankers and State banks of an equal amount of capital in loans on bond and mortgage would not suffer from any such depreciation.

On the subject of the dividends of national banks, which it is urged, as a second objection, are greater than those of other moneyed corporations, he says that they do not, as a rule, exceed by more than two per cent. the current rates of interest authorized by law in the respective States; and that this additional amount of profit is surely not too great a compensation for the risks and expenses incident to the business of banking, and to which capital loaned directly on mortgage security is not subject. He fortifies these statements by

tables compiled from reports of the banks, showing that for the last six and a half years the average ratio to capital of the semi-annual dividends of the national banks has been but 5.1 per cent., while their ratio to capital and surplus has been but 4.1 per cent.

He also discusses the proposed issue of 3.65 treasury notes, and says that with such issue the experience of 1815 will be repeated; for though, unlike the issues of 1815, they are not of a standard sufficiently high for funding purposes, yet the principle of interchangeability will cause the non-interest bearing notes to be exchanged for them almost as soon as issued. He shows that the expedient will result in a loss to the Government instead of a gain, and adds that if the proposition now under consideration should be adopted many of the banks would go into liquidation, and their loans, to a great extent, be called in, for the purpose of distributing their present capital and surplus among their stockholders, who would, without doubt, generally organize under State systems and as private banks.

In discussing the subject of restrictions he says that the national banks have earned a good character, because, as a rule, they have conformed to such needful restrictions as have been fixed by legislation, and as are required for the safety of their creditors or dealers. That these restrictions have been generally observed by the national banks may be seen by reference to tables of reserve, and to the summaries of reports of various kinds frequently published by his office; and it may also be inferred from the few failures and the comparatively small losses to creditors which have occurred during the twelve years' continuance of the system.

Upon the subject of "Failures of national banks," he states that the losses to creditors from the failures of banks prior to 1863 cannot be even approximately estimated, the only accessible data having reference solely to losses upon circulation. He quotes from Elliot's "Funding System" to the effect that in 1841, alone, 55 banks failed in the United States, having an aggregate capital of over 67 millions, which was more than one-fifth of the entire banking capital of the country at that time; while since the organization of

the national banking system only thirty-eight national banks have failed, with a total capital of \$9,011,100, and with circulation amounting to \$5,874,893.

The experience of this country previous to the organization of the national system has shown that in twenty years an amount equal to its whole banking circulation was lost in the hands of the people—the loss by bills of broken banks alone being computed to have been at the rate of five per cent. per annum. There has been no loss whatever upon the circulation of the national banks, and no loss to the bill-holder can arise so long as the present laws remain in force.

The total amount of claims proved against insolvent national banks is \$14,672,106. Dividends amounting to \$8,292,877 have been paid upon these claims; and it is estimated that the total loss to their creditors since the organization of the system will not exceed \$3,985,000. There has already been paid upon the total amount of proved claims an average of fifty-six and one half per cent., and it is estimated that the proportion paid and to be paid upon such claims will be about seventy-three per cent.

Six banks in New York city and one in Brooklyn have failed, with an aggregate capital of \$3,000,000; and three of those in New York have paid their depositors in full. There have been no losses by failures of national banks in any of the other principal cities, except in Chicago, New Orleans, and Washington. One bank only has failed in the New England States, the total loss being but \$1,379. The loss in the Middle States is estimated at \$701,401, and in the Western States at \$841,729. The largest proportion of loss has been in the Southern States, where business has continued unsettled, the losses in those States being estimated at \$2,439,994 upon \$6,638,074 of liabilities.

In each of ten of the States there has been but a single failure, while in twenty-two States and Territories no failures have occurred. The number of mercantile failures in the United States since 1869 is estimated at 26,880, with liabilities of \$809,460,000, while the number of failures of national banks which have occurred in the United States

during the same period is but twenty-two, with liabilities amounting to \$3,952,878. Upon this sum dividends amounting to \$5,492,029 have already been paid, and it is thought that a large proportion of the remaining indebtedness will yet be liquidated.

Under the head of "Publicity" the Comptroller recites the difficulties experienced by the Government in former years in collecting statistics of the State banks of the country, and says that efforts have been made to induce the State legislatures to remedy the difficulty by appropriate legislation, but thus far without success; and he thinks it is not probable that, under the ever-changing statutes of forty-three different States and Territories, any reliable statistics as to the affairs of banking corporations chartered by them can ever be obtained. Under the national system frequent reports are required from all of the banks, and they must also be published in the local newspapers; in addition to which the banks are frequently examined by competent persons, who report the results of their examinations to the Comptroller. He further says that statistics so complete and accurate as those deduced from the reports of the national banks have never been made in any country under any previous system. Experience has shown that such statistics cannot be obtained except under a general law of Congress, requiring frequent and detailed reports from the banks to be made to one officer, and by him compiled for the use of the public.

The Comptroller reviews the subject of the funding of the national debt, and says that the monetary problems to be solved during the next few years are the consolidation of this debt into bonds bearing a low rate of interest, and the resumption of specie payments. The conversion of the present national debt into a bond bearing four and one-half per cent. interest would save to the Government nearly nineteen millions of dollars annually, while the reduction of interest resulting from the funding of the debt into a four per cent. bond would amount to twenty-seven and one-half millions annually; and there appears no good reason why, during the next ten years, the public debt should not be consolidated into a bond bearing interest at no

greater rate than four per cent. In order to accomplish this most desirable end it will be necessary to enlist in its support all the leading monetary institutions of the country.

He thinks that the national banking system should not be repealed, but should be so moulded as to become and continue both profitable to the people and advantageous to the Government. The interests of the national banks will be promoted by the reduction to a low rate of the interest upon the public debt; for such a reduction will carry with it a reduction of the present onerous taxation upon bank capital, circulation, and deposits. The funding of the national debt at a low rate of interest will also aid materially in bringing about the resumption of specie payments; for the return to specie payments depends to a great extent upon the credit of the Government.

The experience of the last twelve years, he says, has shown that the present is a safe and good system; but even were it much less perfect than it is the common prudence of ordinary business men would dictate the postponement of the discussion of the repeal and liquidation of a banking system whose resources amount to nineteen hundred million dollars, among which are included one thousand million of loans to the people, with more than four hundred millions to the Government, until the debt of the country shall be funded at a satisfactory rate of interest, and permanent arrangements be effected for the redemption of its demand obligations. When the purchasing power of the legal-tender notes shall be made equal to gold it will then be in order to discuss the policy of the establishment of a different banking system, and the issue of additional paper money by the Government.

He also reviews the operation of the acts of March 3, 1865, June 20, 1874, and January 14, 1875, as they have affected the issue and retirement of national bank circulation, giving copious tables showing the amount issued and retired under each act. He approves of the present system of redemption of the notes at the Treasury, and gives reasons why it should be continued. He suggests in this connection that the Government tax upon deposits—which was imposed as a war tax—

shall, like other similar war taxes, be repealed; or, if not repealed, that at least the expense of redemption, which is now borne by the banks, shall be paid out of the fund arising from that tax.

He considers at some length the subject of taxation of national banks, and gives tables compiled from the returns made by the banks to his office, showing for the years 1867, 1869, and 1874 the amount of United States and State taxes assessed upon them. From these tables it appears that New York paid the highest bank taxes of any of the Eastern or Middle States, the total taxation in the State named for the year 1867 being 6.1 per cent.; for 1869, 5.3 per cent; and for 1874, 4.8 per cent. Taking all the States together, the average rates of bank taxation for the three years mentioned, were 3.5, 4.3, and 4.1 per cent.

He discusses the subject of the two-cent stamp tax upon bank checks, of which he says that the annoyance to the banks and to his office growing out of the strict enforcement of this provision of the law has been greater than that in reference to all the other restrictions of the national banking laws combined; and believing that the amount of revenue derived from this source does not counterbalance the evils arising from the surveillance to which all banks and bankers are necessarily subjected thereby, and being satisfied that, in almost every instance, the failure to comply strictly with this requirement is chargeable to the carelessness of transient depositors or to the insufficiency of the mucilage upon Government stamps, he urgently recommends the repeal of the provision requiring the affixing of the two-cent stamp upon bank checks.

Under the head of "Specie, paper currency, and bank checks," he gives a table exhibiting the transactions of the clearing-house in New York city for twenty-two years, showing that during that period but 61 millions of currency of all kinds were used by the banks of that city in making settlements amounting to more than 413,000 millions. Upon this point he says that the amount of the coin and paper currency of a great nation is small in comparison with that of bank checks, certificates, and bills of exchange

which are used as credit circulation. It has been said that they are simply the "small change;" and the table shows how inconsiderable is the aggregate of currency used in comparison with that of bank checks, and how small an amount is actually needed to settle the large daily transactions of business at the New York clearing-house. In this connection an estimate of the amount of specie in the country on June 30, 1874, and 1875, is given.

A table prepared by Mr. E. B. Elliott is presented, showing, for the period of thirteen years and nine months, from the close of the year 1861 to the 30th of September, 1875, the average greenback price of gold, and the average gold price of greenbacks, by months, quarter-years, half-years, and fiscal and calendar years, as derived from daily quotations of sales in open market in New York city. The diagram accompanying the table exhibits the average currency prices of gold and the average gold prices of currency, by quarter-years, for the same period.

He refers to the many exaggerated estimates of the proportion of lost or unredeemed treasury and bank notes which have been in actual circulation, and says that the amount of demand treasury notes not presented for redemption is less than one-eighth of one per cent. of the amount issued. In the absence of sufficient data no reliable statement of similar losses arising from the circulation of bank notes has ever been made, but from returns supplied to him through the courtesy of the Superintendent of the Bank Department of the State of New York it is found that, of the circulation of 286 State banks in that State, the proportion unredeemed is 2.83 per cent. only of the amount issued. The returns of 35 of these banks, which are still in operation in New York city, show the per centage of their unredeemed notes to be but 1.83 of the amount issued to them; and an examination of the returns of the State banks in Wisconsin, received from its State Comptroller, shows the per centage of their unredeemed notes to be 1.78 only of the amount issued.

The Comptroller cites the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *The Farmers and Mechanics' Na-*

tional Bank of Buffalo vs. Dearing upon the subject of usury, and says that he is frequently solicited to bring suits, under the authority of section 5239 of the Revised Statutes, for the forfeiture of the rights, privileges, and franchises of national banks on account of usurious transactions; but that until Congress shall make it his duty to do so he does not feel called upon to institute such proceedings, when it is evident that the business of the association is legitimately and safely conducted in other respects.

He states that in counting and assorting in the Treasury an amount of national bank notes nearly equal to two-thirds of the total national bank circulation, only 520 counterfeits of all denominations have been discovered, the value represented by these counterfeits being \$3,840. A table is given showing the number and amount of counterfeit notes of the Bank of England presented to that bank during the last seventy years, by which it appears that from 1806 to 1830 the number was 255,837, and the amount \$1,700,001. Since 1830 the number of such notes presented has been 11,686, and their amount \$241,987—the average annual number for the last named period being 265, and the annual amount \$5,500. This table shows that the national banks do not compare unfavorably with the Bank of England in respect to their immunity from counterfeits.

Tables showing the amount of reserve held by the national banks for a series of years are also given, by which it appears that the national banks held on October 1, 1875, \$26,400,000 more of reserve than would have been required prior to the act of June 20, 1874, and \$82,400,000 more than is required under that act. The amount of cash-reserve held was \$148,500,000, which sum exceeded by \$25,000,000 the amount required prior to June, 20, 1874, and is \$43,000,000 greater than that required under the present act.

A chapter of the report is given to the subject of the returns of the State and savings banks and trust companies obtained by the Comptroller during the present year, and which he is required to report to Congress. The returns received by him are meagre, the only satisfactory ones being from New England, New York, and New Jersey; but from the limited material ob-

tained, and from the returns made to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for purposes of taxation, a valuable comparative table has been prepared, giving much instructive information respecting the State and savings banks of the country. The Comptroller says that information in regard to these institutions approximating to accuracy and completeness can be obtained only through improved State legislation. And, in reference to the want of accessible data, he adds that it is a truth not universally recognized that concealment is not among the vested rights of chartered money corporations; but it is safe to say that the soundest of them regard publicity of their affairs to be a measure of safety to themselves and a duty to the public.

The report also contains a synopsis of all the decisions of the Supreme Court of the

United States relative to national banks; and an appendix is added containing a great number and variety of tables illustrative of the various topics discussed in the report. More than sixty of these tables are included in the text of the report and in the appendix, giving full information in reference to almost every branch of the subject. The historical portion of the report is particularly interesting, and the report itself may be said to be a text book of the national banking system for the use of legislators and statisticians. Comptroller Knox has a happy faculty of intermingling what might be considered dry statistics with interesting subjects which are the topics of the day, and in this pleasant way he has presented the most complete and useful bank report which has ever been submitted to Congress.

OFFICIAL CORRUPTION COMPARED WITH THAT OF FORMER TIMES.

Expressions similar to the following are at present profusely heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, and from the Lakes to the Gulf.

"The corruption among the officers of the several Governments in our country, from the constable in an obscure township up to the President of the United States, has assumed such alarming proportions that our whole Republican Government must inevitably be swallowed up by this whirlpool of vice, and our free institutions cannot be saved from being buried under such reckless satisfaction of the wild passions for rule and unclean gain, pursued by their pretended guardians, if the people do not make an end of such profligacy."

To join in the chorus of such sweeping accusations merely because others do so proves a deplorable lack of intellectual capacity and moral sense. No reasonable and honest person will join in the furious clamors for the blood or liberty of a fellow-citizen because a maddened mob is thus carried away by ungovernable passions. Reason and justice require an impartial weighing of all attainable evidence, not only against, but also in favor of the accused, before the verdict can be pronounced.

The same rule must be applied if we wish to arrive at a correct estimate of the moral value of a community, a people, or an age. The faithful historian therefore never omits to portray, as minutely as possible, all the moving factors that established the character of a certain people or age. Does it not, then, behoove every intellectual member of our enlightened nation to inquire into the real merits of the above-cited sweeping accusation, with the honest intention of arriving at the real truth, instead of repeating thoughtlessly and noisily such wholesale condemnations, with a view to a very cheap self-laudation?

Only an uninformed and ignorant person can make the ridiculous assertion that the human family is constantly and rapidly degenerating. Incontrovertible facts prove conclusively that the human family is progressing in every respect. Who can deny the rapid progress of science? Who can deny that the standard of morals is higher and more refined now than it was at any previous time? The preference all civilized nations demonstrate at present to adjust their differences by arbitration instead of doing so by the sword, the better treatment of criminals

in their punishment, the higher purity of the ballot-box, and other improvements and reforms too numerous to mention, show the moral improvements of the present age. Even statistics prove that the longitude of human life exceeds now considerably that of the past century. But that man improves his health and prolongs his life by a more strict conformity with the requirements of the organic law is beyond contradiction. Such a general improvement of the order of life can, however, only result from purer morals and a better government of human passions. And the general spirit of the age cannot be separated, nor can it be different, from the leading characters of individuals, because the former is created by the latter. And who of our American fellow-citizens can forget himself so far as to assert that the people of the United States do not keep pace with the rest of the progressing civilized nations merely for the purpose of gratifying party hatred?

But how can these arguments from indisputable facts be reconciled with the recent revelations of the gigantic frauds in official circles? Simply by comparing the present with former times.

The thoughtlessly repeated phrases conveying the idea that the Government under our forefathers was purer than it is at the present time are without foundation, and an evidence of ignorance.

Certain papers of the century now closed are full of the vilest defamations of our former Presidents. From the time of Washington—the Father of our Country, who was called a “debaucher” of the American nation, a “deceiver,” the “vilest of hypocrites,” &c.—down to President Grant, not a single one had a spark of honesty according to that part of the country’s press that represented the opposition at the time. So much is certain, however, that whenever we look back into the past, and see nothing but a halo of sanctity enveloping it, we may be assured that only a one-sided view of the whole situation has been obtained. The critic must further take into consideration that the electric wires, at the present day, bring every occurrence before it gets two or three days old, fresh within the reach of nearly every inhabitant of the civilized world, while it required months in former times for news to

travel the same distance. Before it was fairly distributed it became stale, losing vivacity and command of attention. Similar news, that comes now fresh to the notice of every one, had in former times no existence for nearly seventy-five per cent. of the whole population, for the reason just given.

In the same proportion, it must be acknowledged, in which our Government and its administration increased, becoming in the highest degree complicated, has the responsibility of its administration necessarily become greatly enlarged; so, also, have the temptations to improper official conduct increased in scope and intensity. Our forefathers could hardly have had a proper ideal conception of the magnitude in which the complicated machinery of our present Government presents itself to the view of the world. Since all the members of the entire human family cannot be transformed into faultless saints in the twinkling of an eye, how, then, could it be surprising to see corruption increase? The rapid growth of the nation necessitated such increase. But although corruption has increased in dimension, it has decreased in proportion. But the same causes that have multiplied temptations to dishonest acts have made better persons of those who preferred honesty to unjust gain. There is more moral heroism now than at any former period; because it requires at present more moral nerve and unwavering honesty to stand the test. If all the secret struggles in which honesty has prevailed were heralded as freely through the country as are slanders and vices many a dishonest defamer would then be put to shame.

Finally, it ought not to be overlooked that, if all official dishonesty were minutely compared with all the occurring frauds and dishonesty in private business life, official honesty would not only favorably compare with private honesty, but greatly outweigh it. Accurate statistics would prove this observation to be correct. What would become of our Government if the officers of it would not daily check the nearly innumerable fraudulent claims against the nation’s treasury and property, presented by persons who are known as “respectable gentlemen,” and who are generally the first to complain of “dishonest officials?”

It is not the intention of this article to excuse or defend official dishonesty. All our aims must be higher and purer than our present practice if we wish to preserve our independence. But we ought, at the same time, beware of falling into the same temptation in which many of our so-called reformers have fallen, by hurling their sweeping denun-

ciations at all Government affairs, without exception, and thus lower themselves to the level of common slanderers of their fellowmen and their nation. They need not to be envied for the cheap self-laudation they proclaim by such conduct, nor for the personal honor and respect they intend to establish by their unsupported indictments of fellow citizens.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS' WAR AND THE PARIS COMMUNE.

The French Government has quite recently printed and distributed to the Assembly a document of most remarkable character. It is the report of General Appert, President of the Court-Martial General by which the Communist prisoners of Paris were tried. It is a document to make one shudder for the sake of our common humanity, and it will hereafter, if not at present, make Frenchmen of whatever shade of opinion thoroughly ashamed of what it reveals. This judgment has nothing whatever to do with the right or wrong-doing in the Paris Commune, its leaders and defenders. Only it must be remembered that, however mistaken the means, the leaders' object was not a blind striking at order, but rather, an effort to remove the causes of chronic disorder by restoring self-government and breaking down an autocratic centralization. Nor can it be truthfully declared that it was a reckless attempt to destroy wealth, as such, but on the contrary, an effort (unwise without doubt) to put into motion forces which would lead, it was hoped, to the abolition of Poverty rather than to the abolition of Property. It must also be borne in mind that from the date of the Commune outbreak in Paris in March, 1871, until McMahon's army entered it in May, no life was taken by the Commune otherwise than in battle. This is the statement of English writers who were in Paris and not friendly to the Communists. What was done in the way of destruction, either of life or property, was done after the army entered, when the defense of despair had begun, and the Government troops had announced and proven that no quarter would be given.

But to return to General Appert's report,

a brief summary of which is given, in order to point the moral of the false outcry continually made of the harsh treatment received by the rebel leaders and States in the American Republic.

General Appert states that 38,000 persons alone were arrested on personal denunciation. Of these, 1,090 were released almost immediately. No account is given of the summary executions and deaths, which the organs of the Government have often exultingly referred to as being at least 25,000. Not 5,000 of these occurred in actual combat. Nearly four thousand prisoners were taken in the fights around Paris, and about 28,000 in the final conflict within the unfortunate city. There were twenty-two courts-martial in session for nearly three years. The prisons were fearfully overcrowded—150 alone dying at Versailles in the first three months from that cause. In the hulks 1,600 were on the sick list at one time. During the first year, in four prisons 738 died. Among the prisoners were 850 women, of whom 623 were released; also 654 children not over sixteen years of age, 38 being boys between seven and thirteen. Of these 460 were released after a detention of many months. When the Government was satiated, and the courts-martial closed their sittings December 31, 1874, they had refused to prosecute 9,291 persons, discharged 25,023 prisoners, condemned 10,042, and acquitted 2,452. There were besides sentences pronounced against 3,751 persons, who, by exile or other means, had escaped the clutches of the authorities. This makes a total of 50,559 decisions, of which 16,245 were condemnations. This total does not include the transportation to New Caledonia, which at the present time has a population of about 60,000 of these Communist convicts.

Against all this long rage of bloodshed and cruelty, the civilized world tells with bated breath of the death of the Archbishop of Paris, and a small number of other priests and citizens, which act though wanton and wicked, was not done by any authorized authority, or indeed by any power but that of the assassins; of a vain attempt to change conditions that at least have evil in them as well as good; of an unflinching but unavailing resistance; of the pulling down of the Column Vendome, and the firing of the Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville—the latter done, too, in the wild frenzy of a despair so hopeless as to be almost heroic.

But granting that the Commune rebellion was as bad as that of the civil war started by our slaveholders—and to do so is an insult to the Paris Communists—let us compare with the above the treatment meted out to those who led in or fought for the Democratic rebellion. The latter was inaugurated to make slavery permanent, to insure the continuance of poverty as a social system and political fact; to prepare the way for the perpetuation of an oligarchy by the destruction of free government and the Union based thereon. It continued for nearly four years. It laid waste half a continent; it desolated a half million homes; it was marked all through by the destruction

of property, the creation of debt, deeds of cruelty, and the continued debasement of the rank and file who sustained it with their lives. When the end came—what followed? None have been punished for political reasons. One man was hung—Wirtz—for outraging the laws of war. A few assassins who conspired and aided to destroy the Chief Magistrate were tried, convicted, and executed. The rebel President was incarcerated for a brief period, and—that was all. The States themselves were restored to their places in the Union. The slaves were emancipated, enfranchised, and partially protected. This was all. Freedom went there to bless and stay, in spite of the sorry welcome she has received. Contrast all this with what has been stated of the French methods of treating those who resist the controlling government. We allow statues in honor of rebel generals to be erected. To propose amnesty at Versailles is almost to place the proposer's liberty in jeopardy. The city of Lyons sends M. Ranc as a Deputy; the Government demands his life. In America we do these things better—the Southern rebels rule the House of Representatives in the National Congress and dismiss from petty places officials who served in the Union army.

INVESTIGATIONS.

Few things have been more highly eulogized than an investigating mind. The man who "wanted to know, you know," in the circumlocution office, and whose enthusiasm was only blunted by encountering Timothy Barnacle, belonged to an unsophisticated class. The boy who cut up the bellows to discover the seat of the wind was the prototype of the Democratic party of to-day. The latter, having just discovered that they are unable to do anything themselves, have whittled down their work to a mere attempt to reform the Republicans. They have discovered that modern issues are a little too modern for them. That in their unhappy attempt to bring about the millenium they have been born "as one out of due season." Their only idea of reform is a reformatory

school, in which the elements shall be thin soup and multitudinous flaggelations.

The Democratic majority in the House has resolved itself into investigating committees, in the making of which there is no end. The one idea that seems to permeate the Democratic brain is to "send for persons and papers." The "economy" of the thing is not so obvious, as the contingent expenses of the House are likely to show, but it possesses another feature. The Democratic House is besieged by an army of Confederate office-seekers that no man can number. They besiege the doors of the House so that members cannot get in, and demonstrate the theory, of which there has hitherto been some doubt, that this is the "popular branch." If each of these investigating committees, general

and special, has two clerks, a couple of stenographers, and a few doorkeepers to frown down upon the wicked who come before them, these will be a means of indemnifying these patriots for the loss of that pension which the bigoted prejudice against the "Lost Cause" has denied them. The party that promised a reduction of "useless employees" is increasing them, and the expense created by them in the only branch of the Government over which they have the slightest control.

The Republicans have behaved very discreetly in the matter. They have seen the Committees of the House with the work of a great nation before them diverted from their legitimate business, and each converted into a bottle of "smelling salts." Occasionally there has been an expostulation against some wild Democratic vagary, but, knowing that opposition was, in the first place, hopeless, and would, in the second, be construed into a desire to shirk investigation, they have sat in dignified silence and permitted the Democratic majority to do their work without offering impotent or factious opposition. And this is right, for however the Democrats may turn their backs on genuine reform, and however they may poison the whole springs of public life by Confederate malignity, still the people sent them here, and it is well that they should show their hand. As the Chinaman said when he taught the American to make tea: "You see me do, then you know." Those who have had doubts as to what the party calling itself "Democracy" will do need have doubts but for a little season. The Confederate element, which constitutes the majority of the Democratic party, comes in with all the hopes and hates that made them seek to tear down the flag of the Union. The Democratic minority, respectable in numbers, if in nothing else, has become the victim of traditional flunkeyism. Every would-be ambitious Northern Democrat puts "cotton" on his face and makes a bid to rebel. They have been educated in that school, and still spell negro with two g's. They shout themselves hoarse for "State Rights," and scan the "stars and bars" to see how many there were of them.

They prostitute the power given to them by the Union loving Democracy of the North, and play second fiddle to the men who have come back to the Union before they had learned to love it.

There is another picture on the Democratic easel, the outlines of which are but confronting the people. On January 7th, when a universal amnesty bill was being considered, Mr. Blaine desired to offer an amendment which gave amnesty to all but one, and which only required that the recipients of this national bounty should ask it, and go before a court and take the oath of allegiance to the Union. Mr. Randall would not even consent to have such an amendment voted on. What these men want is not amnesty, but justification. They wish to come back with all their power, asserting that rebellion is right. The one exception, the name of Jeff Davis, is hated as the name of Benedict Arnold is hated. His exclusion from political power is nothing, for his imbecility is greater than even his treachery, and yet that one exception is designed to show that treason shall not be deified, but is odious. The Democracy as the first of their "reforms" fight for its justification.

There is another side to the same picture. Only a few years ago the broken fragments of the Confederate army stood before the great Captain of the Union soldiers, not deserving and scarcely expecting their lives for the great crime against humanity and liberty of which they had been guilty. They were treated with a magnanimity unparalleled in history. Sherman, to some extent, fell under ban for his too liberal concessions, and Grant, while he held to essentials seemed to have but one purpose—

"To soften, soothe, and save
The feelings of the conquered brave."

They come back, these men, come back fledged with the power granted them by a generous army and a generous people to show all the gall and bitterness of their side of the struggle, and to strive to sully the laurels of the great leaders of the Union army. The latter ask no favors. They need to ask none. Their record is spotless and stainless. If they had a fault it consisted in

being too magnanimous to an enemy incapable of appreciating it. They may suffer from the reckless assaults of a profligate press, and the hatred of Confederate malignity, but the people can look at this strange picture, and can remember.

If we were in condition to advise the Democracy it would be that the multiplicity of their investigations destroys their power. An investigation now and then, if there is real cause, will be tolerated, but this effort to convert every branch of government into an investigating mill, and every moment of its time into a hunt for scandal, will disgust all sensible people. There is something else and there is something better to do. The people expected something more of the party than that it would waste its time in needless investigations and adjournments.

But if the Democrats can only investigate, let them give us something that will give a

point to it. When the ex-Confederate Postmaster General rises to thunder on reform and honesty, let him tell us what became of the United States postal property stolen by the Confederates. When the Indian bureau is being investigated, let us find out what became of the Indian beads stolen from the Government safe by Jake Thompson and his confreres. Let all these forgiven Confederates inform us how much of the proceeds of all that wasted United States property is still clinging to their fingers. When Ben Hill defends Jefferson Davis, let him tell us of the adoption in the Confederate senate of orders to give no quarter to those who commanded colored soldiers, and of the open violations of the laws of civilized warfare which the Confederates, Davis leading, urged and acted upon. The Republican party has not demanded this, but if they are honest in their pretensions, here is a fine field open for them.

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS AND LEADERS IN THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Public interest has been greatly aroused by the fact that a large number of rebel officers, as well as several of the most prominent Confederate leaders, have been returned to, and are now sitting in the present Congress. There cannot be the slightest doubt among those who have followed the movements of the Southern Democracy that a considerable number of these gentlemen hold their present positions by reason of the well-devised and organized system of terror, fraud, riot, and assassination which is a chief characteristic of their politics. In Georgia, for example, a fair and decently ordered canvass and election, in which Republicans could have worked and voted as the Democrats have the right and opportunity of doing in the Northern States, would have resulted at the last or in any future Congressional election in electing at least three out of the nine Congressmen from that State. According to the returns of elections and of polls for taxation given in the State Comptroller-General's report for 1874, the following tabular statement illustrates the truth of this assertion:

The total number of "polls" returned is 199,086; the total vote is 130,379, or 68,707 less than the number of citizens reported for taxable purposes. According to the United States census of 1870 the total number of male citizens was 234,919, or 35,833 more than the State Reports show. This total was divided between the races as follows: White voters, 129,665; colored, 107,962. Part of the Democratic machinery

is an oppressive and unconstitutional mode of levying the capitation tax. The poll list is designedly kept as small as possible. It will be observed, however, that the small Republican vote is within 47,667 of the colored polls as given above. It will also be noted that the colored polls outnumber the white in the second and sixth districts, while in the first and eighth the two classes nearly balance each other. It will be observed, also, that by the above table there is one district having a colored "poll" of 7,470 without a single Republican vote. In another, the eighth, with twelve Republican votes, there were colored polls to the number of 11,405. In view of these and other facts, it may well be doubted if there are not three, at least, of the Georgia Confederate Congressmen who represent minorities of their constituents, and who are seated in the House by means of a process thoroughly oppressive, and designed to nullify indirectly the rights guaranteed to colored Americans, as well as to all others, under the amended Constitution. In Alabama there can be no doubt that the same processes have seated at least one-half of the present Democratic delegation in that State. So also with regard to at least two of the three rebel officers occupying seats from Louisiana. In Virginia, John Goode, Jr., is notoriously occupying a seat to which James H. Platt, Jr., was elected. In Tennessee and North Carolina the same protection to person and opinion, the same rights of free speech and canvassing, which the loyal States have always maintained, would give us from four to six, if not more, Republican members of Congress. Arkansas would add two to the list, and freedom in Texas would result in electing at least that number. Mississippi is the latest victim of this Democratic system. It is a reproduction of the spirit of slavery. Before the Southern Democracy went into rebellion the lives of inoffensive Northern citizens were always in peril in that region. To declare slavery a moral wrong, an economic injury, or a political evil, was to place one's life in peril of mob violence, or risk liberty from infamous laws, which in all the slave States forbade the teaching of colored persons, and

made free opinion, as in Texas, a penitentiary offense. Taking the case of Mississippi and its Democratic representatives, so-called, and the vote will show that the Georgia policy, even more intensified and vigorous, was pursued at the last election. The following comparative table will prove this:

Number of District.	Forty-third Congress.		Forty-fourth Congress.	
	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.
First District....	4,954	9,679	None.	18,412
Third District...	15,047	6,440	5,883	13,744
Fourth District..	15,795	6,870	9,914	19,790
Fifth District....	14,817	8,073	10,653	16,530
	50,613	31,062	26,450	68,476
Rep. maj. 19,551. Dem. maj. 42,026.				

These districts are represented by Messrs. Lamar, Singleton, Money, and Hooker—Democrats. The change is indeed significant, and cannot be explained by any other process than that of oppression which the Confederate Democracy have been for eight years past engaged in perfecting. The total vote on members for the last Congress in the districts cited was 81,675; that for the present members is 94,926—a total increase of 13,251 votes. There is an increase shown of 37,414 Democratic, and a decrease of 24,163 Republican votes. There is nothing in the politics of Mississippi to justify so extraordinary a change by any of the normal agencies and influences. The only way in which it could be effected is that one in which the Confederate Democrats are so proficient; the organization of terror and violence.

The object of these references is to establish this point: that there are to-day in the House of Representatives certainly a score or more of ex-Confederate soldiers and politicians holding seats as Democrats whose districts are largely Republican in politics. The voters of the majority being in the main freedmen, defenseless and poor, have been overawed at the polls, driven away, or kept from appearing there in order to secure the minority the representation which belongs to the constitutional majority. In order to deceive the country, systematic vilification has been entered on, and no where to a larger extent than in the State of Mississippi, and

against the Republicans who have had control of affairs there since 1870.

In the following list will be found the names of those who served in the Confederate army. There are a few who from modesty, or perhaps with a dim perception of the fitness of things, do not parade their treason, but the younger men are quite ready to emblazon the act:

Ex-Confederate Officers.

NAMES.	States.	Rebel army.	Rank.
SENATORS.			
Goldthwaite	Ala.	1s	Adj't Gen.
Jones	Fla.	2	Brig. Gen.
Gordon	Ga.	3	Major Gen.
Alcorn, (Rep)	Miss ..	4	Brig. Gen.
Cockrell	Mo.	5	Major Gen.
Ransom	N. C.	6	Major Gen.
Key	Tenn ..	7	Lieut. Col.
Maxey†	Texas..	8	Major Gen.
Withers	Va.	9	Colonel.
REPRESENTATIVES.			
Williams	Ala.	10	Major.
Bradford	do	11	Colonel.
Hays, (Rep)	do	12	Brig. Gen.
Hewitt.	do	13	Colonel.
Forney	do	14	Brig. Gen.
Lewis	do	15	Colonel.
Gause	Ark	16	Colonel.
Slemons	do	17	Brig. Gen.
Gunter.....	do	18	Colonel.
Smith	Ga.	19	Captain.
Hartridge	do	20	Colonel.
Cook	do	21	Brig. Gen.
Blackburn	Ky	22	Lieut. Col.
Gibson	La.	23	Brig. Gen.
Ellis	do	24	Captain.
Levy	do	25	Colonel.
Lamar†	Miss ..	26	Colonel.
Hooker	do	27	Colonel.
Franklin	Mo	28	Captain.
Clark.....	do	29	Brig. Gen.
Yeates	N. C.	30	Major.
Waddell	do	31	Lieut. Col.
Davis	do	32	Captain.
Scales*.....	do	33	Brig. Gen.
Robbins.....	do	34	Colonel.
Vance	do	35	Brig. Gen.
Dibrell	Tenn ..	36	Brig. Gen.
Whitthorne	do	37s	Colonel.
Atkins*.....	do	38	Lieut. Col.
Young	do	39	Colonel.
Culbertson	Tex	40	Colonel.
Throckmorton	do	41	Brig. Gen.
Douglas	Va.	42	Major.
Cabell.....	do	43	Colonel.
Tucker	do	44	Captain.
Hunton.....	do	45	Brig. Gen.
Ferry	do	46	Brig. Gen.
Faulkner*§.....	W. Va..	47	Colonel.

* The asterisk indicates that the person so marked was in the Federal Congress before the rebellion.
s indicates that those marked were State adjutant generals.
(Rep) indicates the party position of the persons named.
† Senator Maxey was also rebel Superintendent of Indian Affairs.
‡ Lamar was also in the rebel diplomatic service, having been sent to Russia by Davis.
§ Faulkner was also Minister to France under Buchanan.

The following tables are significant, and should be preserved for future reference:

I.—Ex-Members of the Rebel Government and Congress.

Present position.	Names.	State.	Position.	Senate.	House.
H. R.	Stephens ...	Ga. ...	V. Pres. ....	.....	.....
H. R.	Reagan	Texas	P. M. Gen. ....	.....	1
H. R.	Hill	Ga. ....	.....	1	.....
Sen.	Caperton ...	W. Va.	.....	2	.....
H. R.	Ashe	N. C. ....	.....	3	2
H. R.	House	Tenn. ....	.....	.....	3
H. R.	Goode	Va. ....	.....	.....	4
H. R.	Smith	Ga. ....	.....	.....	5
H. R.	Hatcher	Mo. ....	.....	.....	6
H. R.	Singleton ..	Miss..	.....	.....	7

II.—Members of Congress Before the Rebellion.

Names.	State.	Body.	Last service.
Stephens.	Ga.	House..	36th Cong.
Lamar	Miss ..	House..	36th Cong.
Singleton	Miss ..	House..	36th Cong.
Scales	N. C.	House..	35th Cong.
Atkins	Tenn ..	House ..	35th Cong.
Reagan	Texas..	House..	36th Cong.
Faulkner	W. Va ..	House..	35th Cong.
Harris	Va.	House..	36th Cong.

III.—State and Other Positions Held During the Rebellion.

Names.	States.	Secession conventions.	State Legislatures.	Legal.
Caldwell	Ala. ....	.....	.....	Solicitor.
Norwood	Ga. ....	.....	1	.....
Candler	Ga. ....	.....	2	.....
Tucker	Va. ....	.....	.....	Att'y Gen.
Culbertson	Texas..	.....	3	.....
Reagan	Texas..	1	.....	.....
Stephens	Ga.	2	.....	.....
Harris	Ga.	3	4	.....
Candler	Ga.	4	.....	.....
Slemons	Ark....	5	.....	.....
Gunter	Ark....	6	.....	.....
Lamar	Miss ..	7	.....	.....
Hatcher	Mo	8*	.....	.....
Dibrell	Tenn ..	9	.....	.....
Goode	Va.	10	.....	.....
Hunton	Va.	11	.....	.....
Harris	Va.	12	.....	.....

* The Missouri rebels maintained the farce of a State Legislature, which met sometimes east and occasionally west of the Mississippi, but never in the State itself after the summer of 1861. The electors were the rebel soldiers from that State.
“The South is here and has come to stay,” said “Ben” Hill, of Georgia, in his elaborate defense of Jefferson Davis, and equally as vigorous assault on the policy of

the Union. How far the first part of his boast is true the foregoing facts will prove. Whether the latter part of the same shall continue to be true, in the spirit that it now presents itself, depends wholly upon the loyal votes of the land. The South will

stay, because the American people will it. As a sectional force, it will be obliterated. As American citizens, its people will have the same rights and power as that which belongs to the East, North, and West—no more and no less.

A WORD TO THOUGHTFUL MEN.

When Mr. Lamar informed the Democratic caucus that the people of his section could not love the Republican Administration, he but stated an apparent fact, yet it is one pregnant with meaning which all thoughtful men should consider. The reason why such love cannot exist is not difficult to find. There is so wide a difference between the ideas of government prevailing with the statesmen and people of the North and at the South that any other result than a lack of love could not be expected. The difference goes to the very basis and foundation of government, and concerns all that is vital or of real worth in the institutions under which we live. The founders of the Government of the United States held certain fundamental notions, which are held by the Republican party now, and are not held by the friends and allies of Mr. Lamar.

1. Patriotism or love of country. The Republicans hold that to have rights, industries, security, order, and stability, we must have a nation whose integrity is above all else, whose perpetuity is of the highest consideration.

The people of the South do not thus believe. They are brought up to believe in local sovereignty, that the higher allegiance is due to their State, and are taught to regard themselves as citizens of Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, and they so call themselves, and feel bound to "go with

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secessionist in principle or theory, but was swept into the heresy solely by this feeling of paramount fealty to his State. This feeling survives in all its power, and patriotism, in the sense of love of country in its broad national sense, does not exist with the leaders of the South to-day any more than it did on the 14th day of April, 1861. These men deny the doctrine that the General Government can do anything within the limits of a State except to collect the revenues needed to maintain it and defend it against foreign invasion. Practically this is where they would draw the line if they could, and leave everything else to local authority. They make the General Government secondary, the government of the State sovereign, and they do so because of the absence, the entire absence, of patriotism, or love for the country as a nation. Lacking patriotism they cannot love the party of patriotism, the party of nationality, the party which crushed secession, and established the sovereignty of the whole people as against the people of a section or a State.

They desire a national government unquestionably, but it must have little to do, and with an abundance of offices to give employment to that class of people in the States who have a large development of the office-holding faculty and no taste for business or labor. In this sense it will not do to deny their patriotism, and the exemplification is found in the way they grabbed the small modicum of spoils which were up for division on the organization of the House.

2. The Republican party, holding as it does to nationality as the grand first idea, fosters and encourages those measures which tend directly to build up the nation as a whole, and which will give to each section or part its full share of all the advantages to

be derived from education, good order, uniformity of laws, so far as possible, and internal improvements, while the Southern Democratic sectional party, in its local narrowness and jealousy, opposes all such measures.

That there is fair ground on single questions and schemes for a division of opinion we are not disposed to deny. The trans continental railway, for instance, could not be built without Government aid, and the benefits of it to New York and California must, in the nature of the case, be greater than to Maine and Florida. These latter States may raise, therefore, the objection of inequality, and if allowed, it would be fatal to the project, and the country must go without its great railroad. But the immense general good of such a work is so obvious that it becomes a public necessity, and the narrow States' rights doctrines are made to give way, the great achievement is realized, the Pacific States become bound to the Union by bands of iron, and the ideas of the Republican party wrench from the very fates a solid victory whose influence will be felt to the remotest history of the nation. We all realize the great good of that great work, in some small degree, but we are apt to forget that it was made possible by the Republican party, and would never have been constructed had the Virginia school of politics continued in the ascendancy. This particular work being accomplished has ceased to be vital, and we use it only as an illustration to show how one party would build up the nation and the other would keep it stationary; how the one stands for progress, and the other for conservatism. That railroad is a perpetual monument and landmark by which the observer may measure the worth of the separate ideas of the two schools of political science.

But this is not the whole of it. The idea of State sovereignty as held by Mr. Lamar and the men of his school goes not so much against the power of the General Government to do or cause to have done certain things as to the doing of the things by anybody. Looking at the New England States we find them substantially, unanimously Republican. There is absolutely no feeling of fear that the arm of the National Government rests

upon them oppressively, and the Democratic thunder generated in the political atmosphere in that region is not charged with sounds of wrong perpetrated upon anybody there. It is the alleged wrong done to people in Louisiana and Mississippi that excites indignation, and yet all that the Government has done or claims the right to do is to preserve order in States where the people have notoriously and palpably failed to do it themselves; a duty which the Constitution expressly imposes upon the Executive. They have a way at the South of fixing things, disputes about schools, elections, social questions, and so on, by the armed intervention of bodies of men on horseback who volunteer to see justice done in ways improvised for the occasion; and the tyranny is not really that the Government interposes to prevent that popular method of administering justice, so much as that there is such interposition. The idea is that the people there best know what they want, and these administrators of justice kindly assume to be the people. The laws apply to all the States alike, and there is no trouble in any well ordered State, and none of the people in States where anarchy does not prevail ever dream that they are under a despotism. Mr. Lamar will love a Government which allows the peculiar methods of justice of his section full license to work out their ends; but it is the ends he desires, and not the methods. The trouble is that the ends do not conform to those which alone are compatible with the general good, and hence interference becomes in his view unlovely and oppressive.

Proceeding further in this direction we find abundant evidence of the entire incompatibility of the notions of Mr. Lamar and his friends with any possible government by the people. A government by the people implies general suffrage and intelligence, and especially virtue, or the will to do right, and there is proof that in none of these requisites are the Lamar politicians up to the exigencies of the occasion. It will not be claimed that the Southern politicians are in advance of the Northern democracy at the close of the war. They denounce reconstruction now as then, and on the same grounds. Mr. Rogers, of New Jersey, the Democratic le-

the House, said of suffrage: "There is no privilege so high; there is no right so grand. It lies at the very foundation of this Government; and where you introduce into the social system of this country the right of the African race to compete at the ballot-box with the intelligent white citizens of this country, you are disturbing and embittering the whole social system; you rend the bonds of a common political faith; you break up commercial intercourse and the free exchanges of trade, and you degrade the people of this country before the eyes of the envious monarchs of Europe, and fill our history with a record of degradation and shame." Mr. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, one of the most moderate Democrats in the country, and who has gained some reputation among the liberals as a "reformer," spoke against granting suffrage to negroes, and said: "I shall not vote to degrade suffrage. I shall not vote to pollute and corrupt the foundations of political power, either in my own State or any other. I shall resist it everywhere and at all times. If overborne, if contrary and opposing opinions prevail, I shall simply submit to the necessity which I cannot resist, leaving to just men and future times the vin-

They think it no wrong to deny it to them, and as the reconstruction measures have established suffrage there in law, they prevent its exercise by violence and intimidation, unless the negro consents to vote the right ticket.

Now the spirit that denies suffrage to the negro also denies him education for the same reason. And there is another and all powerful reason in the Southern mind for opposing the education of the colored race, and a reason which comes home to every man in the old slave States; and that is the expense. Free schools for negroes (and the poor white people, also) cost money, and as the negroes are poor and have but little money, the burden falls upon the white property-holders, and we confess it causes taxation to the very point of hardship. There is no denying this, and opposition to schools is a very natural consequence of the fact. And yet the only way out of the mire of Southern degradation is through education, if it does cost money and heavy burdens; and the whole people should take hold and share in the cost and burdens. But here we are met by the Democrats of the South, and the North also, with a Constitutional objection, and with what is more effective than a Constitutional want of power—a want of will, or rather a determined opposition to all plans of education, and a hatred of education itself. Even as late as 1871 the Superintendents of education in Louisiana and Texas reported that white men in many sections would not sell their land at any price if a school-house or colored children was to be built on it. Prejudice against the profession of teacher is so strong that in Texas only a single white man of standing and influence had become a teacher. In many places where the colored people had succeeded in establishing schools their teachers were maltreated, threatened, and driven away by intimidation, and in other places the school-houses were burned. In some portions of Louisiana free schools were started, but the apathy of the whites was so general that they amounted to very little. One parish, that of Sabine, with a territory of thirty by sixty miles, equal to an entire county of the State of Massachusetts, was reported as without a single school,

colored or white, private or public. In that parish every black man who was summoned to serve on a jury during the year 1870 was shot, hung, or driven out of the country. So dense is the prejudice in that region against education of the colored people that their letters and the letters to their friends are not delivered to them, and in many places it is regarded as much a crime to teach a colored child as it was in the days of slavery, and the punishment is meted out with as much certainty, though without the forms of law.

That such a state of things exists is abundantly proved, and cannot be denied. It is the natural legacy of the institution of slavery. It could not be possible for the Southern people, with their ideas all formed under the overmastering influence of the slave system, to appreciate the importance and necessity of general systematic education, and especially to be willing to stand taxation to secure what they had never believed in. The only attempt to break the force of these facts is to sneer and turn them by flippant remarks about "carpet-baggers" and the "bloody shirt," as though there were any argument or reason in harping upon phrases which a venal press has endeavored to render odious.

And on this question of education and taxation for education the Democratic party North is in full accord with the South. Mr. Kerr, the new Speaker, in 1871 laid himself out in an elaborate effort opposing taxation for educational purposes, and brought an array of statistics to prove that the South could not educate her people, asserted that she did as much for education according to ability as the other sections, and contended that the proposition for national education, made by Mr. Hoar, imposed the most unequal, unjust, and oppressive burdens upon the Southern States, and he exclaimed: "Is it credible that such monstrous doctrines shall be approved, find defenders, or be tolerated in this country?" The proposition was for a tax of fifty cents *per capita* yearly, solely for the purposes of education, the amount raised to be expended in the district where raised; and he further said: "It violates every principle of just government, and is unworthy of the age in which we live."

By the returns of the ninth census only one fourth of the children in the majority of the Southern States, white and black together of an age to be in school were receiving any instruction in reading and writing at all; and according to Mr. Kerr that community would regard a tax of fifty cents a year on each person, to give them a chance to learn to read as a burden so monstrous that it is incredible it should find a defender! It is true that Mr. Kerr opposed the proposition on constitutional grounds, but that in no way affected the onerousness of the burden, which in his view could not be borne. And this in view of the fact that the common schools in the Southern States were wholly inefficient, and three quarters of the children were growing up without an education. And Mr. Kerr of all the Democratic statesmen of the North is chosen to the highest position in the gift of the party. It is now eleven years since the close of the war, a period that covers the entire school life of a generation of voters. They who do not get an education between the ages of five and sixteen years do not get one at all. The census returns show that three-fourths of the children of the South were not in any school in 1870, but were growing up to become the greatest source of weakness and danger in a possible republic. Says Laboulaye, the great French statesman: "Whence comes it that Germany has so rapidly and completely overcome France, which is equally populous, more rich, and more warlike? Every one answers it is because Germany had had compulsory education for all. It is not the needle-gun which has conquered; it is the schoolmaster. We cannot declare it too loudly: it is ignorance that has lost France. It was in vain that Jules Simon, Pelletan, Durin, Jules Favre, cried out year after year, 'There must be millions for education or France is lost.' The Government was deaf. It denied nothing to pleasure, to luxury, to ostentation. It denied everything to education. The calamities which ignorance is causing France during the war are not to be compared to those which she is menaced in peace. The former, cruel as they may be, are transitory; the latter are abiding. Everywhere and always, despotism has been the natural fruit of ignorance."

George Washington eighty years ago said in his memorable Farewell Address: "Promote, then, as an object of *primary importance*, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." John Adams in his Inaugural declared: "A love of letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion, is the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies." James Madison in his Inaugural declared the "advancement of science and the diffusion of information the best aliment to true liberty." Said James Monroe: "It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, and degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising sovereignty." John Quincy Adams said: "No Government, in whatever form constituted, can accomplish the lawful ends of its institution but in proportion as it improves the condition of those over whom it is established. Among the first, perhaps the very first instrument for the improvement of the condition of men is knowledge: and to the acquisition of much

before they are subjected to the alienating competitions of life. This institution is the greatest discovery ever made by man: we repeat it, *the common school is the greatest discovery ever made by man.*"

If authority and the examples in history settle a question, this question of the necessity of education in a republic is settled; and now what do we find, and how are we placed in relation to the vital duty of doing what is necessary to maintain freedom and preserve republican institutions? In one whole section of the Union no adequate provision is made for the education of the larger portion of the people, and the attempt to furnish it is met by the demagogue, and echoed by the statesmen of the hour, with the cry of "taxation," "oppression," "imposing a burden too great to be borne." Fifty cents a head to save the nation is a contribution so enormous as to justify resistance, and the Government which proposes to save the nation by diffusing intelligence is denounced as unworthy the affection of the people, and powerless to command it. The whole ingenuity of the Kerrs, and Davises, and other leaders of Democratic opinion, is directed to finding obstacles in the way of educating the people, and excuses for the South for not doing more than they have in this direction. They could find abundant Constitutional power to scour the North and remand the poor escaped bondman back to his servitude and chains; they find plenty of authority to buy the needle-gun and the chasseur to drive the Indians from the lands wanted by the cupidity of the frontiersman and the adventurer, they have no difficulty in providing an army to invade Mexico and steal territory to add to the security of certain of our institutions; but to arm ourselves with a protection more powerful than needle-guns and chassepots, and more vital than cattle and lands, and any material possessions, is a proposition at which they roll their eyes in horror, and scout with all the energy of frantic vociferation and anathema.

Countrymen, are you aware of the immensity of the conflict before you? Do you realize that on the side of continued ignorance and debasement of the masses in the

South is the great Democratic party ready to sacrifice every measure looking to the education of these people? Do you feel that the grand alliance against our institutions is now composed of that portion of the people of this country which is without the idea of nationality, without a belief in human rights as a principle, the haters of reconstruction, with the opponents of any and all

systems of education? The coming conflict is to be with the masses of ignorance combined with the haters of institutions of learning and the enemies of nationality; with men lacking intelligence, and men destitute of patriotism; and it is the most fearful conflict which our institutions have been subjected to, save only the war of the rebellion—perhaps not even that.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

AMNESTY IN CONGRESS.

...It would be almost impossible to find as many men who need remission for past sins (political at least) and condonation for those they are sure to commit as the present Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. The Northern Democrats are, if anything, more in need of amnesty than are the Southern members. The country owes to Mr. Blaine a debt of gratitude for having with the Ithuriel spear of parliamentary skill and keen logic exposed the real animus of the temporary reaction by which, under false pretenses, these men have re-obtained power.

Elsewhere in THE REPUBLIC the record will be found of the remarkable events and debates of the last month. They will not be repeated here. But there are some things to be said, necessary to a right understanding and summing up of the case as it stands. In the first place, then, no just argument can be made against the Republican minority, because that party in the last Congress voted, so far as the House was concerned, to amnesty Jefferson Davis. The conditions were different. It was an act of grace and mercy then. An unwise one we think, but the spirit in which it was tendered is to be honored. In the present instance amnesty is demanded as a right by a majority in sympathy with the avowed principles for the treasonable and wanton support of which Mr. Davis stands branded. To tender the olive branch is one thing; to seize the crown of full citizenship, and place it defiantly on the brow of this man, is quite another. The effect would be, if successful, to place loyalty to freedom and Union on trial.

It would arraign the entire policy which has marked the course of the Republic since 1861. Mr. Blaine, with that sagacity which distinguishes him, saw and has successfully opposed this attempt. The Democrats are in the position of men who, striving to secure an ideal result, refuse to accept a large and practical good. They seek to rehabilitate the sectional South over the shoulders of Jefferson Davis. The Republicans have won a substantial victory for the Nation by the overwhelming indictment that has been made of this man, not as an individual merely, but as the full-blown flower and consummate product of a savage system masquerading under the name of Democratic civilization.

...A conversation between Mr. Greeley and another younger and prominent journalist, which occurred on one occasion, illustrated the national feeling then as well as now. It was when the venerable editor was in the early and rosy flush of his campaign of sent mentality towards the South. His friend objected to the positions assumed in the *Tribune*, and ended his criticism by remarking that "*The rebellion was not an offense, a crime.*"

"Well!" was Mr. Greeley's reply, "what are you going to do?"

Of course there was nothing to be said. But since that date there was justice to be done, mercy to be tendered had quite possible for "The sword to brew bitter destruction."

...In summing up the amnesty debate, it must be said that Mr. Blaine and his associates

1st. In not only defeating the Confederate-Democratic attempt to arraign and try the Union, as such, but that they have also changed the situation, and by assuming the aggressive, as befits right principles, have placed the Democratic party at the judgment bar and again shown its approval and indorsement of the slaveholders' war and its attendant horrors.

2d. In doing this the present and pending canvass for the future direction of the country has been lifted from the miry plane of detraction and slander in which the politics of two years past have been floundering, and placed upon that of great national issues, principles, and policies. Ethics and convictions have place in this struggle. Libel and abuse have been the marked features of the more recent discussions.

3d. The Republicans have, under Mr. Blaine's skillful leadership, most distinctly unhorsed their antagonists. The latter are chargeable with an attempt to force a grave result without debate and under the whip and spur of a demagogue majority. They are also proven guilty of so eager a desire to honor their Confederate partisans as to be unwilling to accept amnesty for all others, the one man being excluded. This may be logical, but it is not wise. The Nation is not "hankering" to honor the South, and it is very clear in apprehending the danger to public safety that must arise from replacing it in power as the controlling factor of a triumphant party.

Two other points are to be stated. One is—and the Democracy, North and South, must learn it sooner or later, and that is—that the people of this country, that majority that fought and maintained the Union, will never trust again with national control the political organization or leaders who either betrayed it or blew hot and cold while its

balance, will show, arraigned represented power, into uelty, the ights, the arrow par-

tisanship, provincial and egotistic in character, which must follow the existence and domination of slavery as a directing social and political force. Jefferson Davis was not unfairly treated by Mr. Blaine, and the verdict of history will sustain the stinging indictment with which his name has been seared and blasted.

...The following comprehensive and sagacious call for the next Republican convention fitly opens the great Centennial campaign. The bugle's blast is clear—the trumpet tones are distinct. No uncertain sounds break on the ear. This is the call:

The next Union Republican National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock noon, and will consist of delegates from each State equal to twice the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of two delegates from each organized Territory and the District of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several States are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the Government by honest, faithful, and capable officers who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the Government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the Constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle

of National Unity in this Centennial Anniversary of the birth of the Republic.

H. D. MORGAN, *Chairman*,
WM. E. CHANDLER, *Secretary*,
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876.

...In the January number of *THE REPUBLIC* appeared an item relating to the dismissal of Union soldiers by the Confederate majority in the House of Representatives, and the substitution of men who under the "Stars and Bars" fought to destroy the Union.

Everywhere among the loyal masses hot indignation at the insolence thus manifested is exhibiting itself. Much responses as the following are coming to hand. The stanzas so aptly express this indignation that we depart from our usual practice and insert them. The writer, a well-known State officer of Michigan, writes as follows under date of January 5: "I don't claim any particular merit for these lines, but I like plain talk, and believe the sentiment expressed therein will find a response in all the hearts of all the loyal North. * * The people cannot have too much light." In this there is a common agreement. The reader will surely join in the sentiment after reading the annexed poem, which was first published in the *Lansing (Michigan) Republican*.

"SAY, BOYS, DO YOU HEAR THAT YELL"

BY ROBERT BOLAND.

The Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, who was also Sergeant-at-Arms in the Confederate Senate, has dismissed 14 ex-Union soldiers, who are disabled men, from their positions as Assistant Doorkeepers, and has appointed ex-Confederate soldiers in their stead.
—*THE REPUBLIC*.

Say, boys, do you hear that Confederate yell
Ringing out on the winter's air?
You have heard it in times when brave men
fell,
In the days of our dark despair.
You have heard it in sixty-one and two,
And in sixty-three and four;
But when the weary war was through,
Dreamed ye ever to hear it more?

Say, boys, do you hear that Confederate yell
Ringing up from the nation's hall?
And remember they swore to "winter in hell,
Or level the Capitol's walls?"
Do you mind, for aye, the northern trail
Where their legions in triumph trod,
Until hurled back by your iron hail
From the consecrate acre of God?

Oh, say, do you hear that same old yell
From the battle-field ringing out,
That was heard in days remembered so well
On the picket-line and redoubt?

Do you relish its scornful, defiant tone?
Is this what you fought for? Say,
Ye stalwart heroes, whose blood and bone
Have saved us, a nation to-day!

Say, boys, do you hear the yell of the crew
Ye have fought by day and by night?
And driven in blood, all the Wilderness
through,
Believing in God and the right?
Do you halt on crutches! live on a crumb,
That the country ye fought for gave?
And have ye no votes? are all tongues dumb,
That ye live the Confederate's slave?

Boys, ye have trod on the northern hills,
Ye have marched on the southern plain,
With the iron nerve of the man who will
The blessings of life through pain;
And is this the goal that ye fought to win,
And conquered in sixty-five?
Is this the harvest ye gathered in
When you gave us the nation alive?

I say, brave heroes of northern soil,
Is it all in vain that ye fought?
Does not the nerve harden, the hot blood boil?
Was your valor thus sold for naught?
Are the thousands who stood on the battle line,
Clad all in the loyal blue,
Uphearing the banner of stars to shine
For aye? Are ye still as true?

O God! Brave boys, do you hear that yell
From the Capitol's halls well forth?
Was it more defiant when Sumter fell
On the stern, true-hearted North?
And have ye no shots for this rebel rout?
No votes for the wooden leg
Whom the vanquished in war are turning out,
To halt on the streets and beg?

Oh say, is the flag ye loved so well
To droop now, or loyal blue?
Was it for a lie that your comrades fell?
Hath peace no victories too?
Is all that ye won in the battle's van
To be wrested by fraud away?
And have ye no cheer for the crippled man
Who stood at the front that day?

And now there goes up another shout
From brave hearts, true and tried,
"Oh yes! we have put them all to rout;
Not in vain have our comrades died.
We have met them, for aye, on many a field;
We have fought them on many a plain;
We have conquered, when it was death to yield,
And we will conquer again."

From the northern tops of our whispering pine,
From our prairies, broad and free,
There came a shout from the loyal line
Of our future yet to be.
"Oh yes! we have met this same old crew,
And now hear our comrades cry;
And ten million scars are marshaling to
Avenge their wrongs or die!

"We have not forgotten our com
Or our murdered Lincoln yet,
Nor the living, who bravely fought
Ere the sun of rebellion set.
The heart of the nation is true as
And this is the soldier's boon;
Were we to fight the war through
We'd not close it a year too soon

"We would not exempt from a
The feasts that the halterers eat
But swiftly in sorrow—oh, not in
Punish well ere we one forgive
And had this been done ten years
We never had seen this rout,
Or heard the old rebel yell we know
Now turning the loyal out.

"But a million true hearts are on the march,
And we answer the rebels' yell
Who swore to 'winter 'neath the Capitol's
arch,
Or else they would winter in hell.'
And some, we know, have kept that vow;
But the rest of the traitor crew
Have come to make laws for the loyal now,
Who forgave when the war was through.

"Oh yes! we have heard the old wild yell
From the dome on Capitol hill;
But the future will have its tale to tell
Of the loyal veteran's will.
And it will not say that a hundred years
Have given us, bond and soul,
With the nation's treasure, and blood, and
tears,
To the vanquished 'rebs' control."

* * * * *
And I sat in my chamber alone at night,
And I heard their gathering feet,
With the marshaled tread of the warrior's
might,
All hasting again to meet.
And I saw afar their stalwart forms
Come filing down through the gloom,
With brave hearts ready for battle storms,
To make for their comrades room.

And I saw their banner flung to the breeze,
And the gleam of their army blue,
As they march along 'neath the autumn trees
That shade the dim avenue.

And they answered for aye for the whole broad
land;

*"We have made it the nation's will
That the crippled and torn of our patriot band
Are the wards of the nation still!"*

LANSING, Dec., 28, 1875.

STATE CONVENTION.

...The Indiana Republicans, under Senator Morton's wise leadership, are already in the field. The following call has been issued:

"The Republicans of Indiana are invited to meet in delegate convention in the city of Indianapolis, at the Academy of Music, at ten o'clock, Tuesday, February 22, 1876, to give expression to their political faith and purposes, and to nominate candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, auditor, and treasurer of State, attorney-general, four judges of the supreme court, reporters of the supreme court, and superintendent of public instruction, to be chosen on the second Tuesday in October, 1876; also, to select delegates to the next National Republican Convention, and fifteen Presidential electors, to be chosen on the first Tuesday in November, 1876.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

THE CALIFORNIA AND OREGON RAILROAD.

The President has appointed Edgar Mills and Christopher Green, of Sacramento, California, and Jacob Neff, of Auburn, Colorado, Commissioners to examine and report upon twenty additional miles of the California and Oregon railroad, beginning near Vina, Trehama county, California, and making a total of 117½ miles reported completed up to date.

INDIAN DELEGATES WITH THE PRESIDENT—THE ADMINISTRATION POLICY.

On Thursday, the 12th instant, the delegates representing the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Choctaw nations called upon the President, and in answer to their report upon the condition of the several tribes, and their approval of his policy toward them, the President said in substance:

I am glad to hear such a good report of your people; to hear of their advancement in civilization and self-support. There have been, and are, strong parties in favor of opening your country to white settlement. The measure, no doubt, would contribute greatly to the benefit of such parties, and

perhaps to a portion of your people, but your masses would be made wanderers, without homes. It is not the policy, at present, to open your country for settlement—not until all are alike prepared to meet the change, and are ready to assume and discharge the duties and responsibilities of citizens. There will be no change of the administration in the affairs of your country without the consent of your people.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

NAVIGATION OF AMERICAN CANALS BY CANADIAN VESSELS.

Owing to the refusal of the United States authorities to allow Canadian vessels to navigate American canals on the same footing as American vessels the Dominion Government has prepared a case, and forwarded it to Secretary Fish.

SIAM AT THE CENTENNIAL.

The King of Siam has signified to the Secretary of State his intention of representing that kingdom at the Centennial, and will expend a sum not less than \$96,000 in making full preparations. John H. Chandler, an American who has resided in Siam for some time past, has been appointed com-

missioner, and will leave Bangkok some time in December with goods for the exposition. It was intended that a prince and several noblemen should be present at the Centennial, but it has finally been decided that no nobles will accompany Mr. Chandler, into whose hands all the arrangements have been placed.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

REDUCTION IN THE DRAWBACK ON HARD SUGARS.

It will be seen by the following order of the Secretary of the Treasury fixing the new rates of drawback that a very small reduction in the drawback on hard sugars has been found necessary. This slight change of rates will not impede the prosperity of the trade, and, under present laws and regulations, we may safely count on our continued ability to undersell foreign countries in the markets of the world in supplying them with hard sugars.

The order is directed to the several collectors of the ports, viz:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 17, 1875.

Collector of Customs:

SIR: The following rates of drawback on refined sugars and sirup wholly manufactured from imported raw sugar are hereby established in lieu of those heretofore in force:

On loaf, cut loaf, crushed, granulated, and powdered refined sugar, stove dried, or dried by other equally effective process, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, three and sixty one-hundredths (3 60-100) cents per pound. [Former rate, 3 75-100 cents per pound.]

On refined white coffee sugar, undried and above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, three (3) cents per pound. [Former rate, 2 50-100 cents per pound.]

On all grades of refined coffee sugar, No. 20 Dutch standard and below in color, entirely the product of foreign duty-paid sugar, two and one-half (2½) cents per pound. [Rate unchanged.]

On sirup resulting entirely from the refining of foreign duty-paid sugar, six and one-quarter (6¼) cents per gallon. [Unchanged.]

The allowance on sugar to be subject to the deduction of one (1) per cent., and the allowance on sirup to the deduction of ten (10) per cent., as prescribed by law.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary.*

REVENUE PAYMENTS BY CHECKS DISCONTINUED.

In view of the labor and hazard incurred by the Treasurer of the United States and

other independent Treasury officers by the receipt and collection of drafts and checks received by them from national banks, public officers, and other parties having payments to make into the Treasury, the Secretary has advised these officers that he thinks it better they should receive in all official transactions only the lawful and proper moneys of the United States, as provided by law and regulations thereunder. This will prevent national banks from paying their semi-annual duties, banks and other parties from paying for fractional currency, and collectors of internal revenue from making deposits in the offices mentioned by means of drafts and checks, thus doing away with a feature which seems to have crept into Government transactions without any special authority of law or regulations, and which has become a burden to the officers who voluntarily undertook to collect for parties the checks and drafts transmitted for the purpose of making the payments mentioned.

ISSUE OF NEW NOTES.

The Comptroller of the Currency, December 28, advised the Secretary of the Treasury of the issue of \$905,690 of additional national bank notes, under the act of June 14, 1874, upon which amount 80 per cent. of legal-tender notes will be destroyed. The amount of additional national bank notes issued since November 1 is \$1,761,280, and the total amount issued since the passage of the act of June 14, 1874, is \$12,715,975. The amount of legal-tender notes deposited by the national banks for the purpose of retiring circulation since November 1 is \$2,987,206.

IMPORTED FURNITURE TO BE USED AT THE CENTENNIAL NOT EXEMPT FROM DUTY.

Mr. J. H. Cundell, resident engineer of the British Executive Commission at Philadelphia, having written to the Treasury Department stating that the British Executive Commission had found it advisable to procure in England certain furniture, house-linen, etc., to furnish a house rented as a residence for the staff attached to that Commission, and inquiring whether such articles generally as may be required for the use of

ria, and also for correspondence addressed to Spain, including the Balearic Isles, the Canary Islands, the Spanish possessions on the northern coast of Africa, and the postal establishments of Spain upon the western coast of Morocco. The postal union territory now includes the whole of Europe, Asiatic Russia, Asiatic Turkey, Egypt, and the United States.

MIS-SENT LETTERS AND NEWSPAPERS.

Railroad post office clerks and route agents will in future be required to stamp the word "mis-sent" on all letters or newspapers that may come into their hands erroneously, the practice having been found beneficial in some of the large post offices. Two thousand stamps have been prepared for the purpose, and will be at once distributed.

SUCCESSOR TO MR. BANGS.

Theodore M Vale, assistant superintendent

of railway mail service, will succeed Mr. George S. Bangs as superintendent. Mr. Bangs' resignation will take effect in February.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

REFUND OF TAXES ILLEGALLY COLLECTED.

Attorney General Pierrepont has decided the question as to the refund of \$176,257 tax illegally collected on dividends of the stock of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, held by non resident alien stockholders, in favor of the company, the issue being whether the refund should be made to the company from which it was collected or to the non-resident alien stockholders interested. The Attorney General holds that the Government should pay the money illegally collected back to the company; and the stockholders can recover from the company.

TWO PICTURES FOR LOYAL EYES.

The Democrats have given the nation a fair sample of the reformed civil service which they would establish if entrusted with national power. In order to show how radical a reform has been brought about in the post office of the House of Representatives, we give the employees of the post office under the Forty-third Congress, Republican, and the ones now employed under the Democratic Forty-fourth. They form two interesting pictures for loyal eyes:

POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS

Henry Sherwood, Postmaster, entered the service in, we believe, the Second Michigan Cavalry early in the war. He was in all the battles in the West, from Perrysville to the battle of Kenesaw mountain in 1864, and lost a leg at the fight at Lattimer's Mill on the left of Kenesaw.

Joseph F. Wilson, Assistant Postmaster, entered the service from Illinois, and in one of the battles of the war had his lower jaw entirely shot away.

Norman Crane, of Vermont, was not in the army, but furnished the service with two substitutes.

D. B. Bradley enlisted in a Wisconsin regiment in 1861, and was honorably discharged November, 1864.

A. M. Legg, from New York, served during the war in our navy.

C. M. Thomas, Iowa; J. H. Lytle and W. B. Sessions, New York; J. D. Serun and D. F. Bishop, Pennsylvania, and Cripti Palmont, District of Columbia, were appointed from civil life.

POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

James M. Stewart, Postmaster, from Virginia, was captain in the rebel army, and served with J. E. B. Stuart's raiding cavalry.

Edgar Snowden, Assistant Postmaster, from Virginia, was a press correspondent in the rebel army.

G. W. Rock, Va., served in the rebel army.

G. W. Kennedy, Va., served in the rebel army.

A. W. C. Nowlin, Va., served in the rebel army.

W. H. Robertson, Va., served in the rebel army.

J. R. Fisher, Va., served in the rebel army.

W. B. Lowry, Va., served in the rebel army.

E. C. Glass, Va., served in the rebel army.

The other employees are Richard Allen, Virginia, Edwin Estes, New York, who took the modified oath; Thomas B. Kelly, Tennessee, P. S. Goodsell, Connecticut, James M. Taylor, Pennsylvania, and William Tudge are old employees retained.

Jefferson Davis—Amnesty.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, January 10, 1876.

The House having under consideration the bill [H. R. 214] to remove the disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, the pending question being on the motion of Mr. Blaine to reconsider the motion by which the bill was repealed.

MR. BLAINE :

Mr. SPEAKER, I rise to a privileged question. I move to reconsider the vote which has just been declared. I propose to debate that motion, and now give notice that if the motion to reconsider is agreed to it is my intention to offer the amendment which has been read several times. I will not delay the House to have it read again.

EVERY TIME THE QUESTION OF AMNESTY has been brought before the House by a gentleman on that side for the last two Congresses, it has been done with a certain flourish of magnanimity which is an imputation on this side of the House, as though the Republican party which has been in charge of the Government for the last twelve or fourteen years had been bigoted, narrow, and illiberal, and as though certain very worthy and deserving gentlemen in the Southern States were ground down to-day under a great tyranny and oppression, from which the hard-heartedness of this side of the House cannot possibly be prevailed upon to relieve them.

If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize that side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty will be discussed in the American Congress. I therefore desire, and under the rules of the House, with no thanks to that side for the privilege, to place on record just what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality, and large-mindedness, and magnanimity, and mercy far beyond any that has ever been shown before in the world's history by conqueror to conquered.

With the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. RANDALL,] I entered this Congress in

the midst of the hot flame of war, when the Union was rocking to its foundations, and no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the Thirty-eighth Congress if he could have foreseen before our joint service ended we should have seen sixty-one gentlemen, then in arms against us, admitted to equal privileges with ourselves, and all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the Government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had been defeated in war. Did we inaugurate any measures of persecution? Did we set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did we take property? Did we prohibit any man all his civil rights? Did we take from him the right he enjoys to-day to vote?

Not at all. But instead of a general and sweeping condemnation the Republican party placed in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution only this exclusion; after considering the whole subject it ended in simply coming down to this:

That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

It has been variously estimated that this section at the time of its original insertion in the Constitution included somewhere from fourteen to thirty thousand persons: as nearly as I can gather together the facts of the case, it included about eighteen thousand men in the South. It let go every man of the hundreds of thousands—or millions if you please—who had been engaged in the attempt to destroy this Government, and only held those under disability who in addition to revolting had violated a special and peculiar and personal oath to support the Constitution of the United States. It was limited to that.

Well, that disability was hardly placed upon the South until we began in this hall and in the other wing of the Capitol, when there were more than two-thirds Republicans in both branches, to remit it, and the very first bill took that disability off from 1,578 citizens of the South; and the next bill took it off from 3,526 gentlemen—by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor came in for grace and amnesty in those two bills. After these bills specifying individuals had passed, and others, of smaller numbers, which I will not recount, the Congress of the United States in 1872, by two-thirds of both branches, still being two-thirds Republican, passed this general law:

That all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of amendments of the Constitution of the United States are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States.

Since that act passed a very considerable number of the gentlemen which it still left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate acts. But I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no single instance since the act of May 22, 1872, have the disabilities been taken from any man except upon his respectful petition to the Congress of the United States that they should be removed. And I believe in no instance, except one, have they been refused upon the petition being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there been any other than a unanimous vote.

Now, I find there are widely varying opinions in regard to the number

THAT ARE STILL UNDER DISABILITIES IN THE SOUTH.

I have had occasion, by conference with the Department of War and of the Navy, and with the assistance of some records which I have caused to be searched, to be able to state to the House. I believe with more accuracy than it has been stated hitherto, just the number of gentlemen in the

South still under disabilities. Those who were officers of the United States army, educated at its own expense at West Point and who joined the rebellion, and are still included under this act, number, as nearly as the War Department can figure it up, 325; those in the Navy about 295. Those under the other heads, Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judiciary service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States, make up a number somewhat more difficult to state accurately, but smaller in the aggregate. The whole sum of the entire list is about—it is probably impossible to state it with entire accuracy, and I do not attempt to do that—is about 750 persons now under disabilities.

I am very frank to say that in regard to all these gentlemen, save one, I do not know of any reason why amnesty should not be granted to them as it has been to many others of the same class. I am not here to argue against it. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. KASSON] suggests "on their application." I am coming to that. But as I have said, seeing in this list, as I have examined it with some care, no gentleman to whom I think there would be any objection, since amnesty has already become so general—and I am not going back of that question to argue it—I am in favor of granting it them. But in the absence of this respectful form of application which since May 22, 1872, has become a sort of common law as preliminary to amnesty, I simply wish to put in that they shall go before a United States Court, and in open court with uplifted hand, swear that they mean to conduct themselves as good citizens of the United States. That is all.

Now, gentlemen may say that this is a foolish exaction. Possibly it is. But somehow or other I have a prejudice in favor of it. And there are some petty points in it that appeal as well to prejudice as to conviction. For one I do not want to impose citizenship on any gentleman. If I am correctly informed, and I state it only on rumor, there are some gentlemen in this list who have spoken contemptuously of the idea of their taking citizenship, and have spoken still more contemptuously of the idea of their applying for citizenship. I may state it wrongly, and if I do I am willing to be corrected, but I understand that Mr. Robert Toombs has, on several occasions, at watering places both in this country and in Europe, stated that he

WOULD NOT ASK THE UNITED STATES FOR CITIZENSHIP.

Very well, we can stand it about as well as Mr. Robert Toombs can. And if Mr. Robert Toombs is not prepared to go into a court

of the United States and swear that he means to be a good citizen, let him stay out. I do not think that the two houses of Congress should convert themselves into a joint convention for the purpose of embracing Mr. Robert Toombs and gushingly request him to favor us by coming back to accept of all the honors of citizenship. That is the whole. All I ask is that each of these gentlemen shall show his good faith by coming forward and taking the oath which you on that side of the House and we on this side of the House and all of us take and gladly take. It is a very small exaction to make as a preliminary to full restoration to all the rights of citizenship.

In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from its operation. Now, I do not place it on the ground that Mr. Davis was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the rebellion, because on that ground I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was just as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others who have already received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was far less efficient as an enemy of the United States; probably he was far more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any particular and special damage that he above others did to the Union, or because he was personally or especially of consequence, that I except him. But I except him on this ground: that he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville.

A MEMBER. And Libby.

Mr. BLAINE. Libby pales into insignificance before Andersonville. I place it on that ground, and I believe to-day, that so rapidly does one event follow on the heels of another in the rapid age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneous with what was transpiring there, and still less those who have grown up since, fail to remember the gigantic crime then committed.

Sir, since the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] introduced this bill last month I have taken occasion to reread some of the

HISTORIC CRUELITIES OF THE WORLD.

I have read over the details of those atrocious murders of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries which are always mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom. I have read the details of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, that stand out in history as one of those atrocities beyond imagination. I have read anew the horrors untold and unimaginable of the Span-

ish Inquisition. And I here before God, measuring my words, knowing their full extent and import, declare that neither the deeds of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries, nor the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws and engines of torture of the Spanish Inquisition begin to compare in atrocity with the hideous crime of Andersonville. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. ROBBINS, of North Carolina. That is an infamous slander.

The SPEAKER. If such demonstrations are repeated in the galleries the Chair will order them to be cleared.

Mr. BLAINE. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, that while this Congress was under different control from that which exists here to-day, with a Committee composed of both sides and of both branches, that tale of horror was placed where it cannot be denied or gainsaid.

I hold in my hand the story written out by a committee of Congress. I state that Winder, who is dead, was sent to Andersonville with a full knowledge of his previous atrocities; that these atrocities in Richmond were so fearful, so terrible, that Confederate papers, the *Richmond Examiner* for one, stated when he was gone that, "Thank God, Richmond is rid of his presence." We in the North knew from returning skeletons what he had accomplished at Belle Isle and Libby, and fresh from those accomplishments he was sent by Mr. Davis, against the protests of others in the Confederacy, to construct this den of horrors at Andersonville.

Now, of course it would be utterly beyond the scope of the occasion and beyond the limits of my hour for me to go into details. But in arraigning Mr. Davis I undertake here to say that I will not ask any gentleman to take the testimony of a single Union soldier. I ask them to take only the testimony of men who themselves were engaged and enlisted in the Confederate cause. And if that testimony does not entirely carry out and justify the declaration I have made, then I will state that I have been entirely in error in my reading.

After detailing the preparation of that prison, the arrangements made with hideous cruelty for the victims, the report which I hold in my hand, and which was concurred in by Democratic members as well as Republican members of Congress, states this—and I beg members to hear it, for it is far more impressive than anything I can say. After, I say, giving full details, the report states:

The subsequent history of Andersonville has startled and shocked the world with

A TALE OF HORROR, OF WOE, AND DEATH before unheard and unknown to civilization. No pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend its fearful and un-

utterable iniquity. It would seem as if the concentrated madness of earth and hell had found its final lodgment in the breast of those who inaugurated the rebellion and controlled the policy of the Confederate government, and that the prison at Andersonville had been selected for the most terrible human sacrifice which the world had ever seen. Into its narrow walls were crowded thirty-five thousand enlisted men, many of them the bravest and best, the most devoted and heroic of those grand armies which carried the flag of their country to final victory. For long and weary months here they suffered, maddened, were murdered, and died. Here they lingered, unsheltered from the burning rays of a tropical sun by day, and drenching and deadly dews by night, in every stage of mental and physical disease, hungered, emaciated, starving, maddened; festering with unhealed wounds; gnawed by the ravages of scurvy and gangrene; with swollen limb and distorted visage; covered with vermin which they had no power to extirpate; exposed to the flooding rains which drove them drowning from the miserable holes in which, like swine, they burrowed; parched with thirst and mad with hunger; racked with pain or prostrated with the weakness of dissolution; with naked limbs and matted hair; filthy with smoke and mud; soiled with the very excrement from which their weakness would not permit them to escape; eaten by the gnawing worms which their own wounds had engendered; with no bed but the earth; no covering save the cloud or the sky; these men, these heroes, born in the image of God, thus crouching and writhing in their terrible torture and calculating barbarity, stand forth in history as a monument of the surpassing horrors of Andersonville as it shall be seen and read in all future time, realizing in the studied torments of their prison-house the ideal of Dante's Inferno and Milton's Hell.

I undertake to say, from reading the testimony, that that is a moderate description. I will read but a single paragraph from the testimony of Rev. William John Hamilton, a man I believe who never was in the North, a Catholic priest at Macon. He is a Southern man and a Democrat and a Catholic priest. And when you unite those three qualities in one man you will not find much testimony that would be strained in favor of the Republican party. [Laughter.]

This man had gone to Andersonville on a mission of mercy to the men of his own faith, to administer to them the rights of his church in their last moments. That is why he happened to be a witness. I will read his answer under oath to a question addressed to him in regard to the bodily condition of the prisoners. He said:

Well, as I said before, when I went there I was kept so busily engaged in giving the sacrament to the dying men that I could not observe much; but of course I could not keep my eyes closed as to what I saw there.

I SAW A GREAT MANY MEN PERFECTLY NAKED.

Their clothes had been taken from them, as other testimony shows—walking about the stockade perfectly nude; they seemed to have lost all regard for delicacy, shame, morality, or anything else. I would frequently have to creep on my hands and knees into the holes that the men had burrowed in the ground, and stretch myself out alongside of them to hear their confessions. I found them almost living in vermin in those

holes; they could not be in any other condition but a filthy one, because they got no soap and no change of clothing, and were there all huddled up together.

Let me read further from the same witness another specimen:

The first person I conversed with on entering the stockade was a countryman of mine, a member of the Catholic church, who recognized me as a clergyman. I think his name was Farrell. He was from the north of Ireland. He came toward me and introduced himself. He was quite a boy; I do not think, judging from his appearance, that he could have been more than sixteen years old. I found him without a hat and without any covering on his feet, and without jacket or coat. He told me that his shoes had been taken from him on the battle-field. I found the boy suffering very much from a wound on his right foot; in fact the foot was split open like an oyster; and on inquiring the cause they told me it was from exposure to the sun in the stockade, and not from any wound received in battle. I took off my boots and gave him a pair of socks to cover his feet and told him I would bring him some clothing, as I expected to return to Andersonville the following week. I had to return to Macon to get another priest to take my place on Sunday. When I returned on the following week, on inquiring for this man Farrell, his companions told me he had stepped across the dead-line and requested the guards to shoot him. He was not insane at the time I was conversing with him.

Now Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to go into such horrible details as these for any purpose of arousing bad feeling. I wish only to say that the man who administered the affairs of that prison went there by order of Mr. Davis, was sustained by him; and this William John Hamilton, from whose testimony I have read, states here that he went to General Howell Cobb, commanding that department, and asked that intelligence as to the condition of affairs there be transmitted to the Confederate government at Richmond. For the matter of that, there are a great many proofs to show that Mr. Davis was thoroughly informed as to the condition of affairs at Andersonville.

One word more and I shall lay aside this book. When the march of General Sherman, or some other invasion of that portion of the country, was under way, there was danger, or supposed danger, that it might come into the neighborhood of Andersonville; and the following order—to which I invite the attention of the House—a regular military order—order No. 13, dated, headquarters Confederate States military prison, Andersonville, July 27, 1864, was issued by Brigadier-General John H. Winder:

The officers on duty and in charge of the battery of Florida artillery at the time will, upon receiving notice that the enemy have approached within seven miles of this post, OPEN FIRE UPON THE STOCKADE WITH GRAPE-SHOT without reference to the situation beyond these lines of defense.

Now, here were these 35,000 poor, helpless, naked, starving, sickened, dying men.

This Catholic priest states that he begged Mr. Cobb to represent that if they could not exchange those men, or could not relieve them in any other way, they should be taken to the Union lines in Florida and paroled; for they were shadows, they were skeletons. Yet it was declared by a regular order of Mr. Davis' officer that if the Union forces should come within seven miles the battery of Florida artillery should open fire with grape-shot on these poor, helpless men, without the slightest possible regard to what was going on outside.

Now I do not arraign the Southern people for this. God forbid that I should charge any people with sympathizing with such things. There were many evidences of great uneasiness among the Southern people about it; and one of the great crimes of Jefferson Davis was that besides conniving at and producing that condition of things, he concealed it from the Southern people. He labored not only to conceal it, but to make false statements about it. We have obtained, and have now in the Congressional Library, a complete series of Mr. Davis' messages—the official imprint from Richmond. I have looked over them, and I have here an extract from his message of November 7, 1864, at the very time that these horrors were at their acme. Mark you, when those horrors of which I have read specimens were at their extremest verge of desperation, Mr. Davis sends a

MESSAGE TO THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS
at Richmond, in which he says:

The solicitude of the Government for the relief of our captive fellow-citizens has known no abatement, but has on the contrary been still more deeply evoked by the additional sufferings to which they have been wantonly subjected by deprivation of adequate food, clothing, and fuel, which they were not even permitted to purchase from the prison sutler.

And he adds that the—

Enemy attempted to excuse their barbarous treatment by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliatory for like conduct on our part.

Now I undertake here to say that there is not a Confederate soldier now living who has any credit as a man in his community, and who ever was a prisoner in the hands of the Union forces, who will say that he ever was cruelly treated; that he ever was deprived of the same rations that the Union soldiers had—the same food and the same clothing.

Mr. COOK. Thousands of them say it—thousands of them; men of as high character as any in this House.

Mr. BLAINE. I take issue upon that. There is not one who can substantiate it—not one. As for measures of retaliation, although goaded by this terrific treatment of our friends imprisoned by Mr. Davis, the Senate of the United States specifically refused to

pass a resolution of retaliation, as contrary to modern civilization and the first precepts of Christianity. And there was no retaliation attempted or justified. It was refused; and Mr. Davis knew it was refused just as well as I knew it or any other man, because what took place in Washington or what took place in Richmond was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

Mr. Speaker, this is

NOT A PROPOSITION TO PUNISH JEFFERSON DAVIS.

There is nobody attempting that. I will very frankly say that I myself thought the indictment of Mr. Davis at Richmond, under the administration of Mr. Johnson, was a weak attempt, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with all others who went into the Confederate movement. Therefore, there was no particular reason for it. But I will undertake to say this, and, as it may be considered an extreme speech, I want to say it with great deliberation, that there is not a government, a civilized government, on the face of the globe—I am very sure there is not a European government—that would not have arrested Mr. Davis, and when they had him in their power would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any one of them would have done it. The poor victim Wirz deserved his death for brutal treatment, and murder of many victims, but I always thought it was a weak movement on the part of our Government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large and hang Wirz. I confess I do. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, a tool, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it—he did richly, amply, fully. He deserved no mercy, but at the same time, as I have often said, it seemed like skipping over the president, superintendent, and board of directors in the case of a great railroad accident and hanging the brakeman of the rear car. [Laughter.]

There is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitations, common feelings of humanity, will supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States if he can get a constituency to indorse him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. There is a large list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible. This bill proposes, in view of that record, that Mr. Davis, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, be

declared eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the Presidency of the United States. For one, upon full deliberation, I will not do it.

One word more, Mr. Speaker, in the way of detail, which I omitted. It has often been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis in the Andersonville matter that the men who died there in such large numbers (I think the victims were about fifteen thousand) fell prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which could not be averted. The record shows THAT OUT OF 35,000 MEN ABOUT 33 PER CENT.

DIED,

that is, one in three, while of the soldiers encamped near by to take care and guard them only one man in four hundred died; that is, within half a mile only one in four hundred died.

As to the general question of amnesty, Mr. Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it. It has gone by. Whether it has in all respects been wise, or whether it has been unwise, I would not detain the House here to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any great good to enunciate it; but, at the same time, it is a very singular spectacle that the Republican party, in possession of the entire Government, have deliberately called back into political power the leading men of the South, every one of whom turns up its bitter and relentless and malignant foe; and to-day,

from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they can be in consolidating into one compact political organization

THE OLD SLAVE STATES,

just as they were before the war. We see the banner held out blazoned again with the inscription that with the united South and a very few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand that is precisely the movement; that that is the animus and the intent. I do not think offering amnesty to the seven hundred and fifty men who are now without it will hasten or retard that movement. I do not think the granting of amnesty to Mr. Davis will hasten or retard it, or that refusing it will do either.

I hear it said, "We will lift Mr. Davis again into great consequence by refusing amnesty." That is not for me to consider; I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man who by a wink of his eye, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, COULD HAVE STOPPED THE ATROCITY AT ANDERSONVILLE.

Some of us had kinsmen there, most of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there, and in the name of those kinsmen, friends, and countrymen I here protest, and shall with my vote protest, against their calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who organized that murder.

SPEECH OF HON. BENJAMIN H. HILL, OF GEORGIA,

In the House of Representatives, Tuesday, January 11, 1876.

Mr. HILL said:

I advance directly to that portion of the gentleman's argument which relates to the question before the House. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. RANDALL) has presented to this House, and he asks it to adopt, a bill on the subject of amnesty which is precisely the same as the bill passed in this House by the gentleman's own party, as I understand it, at the last session of Congress. The gentleman from Maine has moved a reconsideration of the vote by which it was rejected, avowing his purpose to be to offer an amendment. The main purpose of that amendment is to except from the operation of the bill one of the citizens of this country, Mr.

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up the propositions of the gentleman in their order. I hope no gentleman imagines that I am here to pass in eulogy upon Mr. Davis. But the charge is that he is a murderer, and a deliberate, willful, guilty, scheming murderer of "thousands of our fellow citizens." Why, sir, knowing the character of the honorable gentleman from Maine, his high reputation, when I heard the charge fall from his lips, I thought surely the gentleman had made a recent discovery, and I listened for the evidence to justify that charge. He produced it; and what was it? To my utter amazement, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLEY) has well stated, it is nothing on earth but a report of a committee of this Congress, made when passions were at their height, and it was known to the gentleman and to the whole country eight years ago.

Now, I say first, in relation to that testimony, that it is exclusively *ex parte*. It was taken when the gentleman who is now put upon trial by it before the country was imprisoned and in chains, without a hearing and without an opportunity to be heard. It was taken by enemies. It was taken in the midst of fury and rage. If there is anything in Anglo-Saxon law which ought to be considered sacred, it is the high privilege of an Englishman not to be condemned until he shall be confronted with the witnesses against him. But that is not all.

The testimony produced by the gentleman is not only *ex parte*, not only exclusively the production of enemies, or at least taken by them, and in the midst of passion, but the testimony is mutilated, ingeniously mutilated, palpably mutilated, most adroitly mutilated. Why, sir, one of the main witnesses is Dr. Joseph Jones, a very excellent gentleman, who was called upon to give his testimony in what is called the Wirz trial, and which is produced before this House and attention called to it by the gentleman.

One of the most striking and remarkable pieces of evidence in this whole report is found in the report made by Dr. Jones, * * * sent to Andersonville by the Confederate authorities to investigate the condition of that prison. * * The first point is as to the knowledge of this report going to any of the authorities at Richmond. Here is what Dr. Jones says:

"I had just completed the report, which I placed in the hands of the judge-advocate, under orders from the Government, when the Confederacy went to pieces. That report never was delivered to the surgeon-general, and I was unaware that any one knew of its existence until I received orders from the United States Government to bring it and deliver it to this court in testimony."

And when the report itself, or that which purported to be the report, was presented to him while he was a witness he discovered that it was mutilated and he asked permission to state that fact. Hear what he says on that subject:

"I beg leave to make a statement to the court. That portion of my report which has been read is only a small part of the report. The real report contains the excuses which were given by the officers present at Andersonville, which I thought it right to embody with my report. It also contains documents forwarded to Richmond by Dr. White and Dr. Stevenson, and others in charge of the hospitals. Those documents contained important facts as to the labors of the medical department and their efforts to better the condition of things."

The committee ask him:

Question. "Are your conclusions correctly stated in this extract?"

Answer. "Part of my conclusions are stated—not the whole. A portion of my conclusions, and also my recommendations, are not stated."

Q. "Well, touching the subject of exchange?"

A. "Yes, sir, the general difficulties environing the prisoners and their officers."

Q. "What became of your original report?"

A. "This is my original report."

That is, he had there the extract as far as it went.

Q. "Did you make this extract yourself?"

The committee seem to suspect that he was the man that simply made the extract and brought it before the committee. Now, here is his answer:

"I did not. My original report is in the hands of the judge-advocate. I delivered it into his hands immediately upon my arrival in Washington."

And this committee of Congress to which the gentleman refers absolutely tells us that this mutilated report was the one introduced in evidence against this man Wirz, and it is the one incorporated in this book.

Now I want to call attention to another extract from that original report—a part not included in this book. There are a great many such omissions; I have not been able to get all of them.

Dr. Jones, in his report, is giving an account

of the causes of the sickness and mortality at Andersonville; and he says, among other things:

"Surrounded by these depressing agents, the postponement of the general exchange of prisoners, and the constantly receding hopes of deliverance through the action of their own Government depressed their already desponding spirits, and destroyed those mental and moral energies so necessary for a successful struggle against disease and its agents. Home-sickness and disappointment, mental depression and distress, attending the daily longing for an apparently hopeless release, are felt to be as potent agencies in the destruction of these prisoners as the physical causes of actual disease."

Now, sir, there is another fact. Wirz was put on trial, but really Mr. Davis was the man intended to be tried through him. Over one hundred and sixty witnesses were introduced before the Military Commission. The trial lasted three months. The whole country was under military despotism; citizens labored under duress; and quite a large number of Confederates were seeking to make favor with the powers of the Government. Yet, sir, during those three months, with all the witnesses they could bring to Washington, not one single man ever mentioned the name of Mr. Davis in connection with a single atrocity at Andersonville or elsewhere. * * * *

Now, sir, there is a witness on this subject. Wirz was condemned, found guilty, sentenced to be executed; and I have now before me the written statement of his counsel, a Northern man and a Union man. He gave this statement to the country, and it has never been contradicted.

Hear what this gentleman says:

"On the night before the execution of the prisoner Wirz a telegram was sent to the Northern press from this city, stating that Wirz had made important disclosures to General L. C. Baker, the well-known detective, implicating Jefferson Davis, and that the confession would probably be given to the public. On the same evening some parties came to the confessor of Wirz, Rev. Father Boyle, and also to me as his counsel, one of them informing me that a high Cabinet officer wished to assure Wirz that if he would implicate Jefferson Davis with the atrocities committed at Andersonville his sentence would be commuted. The messenger requested me to inform Wirz of this. In presence of Father Boyle I told Wirz next morning what had happened."

Hear the reply:

"Captain Wirz simply and quietly replied: Mr. Schade, you know that I have always told you that I do not know anything about Jefferson Davis. He had no connection with me as to what was done at Andersonville. I would not become a traitor against him or anybody else even to save my life!"

Sir, what Wirz, within two hours of his execution would not say for his life the gentleman from Maine says to the country to keep himself and his party in power. * * *

He who makes a charge must produce his witnesses. They must be informed witnesses. They must be credible witnesses. The gentleman from Maine makes his charge, but produces no witnesses. He says that men sent by Jefferson Davis to Andersonville were his officers, executing his orders, commissioned by him, and he therefore charges Mr. Davis with these atrocities by inference. * * * *

Now, Mr. Speaker, I pass from the construction of that question to the real facts about Andersonville. First, I want to call the attention of the House to the law of the Confederate Government on the subject of the treatment of prisoners. I read from the act

of the Confederate Congress on that subject; it was very simple, and directed: "The rations furnished prisoners of war shall be the same in quantity and quality as those furnished to enlisted men in the army of the Confederacy."

That was the law; that was the law Mr. Davis approved, and that was the law that he, so far as his agency was concerned, executed.

The gentleman in his speech has gone so far as to say that Mr. Davis purposely sent General Winder to Andersonville to organize a den or horrors and kill Federal soldiers. I do not quote exactly his language, but I know it is "to organize a den of horrors;" but I am sure I cannot use any language more bitter than the gentleman used himself. Therefore the next thing I will read is the order given for the purpose of locating this prison at Andersonville, or wherever it should be properly located. The official order for the location of the stockade enjoins that it should be in a "healthy locality, with plenty of pure water, with a running stream, and, if possible, with shade trees, and in the immediate neighborhood of grist and saw mills." That does not look like the organization of a den of horrors to commit murder. That was the official order. That was not all. These prisoners at Andersonville were not only allowed the rations measured out to Confederate soldiers, both in quantity and quality in every respect, but they were allowed also to buy as much outside as they desired; a privilege, I am reliably informed, which was not extended to many of the Confederate prisoners. I do not know how that is.

* * * * *

The Confederate Government gave Federal prisoners the same rations that Confederate soldiers in the field received. Federal prisoners had permission to buy whatever else they pleased, and the Confederates gave their friends at home permission to furnish them the means to do so. And yet, Mr. Speaker, it is true that, in spite of all these advantages enjoyed by these prisoners, there were horrors, and great horrors, at Andersonville. What were the causes of those horrors? The first was want of medicine. * * *

Now, how was it that medicines and other essential supplies could not be obtained? Unfortunately they were not in the Confederacy. The Federal Government made medicine contraband of war.

The Federal Government made clothing contraband of war. It sent down its armies and they burned up the factories of the South wherever they could find them, for the express purpose of preventing the Confederates from furnishing clothes to their soldiers, and the Federal prisoners of course shared this deprivation of comfortable clothing. It was the war policy of the Federal Government to make supplies scarce. * * *

Now, then, sir, whatever horrors existed at Andersonville, not one of them could be attributed to a single act of legislation of the Confederate Government, or to a single order of the Confederate Government, but every horror of Andersonville grew out of the necessities of the occasion, which necessities were cast upon the Confederacy by the war policy of the other side. The gentleman from Maine said that no Confederate prisoner was ever maltreated in the North. And when my friend answered from his seat "a thousand witnesses to the contrary in Georgia alone," the gentleman from Maine joined issue, but as usual produced no testimony in support of his issue. I think the gentleman from Maine is to be excused. For ten years unfortunately he and his have been reviling the people who were not allowed to come here to meet the reviling. Now, sir, we are face to face, and when you make a charge you must bring your proof. The time has passed when the country can ac-

cept the impudence of assertion for the force of argument, or recklessness of statement for the truth of history.

Now, sir, I do not wish to unfold the chapter on the other side. I am an American. I honor my country, and my whole country, and it could be no pleasure to me to bring forward proof that any portion of my countrymen have been guilty of willful murder or of cruel treatment to poor manacled prisoners. Nor will I make any such charge. These horrors are inseparable, many of them and most of them, from a state of war. I hold in my hand a letter written by one who was a surgeon at the prison at Elmira, and he says:

"The winter of 1864, 1865, was an unusually severe and rigid one, and the prisoners, arriving from the Southern States during this season were mostly old men and lads, clothed in attire suitable only to the genial climate of the South. I need not state to you that this alone was ample cause for an unusual mortality among them. The surroundings were of the following nature, namely: narrow, confined limits, but a few acres in extent"—

And Andersonville, sir, embraced twenty-seven acres—

"and through which slowly flowed a turbid stream of water, carrying along with it all the excremental filth and debris of the camp; this stream of water, horrible to relate, was the only source of supply, for an extended period, that the prisoners could possibly use for the purpose of ablution and to slake their thirst from day to day; the tents and other shelter allotted to the camp at Elmira were insufficient and crowded to the utmost extent; hence small-pox and other skin diseases raged through the camp.

"Here I may note that, owing to a general order from the Government to vaccinate the prisoners, my opportunities were ample to observe the effects of spurious and diseased matter, and there is no doubt in my mind but that syphilis was ingrafted in many instances; ugly and horrible ulcers and eruptions of a characteristic nature were, alas! too frequent and obvious to be mistaken. Small-pox cases were crowded in such a manner that it was a matter of impossibility for the surgeon to treat his patient individually; they actually laid so adjacent that the simple movement of one would cause his neighbor to cry out in an agony of pain. The confluent and malignant type prevailed to such an extent and of such a nature that the body would frequently be found one continuous scab.

"The diet and other allowances by the Government for the use of the prisoners were ample, yet the poor unfortunates were allowed to starve."

Now, sir, the Confederate regulations authorized ample provision for Federal prisoners, the same that was made for Confederate soldiers, and you charge that Mr. Davis is responsible for not having those allowances honestly supplied. The United States made provision for Confederate prisoners, so far as rations were concerned, for feeding those in Federal hands; and yet what says the surgeon? "They were allowed to starve."

"But 'why?' is a query which I will allow your readers to infer and to draw conclusions therefrom. Out of the number of prisoners, as before mentioned, over three thousand of them now lay buried in the cemetery located near the camp for that purpose—a mortality equal if not greater than that of any prison in the South. At Andersonville, as I am well informed by brother officers who endured confinement there, as well as by the records at Washington, the mortality was twelve thousand out of, say, forty thousand prisoners. Hence it is readily to be seen that the range of mortality was no less at Elmira than at Andersonville."

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him a moment to ask him where he gets that statement?

Mr. HILL. It is the statement of a Federal surgeon published in the New York World.

Mr. PLATT. I desire to say that I live within thirty-six miles of Elmira, and that those statements are unqualifiedly false.

Mr. HILL. Yes, and I suppose if one rose from the dead the gentleman would not believe him.

Mr. PLATT. Does the gentleman say that those statements are true?

Mr. HILL. Certainly I do not say that they are true, but I do say that I believe the statement of the surgeon in charge before that of a politician thirty-six miles away. * * * Now I call the attention of gentlemen to this fact, that the report of Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War—you will believe him, will you not?—on the 19th of July, 1866—send to the Library and get it—exhibits the fact that of the Federal prisoners in Confederate hands during the war only 22,578 died, while of the Confederate prisoners in Federal hands 28,438 died. And Surgeon-General Barnes reports, in an official report—I suppose you will believe him—that, in round numbers, the Confederate prisoners in Federal hands amounted to 220,000, while the Federal prisoners in Confederate hands amounted to 270,000. Out of the 270,000 in Confederate hands 22,000 died, while of the 220,000 Confederates in Federal hands over 28,000 died. The ratio is this: More than 12 per cent. of the Confederates in Federal hands died, and less than 9 per cent. of the Federals in Confederate hands died. What is the logic of these facts according to the gentleman from Maine? I scorn to charge murder upon the officials of northern prisons, as the gentleman has done upon Confederate prison officials. I labor to demonstrate that such miseries are inevitable in prison life, no matter how humane the regulations.

* * * * *

But the great question is behind. Every American, North or South, must lament that our country has ever impeached its civilization by such an exhibition of horrors on any side, and I speak of these things with no degree of pleasure. God knows if I could hide them from the view of the world I would gladly do it. But the great question is, at last, who was responsible for this state of things? And that is really the only material question with which statesmen now should deal. Sir, it is well known that, when the war opened, at first the authorities of the United States determined that they would not exchange prisoners. The first prisoners captured by the Federal forces were the crew of the Savannah, and they were put in chains and sentenced to be executed. Jefferson Davis hearing of this, communicated through the lines and the Confederates having meanwhile also captured prisoners, he threatened retaliation in case those men suffered, and the sentences against the crew of the Savannah were not executed. Subsequently our friends from this way, * * * insisted that there should be a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. In 1862 that cartel was agreed upon. In substance and briefly it was that there should be an exchange of man for man and officer for officer, and whichever held an excess at the time of exchange should parole the excess. This worked very well until 1863.

* * * * *

In 1863 this cartel was interrupted; the Federal authorities refused to continue the exchange. * * * This I say frankly to the gentlemen on the other side, was in truth one of the severest blows stricken at the Confederacy, this refusal to exchange prisoners in 1863 and continued through 1864. The

Confederates made every effort to renew the cartel. Among other things, on the 2d of July, 1863, the Vice-President of the Confederacy, the gentleman to whom the gentleman from Maine, (Mr. BLAINE,) alluded the other day in so complimentary terms, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, was absolutely commissioned by President Davis to cross the lines and come to Washington to consult with the Federal authorities, with a broad commission to agree upon any cartel satisfactory to the other side for the exchange of prisoners. Mr. Davis said to him, "Your mission is simply one of humanity, and has no political aspect." Mr. Stephens undertook that work. What was the result? I wish to be careful, and I will state this exactly correctly. Here is his letter:

CONFEDERATE STATES STEAMER TORPEDO,

In James River, July 4, 1863.

SIR: As military commissioner, I am the bearer of a communication in writing from Jefferson Davis, Commander-in-Chief of the land and naval forces of the Confederate States, to Abraham Lincoln, Commander-in-Chief of the land and naval forces of the United States. Hon. Robert Ould, Confederate States agent of exchange, accompanies me as secretary, for the purpose of delivering the communication in person and conferring upon the subject to which it relates. I desire to proceed to Washington in the steamer Torpedo, commanded by Lieutenant Hunter Davidson, of the Confederate States navy, no person being on board but Hon. Mr. Ould, myself, and the boat's officers and crew.

Yours, most respectfully,

ALEX. H. STEPHENS.

To S. H. LEE, Admiral.

This was directed to S. H. Lee, admiral. Here is the answer:

Acting Rear-Admiral S. H. LEE, Hampton Roads:

The request of Alexander H. Stephens is inadmissible. * * *

GIDEON WELLS,

Secretary of Navy.

You will acknowledge that Mr. Stephens' humane mission failed. The Confederate authorities gave to that mission as much dignity and character as possible. * * * The Federal Government would not even receive him; the Federal authorities would not hear him.

What was the next effort? After Mr. Stephens' mission failed, and after the commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, Colonel Ould, having exhausted all his efforts to get the cartel renewed, on the 24th January, 1864, wrote the following letter to Major-General E. A. Hitchcock, agent of exchange on the Federal side.

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,

WAR DEPARTMENT,

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, January 24, 1864.

SIR: In view of the present difficulties attending the exchange and release of prisoners, I propose that all such on either side shall be attended by a proper number of their own surgeons, who, under rules to be established, shall be permitted to take charge of their health and comfort. I also propose that these surgeons shall act as commissaries, with power to receive and distribute such contributions of money, food, clothing, and medicines, as may be forwarded for the relief of the prisoners. I further propose that these surgeons shall be selected by their own Government, and that they shall have full liberty, at any and all times, through the agents of exchange, to make reports, not only of their own acts, but of any matters relating to the welfare of the prisoners.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

ROBERT OULD,

Agent of Exchange.

Major General E. A. HITCHCOCK,

Agent of Exchange.

The SPEAKER. The hour of the gentleman has expired.

Mr RANDALL. I move the gentleman from Georgia be allowed to proceed. * * *

There was no objection.

Mr BLAINE. I believe the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] was a member of the Confederate Senate. I find in a historical book of some authenticity of character that in the Confederate Congress, Senator Hill, of Georgia, introduced the following resolution, relating to prisoners—

Mr HILL. You are putting me on trial now, are you? Go ahead.

Mr BLAINE. This is the resolution.

"That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the 1st day of January, 1864, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with the intent to incite insurrection and abet murder, and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington on the 31st day of September, 1863, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer."

Mr HILL. * * * My own impression is that I was not the author, but I do not pretend to recollect the circumstances. If the gentleman can give me the circumstances under which the resolution was introduced they might recall the matter to my mind.

Mr BLAINE. Allow me to read further.

"October 1, 1862. The Judiciary Committee of the Confederate Congress made a report and offered a set of resolutions upon the subject of President Lincoln's proclamation, from which the following are extracts:

"1. Every white person who shall act as commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm organize, train or promote negroes or mulattoes for aid them in any military or military of Confederate States, by death."

"2. Every white person who shall incite or pretend to give them the mentioned act of Congress, by abducting or causing or inducing them to used, suffer death."

HILL, of Georgia, is read the resolution I have

airman of the Judiciary

into. this resolution came from

the gentleman frankly

member

gentleman does not say

I will say this: I think

Possibly I reported the

in terms to "pretended,"

right that inasmuch as

argument was to show

Confederate policy, this

in calling up the facts

laughter and applause

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o did not think any such

is would divert me from

argument and break its

Mr BLAINE. Oh, no.

Mr HILL. He thought he would get up a discussion about certain measures presented in the Confederate Congress having no relation to the subject now under discussion, but which grew out of the peculiar relation of the Southern States to a population then in servitude—a population which the Confederate Government feared might be incited to insurrection—and measures were doubtless proposed which the Confederate Government may have thought it proper to take to protect helpless women and children in the South from insurrection.

But, sir, I have read a letter from the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, written in 1864, proposing that each side send surgeons with the prisoners, that they nurse and treat the prisoners; that the Federal authorities should send as many as they pleased, that those surgeons be commissioned also as commissaries to furnish supplies of clothing and food and everything else needed for the comfort of prisoners.

Now, sir, how did the Federal Government treat that offer? No reply was ever received.

Then, again, the Confederates made two more propositions. I will state that the cartel of exchange was broken by the Federal authorities for certain alleged reasons.

The Confederates next proposed, in a letter from Colonel Guld, dated the 10th of August, 1864, waiving every objection the Federal Government had made, to agree to any and all terms to renew the exchange of prisoners, man for man, and officer for officer, as the Federal Government should prescribe. Yet, sir, the latter rejected that proposition. It took a second letter to bring an answer to that proposition.

Then, again, in that same month of August, 1864, the Confederate authorities did this:

They proposed to send the Federal sick and wounded prisoners without equivalent.

That proposition, communicated to the Federal authorities in August, 1864, was not answered until December, 1864. In December, 1864, the Federal Government sent ships to Savannah. Now, the records will show that the chief suffering at Andersonville was between August and December. The Confederate authorities sought to avert it by asking the Federal Government to come and take its prisoners without equivalent, without return, and it refused to do that until four or five months had elapsed.

Now, sir, it was in reference to that state of things exactly that Dr. Jones reported, as I have already read to the House, in his report which was mutilated before that Committee of Congress and in the trial of Wirt—It was in consequence of that very state of things that Dr. Jones said that depression of mind and despondency and home-sickness of these poor prisoners carried more to their graves than did physical causes of disease. That was not wonderful at all.

But, Mr. Speaker, why were all these appeals resisted?

Who is at fault? There must be a reason for this. That is the next point to which I wish to call the attention of the House.

Here is General Grant's testimony before the committee on the exchange of prisoners, February 11, 1865. You believe him, do you not?

Question. It has been said that we refused to exchange prisoners because we found ours starved, diseased, and unserviceable when we received them, and did not like to exchange sound men for such men."

That was the question propounded to him. His answer was:

"Answer. There never has been any such reason as that. That has been a reason for making exchanges. I will confess that if our men who are prisoners in the South were really well taken care of suffering nothing except a little privation of liberty then, in a military point of view it would not be good policy for us to exchange because every one they get back is forced right into the army. I once, while that is not the case with our prisoners when we receive them. In fact, the half of our returned prisoners will never go into the army again, and none of them will until after they have had a furlough of thirty or sixty days. Still, the fact of their suffering as they do is a reason for making this exchange as rapidly as possible.

"Q. And never has been a reason for not making the exchange?"

"A. It never has. Exchanges having been suspended by reason of disagreement on the part of agents of exchange on both sides before I came into command of the armies of the United States and it then being near the opening of the spring campaign I did not deem it advisable or just to the men who had to fight our battles to re-enforce the enemy with thirty or forty thousand disciplined troops at that time. An immediate resumption of exchanges would have had that effect without giving us corresponding benefits. The suffering said to exist among our prisoners South was a powerful argument against the course pursued, and so I felt it."

There is no disputing the fact that with the knowledge that his prisoners were suffering in the South, he insisted that the exchange should not be resumed because it would in effect the military power of the enemy. Now that may have been a good military reason. I do not quote it for the purpose of reflecting upon General Grant in the slightest. I am giving the facts of history. I give you the facts, and I have given you General Grant's interpretation of these facts. Let the world judge.

Against whom does the charge lie, if there are to be accusations of any, for the horrors of Andersonville?

Mr. HILL: What was the percentage of deaths in the prisons?

Mr. HILL: I have already given it. I have proved that with all the horrors at Andersonville, greater sufferings occurred in the prisons where Confederate soldiers were confined, and that the percentage of death was 5 per cent greater among Confederate troops in Federal hands than among Federal soldiers held by the Confederates. And I need not state the contrast between the needy Confederacy and the abundance of Federal supplies and resources.

Sir, if any man will reflect a moment he will see that there was reason why the Confederate government should desire exchange of prisoners. It was a case of food, pitched for clothing, shod up with the binnacle of its ports, it needed troops. Its ranks were thinning.

Now Mr. Speaker it is proper that I should read one or two sentences from the man who has been arraigned as the worst murderer in history. After the battles around Richmond, in which McClellan was defeated some ten thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the Confederacy. Victory had perched upon its standard and the rejoicing naturally following victory was heard in the ranks of the Confederate army. Mr. Davis went out to make a gratulatory speech. Now, gentlemen of the House, gentlemen of the other side, if you are willing to do justice, let me simply call your attention to the words of this man

that then fell from his lips in the hour of victory. Speaking to the soldiers, he said:

"You are fighting for all that is dearest to man and though opposed to a foe who disregards many of the usages of civilized war, your humanity to the wounded and the prisoners was a fit and becoming glory of your valor."

The gentleman from Maine yesterday introduced the Richmond Examiner as a witness in his behalf. Now it is a rule of law that a man cannot impeach his own witness. It is true that the Examiner hated Mr. Davis with a cordial hatred. The gentleman could not have introduced the testimony of perhaps a bitterer foe to Mr. Davis. Why did it hate him? Here are its reasons: "The chivalry and humanity of Jefferson Davis will inevitably ruin the Confederacy. That is your witness, and the witness is worthy of your cause." "That is not all. In the same paper it says: 'The enemy have gone from one unmanly cruelty to another. Encouraged by their impunity till they are now and have for some time been inflicting on the people of this country the worst horrors of barbarous and uncivilized war.' Yet in spite of all this the Examiner alleged 'Mr. Davis in his dealing with the enemy was as gentle as a sucking dove'."

I do not doubt that I am the bearer of unwelcome messages to the gentleman from Maine and his party. He says that there are Confederates in this body, and that they are going to combine with a few from the North for the purpose of controlling this Government. If one were to listen to the gentleman on the other side he would be in doubt whether they rejoiced more when the South left the Union, or regretted most when the South came back to the Union that their fathers helped to form, and to which they will forever hereafter contribute as much of patriotic ardor, of noble devotion, and of willing sacrifice as the constituents of the gentleman from Maine. O, Mr. Speaker, why cannot gentlemen on the other side rise to the height of this great argument of patriotism? Is the bosom of the country always to be torn with this miserable sectional debate whenever a Presidential election is pending? To that great debate of half a century before secession there were left no adjourned questions. The victory of the North was absolute and God knows mission of the South was complete. We have recovered from the humiliating defeat, and we come here among you ask you to give us the greetings to brothers by brothers.

Sir, my message is this: There are no Confederates in this House; there are no Confederates anywhere; there are no Confederate ambitions, hopes, desires, passions here. But the South is here, she intends to remain. [Enthusiastic applause.] Go on and pass your qualification upon the Constitution; sworn to support, abnegate the p your fathers. In its rage upon our people multiply your injustices until the like the stars of heaven or the man seashore, without number; but know all your iniquities the South will seek a remedy in the majesty of its reason. [Continued applause.] We are in the house of our fathers; ours are our companions, and we are stay, thank God. [Much applause.]

We come charging upon no wrong to us. The Union never us. The Union has been an unmineral to every section, to every State, man of every color in America. We all our wrongs upon that "big"

fanaticism that never kept a pledge nor obeyed a law. The South did seek to leave the association of those who, she believed, would not keep fidelity to their covenants; the South sought to go to herself; but, so far from having lost our fidelity to the Constitution which our fathers made, when we sought to go, we hugged that Constitution to our bosoms and carried it with us.

* * * * *

Sir, we did the Union one great wrong. The Union never wronged the South; but we of the South did to the Union one great wrong; and we come, as far as we can, to repair it.

We wronged the Union grievously when we left it to be seized and rent and torn by the men who had denounced it as a "covenant with hell and a league with the devil." We ask you, gentlemen of the Republican party, to rise above all your animosities. Forget your own sins. Let us unite to repair the evils that distract and oppress the country. Let us turn our backs upon the past, and let it be said in the future that he shall be the greatest patriot, the truest patriot, the noblest patriot who shall do most to repair the wrongs of the past and promote the glories of the future. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

AMNESTY—MR. HILL, GEORGIA.

In the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876.

MR. GARFIELD:

Mr. SPEAKER, no gentleman on this floor can regret more sincerely than I do the course that the debate has taken, especially that portion which occurred yesterday. To one who reads the report of that discussion it would be difficult to discover

THE REAL QUESTION AT ISSUE

and to learn from the RECORD itself the scope and character of the pending measure. I regret that neither the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] nor that of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Hill] has yet appeared in the RECORD. I should prefer to quote from the full report, but, replying now, I must quote them as their speeches appeared in the public journals of yesterday and to-day. But they are here, and can correct any inaccuracy of quotation. Any one who reads their speeches would not suspect that they were debating a simple proposition to relieve some citizens of political and legal disabilities incurred during the late war. For example, had I been a casual reader and not a listener, I should say that the chief proposition yesterday was an arraignment of the administration of this Government during the last fifteen years. If I had been called upon to pick out those declarations in the speech of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Hill] which embody the topic of debate, I should have said they were these:

The history of the last fifteen years is yet fresh in the minds of the world. It is useless to speak of the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. With the master enslaved, with intelligence disfranchised, with society disordered, with States subverted, with Legislatures dispersed, people cannot afford to talk of grace and magnanimity. If that is grace and magnanimity, I pray God to spare the country in the future from such virtues.

I should say that the propositions and arguments arrayed around that paragraph were the center and circumference of his theme. Let me then in a few words try to recall the House to the actual topic of this debate.

A gentleman on the other side of the House, a few days ago, introduced a proposition in the form of a bill to grant amnesty to the remaining persons who are not yet relieved of their political disabilities under the Constitution. That is a plain proposition for practical legislation. It is a very important proposition. It is a proposition to finish and complete forever the work of executing one of the great clauses of the Constitution of our country. When that bill shall have become a law, a large portion of the fourteenth amendment will have ceased to be an operative clause of the Constitution.

Whenever so great and important a matter is proposed a deliberative body should bring to its consideration the fullest and most serious examination. But what was proposed in this case? Not to deliberate, not to amend, not even to refer to a committee for the ordinary consideration given even to a proposition to repeal the tax on matches. No reference to anybody; but a member of the House, of his own motion and at his own discretion, proposes to launch that proposition into the House, refusing the privilege of amendment and the right to debate, except as it might come from his courtesy, and pass it, declaring, as he does so, the time has come to do justice to an oppressed people.

Under circumstances like these, Mr. Speaker, a large number of gentlemen on this floor felt they had a right, under the rules of the House and in the forum of justice and fair dealing, an undoubted right to deliberate on the proposition; that it should be open for amendment and debate. Every expression on this side of the House showed that we were earnestly in favor of so closing this last act in the drama of war so far as it relates to disabilities; that it should be closed forever—

CLOSED IN GOOD FAITH

and with good feeling. We deeply regretted that the attempt was made to cut us off from

deliberation and amendment, and we therefore threw ourselves back upon our rights; and it is by virtue of those rights that we debate this question to-day.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] offered a criticism on the bill. He suggested that there were two points in which it ought to be changed. One was that the seven hundred and fifty persons who are still forbidden to hold office under the Constitution should have free and absolute amnesty whenever they declare by taking the oath of allegiance in open court that they want it; that, like God's mercy and perfect pardon, amnesty should be granted by asking for it. It was suggested that we should follow the rule that we have followed hitherto in all cases similarly situated. That was the first point.

Another point was suggested, that there is one person, and only one, who ought to be excepted from the operation of the proposed law. Now that may have been wise or it may have been unwise, as a matter of statesmanship, but it was a question deserving debate, deliberation, and answer.

The proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] is an affirmative one, and should be supported by affirmative reasons. If we allege any reason against, we ought to be answered. Two allegations have been made: first, that there ought to be an oath of allegiance before a court; and, second, that one man ought to be excepted. How have these propositions been met? How have these suggestions been answered? The first response was a speech full of brilliant wit and personalities. It was like joking at a funeral to joke on such an occasion. They have been answered, in the second place, by the speech of yesterday, which arraigns not the Republican party alone, but arraigns twenty-five millions of people, arraigns the history of the Republic for fifteen years, arraigns everything that is glorious in its record and high and worthy in its achievement. I was deeply pained that such an arraignment should have been made on such a subject. If the gentleman had confined himself to a reply to the argument which had been offered to show why the exception should be made, it would have been a response pertinent to the subject-matter in controversy.

While I occupy the attention of the House, I shall endeavor to confine myself to the question and to the speech of the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. HILL.]

Let me say in the outset that, so far as I am personally concerned, I have never voted against any proposition to grant amnesty to any human being who has asked for it at the bar of the House. Furthermore, I appeal to gentlemen on the other side who have been

with me in this Hall many years, whether at any time they have found me truculent in spirit, unkind in tone or feeling toward those who fought against us in the late war. Twelve years ago this very month, standing in this place, I said this:

"I BELIEVE A TRUCE

could be struck to-day between the rank and file of the hostile armies now in the field. I believe they could meet and shake hands together, joyful over returning peace, each respecting the courage and manhood of the other, and each better able to live in amity than before the war."

I am glad to repeat word for word what I said that day. For the purposes of this speech I will not even claim the whole ground which the Government assumed toward the late rebellion. For the sake of the present argument, I will view the position of those who took up arms against the Government in

THE LIGHT LEAST OFFENSIVE TO THEM.

Leaving out of sight for the moment the question of slavery, which evoked so much passion, and which was the producing cause of the late war, there were still two opposing political theories which met in conflict. Most of the Southern statesmen believed that their first obedience was due to their State. We believed that the allegiance of an American citizen was due to the National Government, not by the way of a State Capital, but in a direct line from his own heart to the Government of the Union. Now, that question was submitted to the dreadful arbitrament of war, to the court of last resort—a court from which there is no appeal, and to which all other powers must bow. To that dread court the great question was carried, and there the right of a State to secede was put to rest forever. For the sake of peace and union I am willing to treat our late antagonists as I would treat litigants in other courts, who, when they have made their appeal and the final judgment is rendered, pay the reasonable costs and bow to its mandates. But our question to-day is not that, yet is closely connected with it. When we have made our arguments and the court has rendered judgment, it may be that in the course of the proceedings the court has used its discretion to disbar some of its counsellors for malpractice, for unprofessional conduct. In such a case, a motion may be made to restore the disbarred members. Applying this illustration to the present case, there are seven hundred and fifty people who are yet disbarred before the highest authority of the Republic, the Constitution itself. The proposition is to offer again the privileges of official station to these people; and we are all agree every human being of them save

I do not object to Jefferson Davis because he was a conspicuous leader. Whatever we may believe theologically, I do not believe in the doctrine of vicarious atonement in politics. Jefferson Davis was no more guilty for taking up arms than any other man who went into the rebellion with equal intelligence. But this is the question: In the high court of war did he practice according to its well-known laws—the laws of nations? Did he, in appealing to war, obey the laws of war; or did he so violate those laws that justice to those who suffered at his hands demands that he be not permitted to come back to his old privileges in the Union? That is the whole question; and it is as plain and fair a question for deliberation as was ever debated in this House.

Now, I wish we could discuss it without any passion—without passionate thoughts, such as we heard yesterday. The words were eloquent, for the gentleman from Georgia well knows how to utter passionate thoughts with all the grace and eloquence of speech.

What answer has been made to the allegations of the gentleman from Maine to the reasons he offered why a full amnesty should not be offered to Jefferson Davis? The gentleman from Georgia denies, and so also apparently did the gentleman from New York, [Mr Gox,] the authenticity of

THE CHARGES OF ATROCITIES AT ANDERSONVILLE.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] spoke of the committee from whose report the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] read as a "humbug committee." The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] spoke of it as an *ex parte* and partisan committee—a committee that wrote and reported out of its fury and rage. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am unwilling that this case shall turn upon the mere authority of a committee, however high; but I want to say now, without arguing the merits, that whether the charge was just or unjust, it was a charge made by the Government of the United States. I mean to place the responsibility of the charges on the high ground of the authority of the Government, which no self-respecting man can call trivial and unworthy of his serious attention.

On the 4th day of May, 1864, the Secretary of War, speaking by the authority of the executive department of the National Government, addressed a communication to a committee of Congress, which I will read. It is found in a volume of reports of committees of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, volume 1, 1863-'64, and is as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON CITY, May 4, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor to submit to you a report made to this Department by Colonel Hoffman, Commissary General of Prisoners, in

regard to the condition of Union soldiers who have until within a few days been prisoners of war at Richmond, and would respectfully request that your committee immediately proceed to Annapolis to take testimony there and examine with their own eyes the condition of those who have been returned from rebel captivity. The enormity of the crime committed by the rebels toward our prisoners for the last several months is not known or realized by our people, and cannot but fill with horror the civilized world when the facts are fully revealed. There appears to have been a deliberate system of savage and barbarous treatment and starvation, the result of which will be that few, if any, of the prisoners that have been in their hands during the past winter will ever again be in a condition to render any service or even to enjoy life.

Your obedient servant,

EDWIN M. STANTON,

Secretary of War.

HON. B. F. WADE, *Chairman of Joint Committee on Conduct of the War.*

On the receipt of this letter a joint committee of the two Houses, known as the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was sent to Annapolis, to hold their sessions in the presence of the thousands of returned prisoners who had just been landed, and as the result of their deliberations, and after taking testimony on the spot from officers and men who had just returned, they reported not only their opinions, but the testimony in full, in the volume which I hold in my hand. That committee was composed of

REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS,

and its report is unanimous. The Democrats on the committee were among the foremost members of the Senate and House. One of them was Mr. Odell, of New York, a gentleman not now living, who was one of the best men that party has had on the floor of this House since I have been a member. Another was Senator Harding, of Oregon. That committee made an elaborate report, from which I will read a few paragraphs:

The evidence proves beyond all manner of doubt a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, deliberately and persistently practiced for a long time past, to subject those of our soldiers who have been so unfortunate as to fall in their hands to a system of treatment which has resulted in reducing many of those who have survived and been permitted to return to us to a condition, both physically and mentally, which no language we can use can adequately describe. Though nearly all the patients now in the Naval Academy Hospital at Annapolis and in the West Hospital in Baltimore have been under the kindest and most intelligent treatment for about three weeks past, and many of them for a greater length of time, still they present literally the appearance of living skeletons, many of them being nothing but skin and bone; some of them are maimed for life, having been frozen while exposed to the inclemency of the winter season on Belle Isle, being compelled to lie on the bare ground without tents or blankets, some of them without overcoats or even coats, with but little fire to mitigate the severity of the winds and storms to which they were exposed. * * *

It will be observed from the testimony that all the witnesses who testify upon that point

state that the treatment they received while confined at Columbia, South Carolina, Dalton, Georgia, and other places, was far more humane than that they received at Richmond, where the authorities of the so-called Confederacy were congregated, and where the power existed, had the inclination not been wanting, to reform those abuses and secure to the prisoners they held some treatment that would bear a public comparison to that accorded by our authorities to the prisoners in our custody. Your committee, therefore, are constrained to say that they can hardly avoid the conclusion expressed by so many of our released soldiers, that the inhuman practices herein referred to are the result of a determination on the part of the rebel authorities to reduce our soldiers in their power by privation of food and clothing and by exposure to such a condition that those who may survive shall never recover so as to be able to render any effective service in the field.

I am not now discussing the merits of the charge at all, but am showing that such is, and for twelve years has continued to be, the authoritative official charge of the executive department of the Government and of a joint committee of the two Houses. So much for the responsible character of the charge. To this I should add that this charge is believed to be true by a great majority of the people whom we represent on this floor.

I now inquire is this charge true?

The gentleman from Georgia denies generally the charge that atrocities were practiced upon our prisoners at Andersonville. He makes a general denial, and asserts that Mr. Davis did observe

THE HUMANE RULES OF MODERN WARFARE.

As a proof, he quotes the general order issued by the President of the Confederate Government under which the prison was to be established, an order providing that it should be located on healthy ground, where there was an abundance of good water, and trees for healthful and grateful shade. That is a perfect answer so far as it goes. But I ask how that order was executed? To whose hands was committed the work of building the Andersonville prison? To the hands of General Winder, an intimate and favorite friend of Mr. Davis. And who was General Winder? He was a man of whom the Richmond *Examiner* used these words the day he took his departure from Richmond to assume command of the proposed prison:

Thank God that Richmond is at last rid of old Winder. God have mercy upon those to whom he has been sent!

He was, as the testimony in the Wirz trial shows, the special and intimate friend of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, by whom he was detailed on this business, and detailed with such a send-off as I have read you from a paper of his own city warmly in the interest of the rebel cause.

What next? How did General Winder execute the order after he went there? I

turn to the Wirz trial, and read from it only such authorities as the gentleman from Georgia recognizes —

OFFICERS OF THE REBEL ARMY.

The gentleman stated yesterday that there was nothing in this book connecting the head of the Confederate Government with the Andersonville atrocities. Before I am through we will see. On the 5th day of January, 1864, a report was made by D. T. Chandler, a lieutenant colonel of the Confederate army. This report was offered in evidence in the Wirz trial, and Colonel Chandler was himself a witness at that trial, and swears that the report is genuine. I quote from page 224:

ANDERSON, January 5, 1864.

COLONEL: Having, in obedience to instructions of the 25th ultimo, carefully inspected the prison for Federal prisoners of war and post at this place, I respectfully submit the following report:

The Federal prisoners of war are confined within a stockade fifteen feet high, of roughly hewn pine logs about eight inches in diameter, inserted five feet into the ground, inclosing, including the recent extension, an area of five hundred and forty by two hundred and sixty yards. A railing round the inside of the stockade, and about twenty feet from it, constitutes the "dead line," beyond which the prisoners are not allowed to pass, and about three and one-fourth acres near the center of the inclosure are so marshy as to be at present unfit for occupation, reducing the available present area to about twenty-three and one-half acres, which gives somewhat less than six square feet to each prisoner. Even this is being constantly reduced by the additions to their number. A small stream passing from west to east through the inclosure, at about one hundred and fifty yards from its southern limit, furnishes the only water for washing accessible to the prisoners. Some regimen of the guard, the bakery, and the cook house, being placed on the rising grounds bordering the stream before it enters the prison, render the water nearly unfit for use before it reaches the prisoners. * * *

D. T. CHANDLER,

Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.

Colonel R. H. CHILTON, *Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.*

Here is an official exhibit of the manner in which the officer detailed by Jeff. Davis chose the place for health, with "running water, and agreeable shade." He chose a piece of forest-ground that had a miasmatic marsh in the heart of it and a small stream running through it; but the troops stationed outside of the stockade were allowed to defile its pure water before it could reach the stockade; and then, as if in the very refinement of cruelty, as if to make a mockery of the order quoted by the gentleman from Georgia, he detailed men

TO CUT DOWN EVERY TREE AND SHRUB in the inclosure, leaving not a green leaf to show where the forest had been. And subsequently, when the burning sun of July was pouring down its fiery heat upon the heads of these men, with square feet of ground to a man

petition was made by the prisoners to Winder to allow these poor men to be detailed to go outside, under guard, and cut pine from the forest to make arbors under which they could shelter themselves, and they were answered with all the loathsome brutality of malignant hate, that they should have no bush to shelter them; and thus, under the fierce rays of the southern sun, they miserably perished.

These last statements are made on the authority of Ambrose Spencer, a planter of Georgia, who resided within five miles of Andersonville. I quote from his testimony, (Wirz's trial, p. 359:)

Between the 1st and 15th of December, 1863, I went up to Andersonville with W. S. Winder and four or five other gentlemen, out of curiosity, to see how the prison was to be laid out. * * * I asked him if he was going to erect barracks or shelter of any kind. He replied that he was not; that the damned Yankees who would be put in there would have no need of them. I asked him why he was cutting down all the trees, and suggested that they would prove a shelter to the prisoners, from the heat of the sun, at least. He made this reply, or something similar to it: "That is just what I am going to do; I am going to build a pen here that will kill more damned Yankees than can be destroyed in the front." Those are very nearly his words, or equivalent to them.

So much for the execution of the President's order to locate the prison.

But I am not yet done with the testimony of Colonel Chandler. A subsequent report was made by him in the month of August. He went back and re examined the horrors of that pen, and as the result of his examination he made a report, from which I quote the last few sentences, (Wirz's trial, p. 227:)

ANDERSONVILLE, August 5, 1864.

COLONEL: * * *

My duty requires me respectfully to recommend a change in the officer in the command of the post, Brigadier General J. H. Winder, and the substitution in his place of some one who unites both energy and good judgment with some feeling of humanity and consideration for the welfare and comfort (so far as is consistent with their safe-keeping) of the vast number of unfortunates placed under his control; someone who at least will not advocate deliberately and in cold blood the propriety of leaving them in their present condition until their number has been sufficiently reduced by death to make the present arrangement suffice for their accommodation; who will not consider it a matter of self-laudation and boasting that he has never been inside of the stockade, a place the horrors of which it is difficult to describe, and which is a disgrace to civilization, the condition of which he might, by the exercise of a little energy and judgment, even with the limited means at his command, have considerably improved.

D. T. CHANDLER,

Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.
Colonel R. H. CHILTON, Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General C. S. A., Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. HALE. What is the date of that report?

Mr. GARFIELD. August 5, 1864.

Mr. HALE. How long after that was Winder retained there in command?

Mr. GARFIELD. I will come to that in a moment.

Now, what do honorable gentlemen suppose would naturally be done with such a report as that? Remember that Colonel Chandler was a witness before the court that tried Wirz and reaffirmed every word of this report. If he is living I would make a pilgrimage to see him and thank him for

THE HUMANITY AND TENDERNESS

with which he treated my unfortunate comrades. So anxious was he that the great crime of Winder should be rebuked that he went to Richmond, and in person delivered his report to the Secretary of War, a member, of course, of the cabinet of Jefferson Davis. If I am not correct in this I believe there is a member of that cabinet now on this floor who can correct me. Of course, being a soldier, Colonel Chandler first delivered his report to the adjutant general, and that officer, General Cooper, on the 18th of August, 1864, wrote upon the back of the report these words:

ADJUTANT AND INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
August 18, 1864.

Respectfully submitted to the secretary of war. The condition of the prison at Andersonville is a reproach to us as a nation. The engineer and ordnance departments were applied to, and authorized their issue, and I so telegraphed General Winder. Colonel Chandler's recommendations are coincided in. By order of General Cooper.

R. H. CHILTON,

Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General.

Not content with that indorsement, Colonel Chandler went to the office of the secretary of war himself; but, the secretary being absent at the moment, the report was delivered to the assistant secretary of war, J. A. Campbell, who wrote below General Cooper's indorsement these words:

These reports show a condition of things at Andersonville which calls very loudly for the interposition of the department, in order that a change be made.

J. A. CAMPBELL,
Assistant Secretary of War.

Mr. REAGAN. Does not the gentleman know that the adjutant general could only have made such an order by direction of the president?

Mr. GARFIELD. I do not know what the habit was in the confederacy. It is not so in this Government.

Mr. REAGAN. The gentleman will allow me to say that all persons familiar with the business of that office know that the adjutant general executes direct orders made by the president, but has not himself authority to make such orders.

Mr. GARFIELD. That may have been the rule in the Confederate government; but it was never the rule here. The Adjutant General of our Army signs no order except by or-

der of the Secretary of War. The Adjutant General is the clerk of the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of War is in turn the clerk of the President. But the gentleman from Texas [MR. REAGAN] will soon see that he cannot defend Davis by the indorsement of General Cooper. The report did not stop with the adjutant general. It was carried up higher and nearer to Davis. It was delivered to Assistant Secretary Campbell, who wrote the indorsement I have just read. The report was lodged with the department of war, whose chief was one of the confidential advisers of Mr. Davis—a member of his official family. What was done with it? The record shows, Mr. Speaker, that a few days thereafter an order was made in reference to General Winder. To what effect? Promoting him! Adding to his power

IN THE FIELD OF HIS INFAMY!

He was made commissary-general of all the prisons and prisoners throughout the confederacy. That was the answer that came as the result of this humane report of Colonel Chandler; and that new appointment of Winder came from Mr. Seddons, the Confederate secretary of war.

A MEMBER. By order of the President.

Mr. GARFIELD. Of course all appointments were made by the President, for the gentleman from Georgia says that they carried our Constitution with them and hugged it to their bosoms. But that is not all. The testimony of the Wirz trial shows that at one time the secretary of war himself became shocked at the brutality of Winder, and, in a moment of indignation, relieved him from command. For authority upon this subject I refer to the testimony of Cashmyer, a detective of Winder's, who was a witness before the Wirz court. That officer testified that when Mr. Seddons, Secretary of War, wrote the order relieving Winder, the latter walked over with it to Jefferson Davis, who immediately wrote on the back of it, "This is entirely unnecessary and uncalled for." Winder appears to have retained the confidence and approval of Davis to the end, and continued on duty until the merciful providence of God struck him dead in his tent in the presence of the witness who gave this testimony.

Now, who will deny that in the forum of law we do trace the responsibility for these atrocities to the man whose name is before us to be relieved of all his political disabilities? If not, let gentlemen show it. Wipe out the charge, and I will be the first man here to vote to relieve him of his disabilities.

Winder was allowed to go on. What did he do? I will only give results, not details. I will not harrow my own soul by the revival of those horrible details. There is a

group of facts in military history well worth knowing which will illustrate the point I am discussing. The great Napoleon did some fighting in his time, as did his great antagonist, the Iron Duke. In 1809 was fought the battle of Talavera, in 1811 the battle of Albuera, in 1812 the battle of Salamanca, in 1813, Vittoria, in 1815 the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo, Wavre, and New Orleans, and in 1854 the battles of the Crimea. The number of men in the English army who fell in battle or who were killed or died of wounds received in these battles amounted in the aggregate to 12,928. But this Major-General Winder,

WITHIN HIS HORIBLE ARENA OF DEATH, from April, 1864, to April, 1865, tumbled into the trenches of Andersonville the dead bodies of 12,644 prisoners—only two hundred and eighty-four less than all the Englishmen who fell in or died of wounds received in the great battles I have named.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have simply given these results. Percentages pale and fade away in the presence of such horrible facts.

THE REBEL PRISONERS AT ELMIRA.

And the gentleman from Georgia denies the charge of atrocities at Andersonville and charges us with greater ones. I will give his words as they are quoted in the morning papers:

When the gentleman from Maine speaks again let him add that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Fort Douglas, or of Fort Delaware, and of all the atrocities, both at Andersonville and Elmira, the Confederate government stands acquitted from all responsibility and blame.

I stand in the presence of that statement with an amazement that I am utterly incapable of expressing. I look upon the serene and manly face of the gentleman who uttered it and I wonder what influence of the supernal or nether gods could have touched him with madness for the moment and led him to make that dreadful statement. I pause; and I ask the three Democrats on this floor who happen to represent the districts where are located the three places named, if there be one of them who does not know that this charge is fearfully and awfully untrue. [A pause.] Their silence answers me. They are strangers to me, but I know they will repel the charge with all the energy of their manhood.

Mr. PLATT. I hold in my hand a telegraphic communication from

GENERAL B. F. TRACY, late commandant of the military post of Elmira, and I beg permission to read that communication.

Mr. GARFIELD. I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. PLATT. The communication is as follows:

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, *January 12, 1876.*
 To Hon. T. C. PLATT,
House of Representatives, Washington,
District of Columbia:

The facts justify your denial of cruelty, inhumanity, or neglect in the treatment of prisoners at Elmira. There was no suffering there which is not inseparable from a military prison. First, there was no dead-line. No prisoner was ever shot for attempting to escape. Second, the food was ample and of the best quality. Thousands of dollars were expended in the purchase of vegetables, in addition to the Army ration. No congressman in Washington eats better bread than was given daily to the prisoners. The beef was good, and of the same quality and quantity as that distributed to our own soldiers guarding the camp. Third, the dead were not buried in trenches, but the remains were placed in neat coffins and buried in separate graves, with a head-board bearing the name, company, and regiment, and time of death, and all were buried in the public cemetery at Elmira. Fourth, there was no better supplied military hospital in the United States than the hospital in the prison camp. Fifth, all the prisoners were comfortably quartered in new wooden barracks, built expressly for them. From the time I took command, in September, all the saw-mills in the vicinity of Elmira were kept constantly running to supply lumber for buildings, &c. The barracks for prisoners were first built, and in the extreme cold weather of winter the prisoners were all in barracks, while the soldiers guarding them were still in tents. I was criticised for this in the Army and Navy Journal, I think it was, at the time, by an officer of our Army. Sixth, the camp and all the buildings were well policed, and kept scrupulously clean. Seventh, the mortality which prevailed was not owing to neglect or want of sufficient supplies or medical attention, but to other and quite different causes.

B. F. TRACY.

Late Commandant Military Post Union.

Mr. WALKER, of New York. Mr. Speaker, as the member from the district in which Elmira Depot is located, I take pleasure in indorsing every word of Colonel Tracy's dispatch. I was almost daily at Elmira during the war, and I know that Confederate prisoners

HAD THE SAME CARE AND TREATMENT that the Union soldiers had, and I never heard a complaint. [Great applause.]

Mr. GARFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the lighting is our witness. From all quarters of the Republic denials are pouring in upon us. Since I came to the House this morning, I have received the following dispatch from an honored soldier of Ohio, which tells its own story:

CLEVELAND, Ohio, *January 12, 1876—10.33 a. m.*
 To GENERAL GARFIELD,

House of Representatives:

By authority of Secretary of War I furnished 15,000 rebel prisoners at Elmira with the same rations—coffee, tobacco, coal, wood, clothing, barracks, medical attendance—as were given to our own soldiers. The dead were decently buried in Elmira cemetery. All this can be proved by Democrats of that city.

General J. J. ELWELL.

Mr. HILL. By permission of the gentleman from Ohio, I desire to say that there

was no purpose on my part by any of my remarks on yesterday to charge inhumanity upon anybody at Elmira or anywhere else. I only read the evidence from official sources as I understood it.

Mr. BLAINE. A letter in a newspaper.

Mr. HILL. Let me get through, if you please. Do not be uneasy. Keep quiet, and I will not hurt you. [Laughter.]

Mr. MACDOUGALL. That is what you told us in 1861.

Mr. HILL. I simply say that I was reading the evidence of cruelties, in the language of that letter, "inseparable from prison life." Then I read of the small-pox epidemic at Elmira and its character. But the remark which the gentleman is now commenting on was not connected with any charge of inhumanity upon any person in the world. I wish it distinctly understood that I meant to charge inhumanity upon nobody. I was simply speaking of those horrors that are inseparable from all prison life; and I wound up my statement by saying that the official reports of Secretary Stanton, on the 19th of July, 1866, after the war was over, gave the relative mortality of prisoners in Federal hands and prisoners in Confederate hands, and that the mortality of Confederate prisoners in northern prisons was 12 per cent., while the mortality of Federal prisoners in Confederate hands was less than 9 per cent. Now I simply said that judging by that test there was more atrocity (if you please to call it so)—I meant, of course, mortality—in the prisons of the North than in those of the South. Let the gentleman take the benefit of that statement. I simply referred to the report of Secretary Stanton.

Mr. BAKER, of Indiana. Does the gentleman mean to charge that the amount of mortality in Northern prisons was owing to any cruelty or neglect of the Federal officers?

Mr. HILL. I do not undertake to say to what special cause the mortality on either side was attributable. I say it was attributable to those horrors inseparable from prison life everywhere; and I simply entered my protest against gentlemen seeking to stir up those old past horrors on either side to keep alive a strife that ought to be buried. That is all. [Applause.]

Mr. GARFIELD. I am glad to hear what the gentleman says, and to give it more force by contrast I quote again the words he used as reported in the newspapers this morning:

When the gentleman from Maine addresses the House again let him add to it that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Fort Douglas, or of Fort Delaware; and of all the atrocities, both at Andersonville and Elmira, the Confederate government stands acquitted from all responsibility and blame.

I refer to it to show why I could not—

Mr. HILL. I have no doubt the gentle-

man's motive is good; but he will permit me to remind him that what he has just read was said by me after reading Secretary Stanton's report; and of course, while I mentioned prison places at the North I did not mean to charge inhumanity upon any one as a class.

Mr. GARFIELD. But let me say another word to close this branch of the subject. The only authority introduced to prove the pretended atrocity at Elmira was an anonymous letter printed in the New York World. The Roman soldiers who watched at the sepulchre of the Saviour of mankind attempted to disprove his resurrection by testifying to what happened while they were asleep. Bad as this testimony was, it was not anonymous; but in this case the testimony was that of a shadow—an initial—nobody. *Stat nominis umbra*. What the substance was we know not. But even as to this

ANONYMOUS AUTHORITY, it would have been well for the cause of justice if the gentleman had been kind enough to quote it all. I read, I believe, from the very book from which the gentleman quoted—The Life of Davis—a sentence omitted by him, but which I hope he will have printed in his speech. It is this:

The facts demonstrate that in as healthy a location as there is in New York, with every remedial appliance in abundance, with no epidemic, &c.

So that even this anonymous witness testifies that we planted our Elmira prison in as healthy a place as there was in the State of New York. It ought to be added that the small-pox broke out in that prison very soon after the date of this letter; and the mortality that followed was very much greater than in any other prison in the North.

How we have kept alive our vindictiveness will be seen by the fact that Congress, at its last session or the session before last, passed a law making the rebel cemetery at Elmira a part of the national-cemetery system; and to-day, this malignant Administration, this ferocious Constitution-hating and South-hating Administration is paying an officer for tenderly caring for the inclosure that holds the remains of these outraged soldiers!

Mr. MACDOUGALL. And a Union soldier, Captain Fitch, is building at his own expense a monument at Elmira to the Confederate dead.

Mr. GARFIELD. I did not know that. At another place, Finn's Point, in Virginia, we have within the past few months embraced another cemetery of rebel soldiers under the law and protection of our national cemetery system. All this out of the depths of our wrath and hatred for our Southern brethren!

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to say a word on that point?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. In response to what the gentleman has said, I desire to state as a fact what I personally know, that on the last occasion of decorating soldiers' graves in the South, our people, uniting with Northern soldiers there, decorated in harmonious accord the graves of the fallen Federals and the graves of the fallen Confederates. It is because of this glorious feeling that is being awakened in the country that I protest against the revival of these horrors about any prison.

Mr. GARFIELD. So do I. Who brought it here? [Cries from the Democratic side of the House, BLAINE! BLAINE!] We will see as to that. I wish this same fraternal feeling could come out of the graveyard and display itself toward the thirty or forty maimed Union soldiers who were on duty around this Capitol, but who have been displaced by an equal number of

SOLDIERS ON THE OTHER SIDE.

[Applause.]

There was another point which the gentleman made which I am frank to say I am not now able to answer.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention (with the permission of the gentleman from Ohio) to the exact state of facts in reference to the allegation just made by him. This is not the first time the statement has been made that there have been thirty or forty crippled Federal soldiers removed from office under this House and their places filled by Confederate soldiers. I was shown yesterday morning by the Doorkeeper of the House (and the information is as accessible to the gentleman from Ohio and all others as to myself) a roll showing there were eighteen Federal soldiers appointed by the Doorkeeper of the House during the last Congress, while twenty-four Federal soldiers have been appointed by the Doorkeeper of the present Congress; while at the same time the aggregate number of appointments allowed to the Doorkeeper of the House of the last Congress was very much larger than that allowed to the Doorkeeper of the present Congress. Besides that, more than three-fourths of those appointed by the present Doorkeeper have taken what is popularly denominated as the iron-clad oath.

Mr. GARFIELD. I should be glad to know that the gentleman from Texas is correct.

Mr. SOUTHARD. The gentleman from Texas has referred to a list which I have here before me.

Mr. GARFIELD. My time is fast running out, and I do not want it all taken up by these explanations; but I will hear my colleague.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Ohio yield?

Mr. GARFIELD. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. RANDALL. Your time will be extended.

Mr. SOUTHARD. The statement which I have before me, and to which the gentleman from Texas referred, is that of the one hundred and fifty-three appointments made by the Doorkeeper in the last House of Representatives, there were eighteen Union soldiers; while, out of the eighty-five appointments allowed to the Doorkeeper of the present House, twenty-six Union soldiers have been appointed. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. These demonstrations are entirely out of order.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. My point is this: I do not know whether it is a point of order or not, but I do request that the Speaker will in the most determined manner suppress any applause in this House. I regret this debate, and especially these details; but this applause is unbecoming the gravity of the question, however unfortunately it may have come up here; and I do request that on this side of the House there shall be no applause of any member who speaks for the South, or any demonstration against any one speaking on that side of the House. I hope courtesy and decorum will be observed. [Cries of "Good!" "Good!"] It is unbecoming the House, and unbecoming the country, and I hope it will be stopped.

The SPEAKER. The suggestion of the gentleman from Kentucky is well made. These things are not in order, and the Chair earnestly requests the House will set an example to those outside of the bar and in the galleries by stopping all such demonstrations. And the Chair takes occasion to say to the galleries that if these things are continued it will be his duty to have them cleared.

Mr. GARFIELD. I regret as much as any one the discussion of this question. I did not intend to refer to it at all. I hope what my colleague has presented as a statistical table will turn out to be correct. I shall be

it is correct into my list of the old and the post-war claimed on the

of this employees they had

not borne arms against the Government. If the statement be correct which I have had put into my hands, it would seem to throw some shadow of doubt on what we have just heard. But let both statements go in together.

This is the list handed to me:

POST-OFFICE OF THE HOUSE.

The old force.—Norman Crane, Vermont; A. M. Legg, New York, two years in Union Army; P. A. Wardell, Massachusetts, four years in Union Army and permanently disabled at Winchester; J. H. Paine, Ohio, was in Union Army; O. M. Thomas, Iowa, R. P. Bishop, Michigan, lost an arm in the Union Army, R. S. McMichael, Wisconsin, nearly lost his sight in the Union Army; D. B. Bradley, Wisconsin, three years in Union Army; J. H. Lytle, New York; W. B. Sessions, New York; J. D. Severn, Pennsylvania; D. F. Bishop, Pennsylvania; W. Tudge, District of Columbia; Crichton Palmon, District of Columbia.

The new force.—George W. Rock, Virginia, in Confederate army; Henry Cook, Virginia, in Confederate army; Richard Allen, Virginia; S. W. Kennedy, Virginia, in Confederate army; A. W. C. Nowlin, Virginia, in Confederate army; Edward C. Sloss, Virginia; W. H. Robinson, Virginia, in Confederate army; J. B. Fisher, Virginia, in Confederate army; P. S. Goodall, W. B. Lowery, Virginia, in Confederate army; Joseph M. Taylor, Edwin Kate, New York; Thomas Kirby, Connecticut, in Union Army.

Mr. Speaker, I was about to refer to another point made by the gentleman from Georgia in his statement of the number of prisoners taken by us and taken by them and the relative number of deaths. I have this morning received from the Surgeon General references to all the pages of official reports on that subject, but I have not been able, in the hurried moments of the session since I arrived here, to examine the figures. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BURCHARD] has made up a part of the statement which I am now able to present. That statement shows that during the war

we took 476,169 prisoners, while on the other side they took 188,145 prisoners from us.

This is a statement to which the Surgeon General referred me in a note received since I took my seat in the House this morning, and is in a printed report on the treatment of prisoners of war by the rebel authorities, third session Fortieth Congress, page 228, which gentlemen can examine at their leisure.

It ought to be added in this connection that the conscription laws of the Confederate congress forced all able-bodied citizens between the ages of seventeen and fifty into the service, while our laws limited the conscription to the usual military ages. This, of course, put into their army a large number of immature boys and broken-down old men, among whom the mortality would naturally be greater than in an army made up of men of the ordinary ages.

I turn now to another point. The gentle-

man makes another answer concerning these atrocities.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's hour has expired.

Mr. HILL. I hope the gentleman from Ohio will be permitted to go on.

There being no objection. Mr. GARFIELD's time was extended indefinitely.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am very grateful for this courtesy and will not abuse it.

The gentleman from Georgia makes another answer, that whatever was suffered by the prisoners for at least a considerable portion of the time was in consequence of our REFUSAL TO MAKE AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS, because we would not give them their fresh men in our prisons, and take our shadows and skeletons that came back from theirs.

This is a part, and an important part, of a great history, which must not be omitted in this debate; and I will very briefly refer to its leading points. There was much trouble about the exchange of prisoners between the two belligerents; first, because for a long time we did not acknowledge the Confederates as belligerents. We hoped under the ninety days theory of Mr. Seward to get through without their recognition, but that hope failed. Our enemies were as gallant a people as ever drew the sword, and the fulfillment of that hope was delayed for months and for years. But finally an arrangement was made under which it was possible to make a cartel for the exchange of prisoners; and on the 22d of July, 1862, a cartel was agreed upon between the belligerents, which provided that within ten days after a prisoner was taken he should be paroled and sent home; and whenever it was announced by either side that a certain number was relieved from the parole a corresponding number should be released from the other side, and in that way the exchange was effected.

There were two points of delivery of prisoners. One was at Vicksburg. Another was at a point near Dutch Gap, in Virginia. And the exchange went on for some time until a series of events occurred which interrupted it. To those events I desire to call attention for a moment. The first in order of time was a proposition which was read before the House yesterday, and which I incorporate here in my remarks, not for the sake of making any personal point, but to preserve the continuity of the history.

HILL'S BLACK FLAG RESOLUTION.

In October, 1862, a resolution was introduced into the Confederate Senate by Senator Hill, of Georgia—

That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to excite

insurrection and to abet murder, and that unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which his trial shall be had he shall suffer death.

That was the first step in the complication in regard to the exchange of prisoners of war. That resolution appears to have borne early fruits.

On the 22d day of December, 1862, Jefferson Davis, the man for whom amnesty is now being asked, issued a proclamation, a copy of which I hold in my hand. I read two paragraphs:

First. That all commissioned officers in the command of said Benjamin F. Butler be declared not entitled to be considered as soldiers engaged in honorable warfare, but as robbers and criminals deserving death; and that they, and each of them be, whenever captured, reserved for execution.

Mr. HILL. A reason is stated for that.

Mr. GARFIELD. The reason is in the preamble. I am not discussing the reasons for this extraordinary proclamation, but its effects upon the exchange of prisoners.

Third. That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authorities of the respective States to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said States.

Fourth. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different States of this Confederacy.

Two great questions were thus raised: first, that a certain class of officers, merely because they served under General Butler, should be declared not entitled to the rights of prisoners of war, but should be put to death when taken. These men were serving, not Benjamin F. Butler, but the Union. They did not choose him as their general. They were assigned to him; and by this proclamation that assignment

CONSIGNED THEM TO DEATH

at the hands of their captors. But the second question was still more important. It was an order that all men who had been slaves and had enlisted under the flag of the Union should be denied all the rights of soldiers, and when captured should be dealt with as runaway slaves under the laws of the States where they formerly belonged, and that commissioned officers who commanded them were to be denied the rights and privileges of prisoners of war. The decision of the Union people everywhere was that, great as was the suffering of our poor soldiers at Andersonville and elsewhere, we would never make an exchange of prisoners until the manhood and the rights of our colored soldiers were acknowledged by the belligerent power. And for long weary months we stood upon that issue, and most of the suffering occurred while we waited for that act of justice to be done on the other side.

To enforce this proclamation of Mr. Davis a law was passed on the 1st of May, 1863, by the Confederate congress, reported, doubtless, from the judiciary committee by the gentleman who spoke yesterday, and in that law the principles of the proclamation I have just read were embodied and expanded. Section 4 of the law reads as follows:

SEC. 4. That every white person, being a commissioned officer or acting as such, who during the present war, shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 5. Every person, being a commissioned officer or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall during the present war excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited, a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States.

Approved May 1, 1863.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am here to say that this position taken by the head of the Confederacy, indorsed by his congress and carried into execution by his officers, was the great primal trouble in all this business of the exchange of prisoners. There were minor troubles, such as claims by both sides that paroles had been violated. I think General Halleck reported that a whole division of four brigades, Stevenson's division, which had not been properly exchanged, fought us at Lookout Mountain; but that may have been a mistake. It was one of the points in controversy. But the central question was that of the Government of the United States having committed itself to the doctrine that

THE NEGRO WAS A MAN AND NOT A CHATTEL, and that being a man he had a right to help us in fighting for the Union, and being a soldier we would perish rather than that he should not be treated as a soldier.

To show that I am not speaking at random I will read from a report which I hold in my hand, a report of the Secretary of War on the difficulty of the exchange of prisoners. This paper is dated August 24, 1864. I think it is a misprint for 1863, from what surrounds it; but no matter as to that. It was in August General Meredith reported:

To my demand "that all officers commanding negro troops, and negro troops themselves, should be treated as other prisoners of war,

and be exchanged as such," Mr. Ould declined acceding, remarking that they (the rebels) would "die in the last ditch" before giving up the right to send slaves back to slavery as property recaptured.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. MEREDITH,

Brigadier-General and Commissioner for Exchange.

Major-General E. A. HITCHCOCK, Commissioner for Exchange of Prisoners, Washington, D. C.

Thus it appears that in the negotiation, as late as the month of August, 1863, the refusal of the rebel authorities to treat the negro as a man and a soldier, prevented the exchange of prisoners.

One other point in that connection and I will leave this subject. I have here a letter, dated March 17, 1863, written by Robert Ould and addressed to that man of "bad eminence," General Winder, in which Mr. Ould, speaking of his arrangement for the exchange of prisoners, says:

The arrangements that I have made work largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches and receive some of the best material I ever saw.

Now in that single line, in a communication between two men, not *par nobile fratrum* but *par turpe diabolorum*, is proof that the object of this outrageous treatment at Andersonville was to make our men so that their exchange would be valueless to us, and it throws light upon the charge about our treatment of prisoners held in the North.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I return from all this to the direct discussion bearing immediately upon Jefferson Davis. It seems to me incontrovertible that the records I have adduced lay at his door the charge of being himself the author, the conscious author, through his own appointed instrument, of the terrible work at Andersonville, for which the American people still hold him unfit to be admitted among the legislators of this nation.

Before I leave that subject let me say another word or another point. I see around me here a large number of gentlemen who did not hesitate to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States, who did not hesitate to ask to be relieved of their political disabilities, and I ask if any one of them, in the years they have served here with us, has been ever taunted with the fact that he has been thus relieved of disabilities at his own request? Can any one of them recall a discourteous remark that has ever been made here in debate because he has asked and accepted the amnesty of the Government? Do you want us to say that the remaining seven hundred and fifty need not ask what you did? Do the honorable gentlemen who are here to-day want easier terms on which the others may come in than the terms on which they themselves came back?

Mr. HILL. I desire to ask a question for information, for I want the facts, and my recollection differs from that of the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. GARFIELD.] The act of 1872, granting a partial amnesty to quite a large number, does not, as I understand it, make any such requisition as is contained in the amendment of the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. BLAINE.]

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman is right.

Mr. HILL. It was an unconditional amnesty like that contained in the bill of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. RANDALL.] It required no oath or anything of the sort.

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly not.

Mr. HILL. I am very sure that it was under that act that I was relieved. And I never applied for any amnesty at all, but I would not have felt it

ANY LOSS OF PRIDE HAD I DONE SO.

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly not. I remember very well that we relieved a large number of soldiers in one act. But we did not relieve those who, at the time the rebellion broke out, held offices and commissions under the Government, which they had sworn before God they would protect and defend, and afterward went into the rebellion. Those are the people that we have required to ask for amnesty.

Mr. HILL. Allow me to call the attention of the gentleman to a correction of his statement. The act of Congress of 1872 relieved all persons, as I understand it, from disabilities who had been members of any State Legislature, or who had been an executive or judicial officer of any State, and relieved all in civil or military service, or who had even been in the Congress of the United States, excepting the Thirty-fifth or Thirty-sixth Congress.

Mr. GARFIELD. The Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses.

Mr. HILL. Well, one or the other. It relieved all those who were not in Congress at the time of secession, all members of State Legislatures, all civil and military officers, except the few remaining, some seven hundred and fifty. You granted them relief without any condition whatever.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman will observe that those to whom he refers did not, at the time the war broke out, hold commissions as United States officers.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. We excepted from amnesty all those who held in their hands a commission from the Federal Government, and who had sworn to be true to their commission; and we did this because they had added to rebellion—I must use words—

THE CRIME OF PERJURY
in the eyes of the law.

Mr. TUCKER. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. TUCKER. Do I understand the gentleman from Ohio, speaking here to-day of kindness to gentlemen on this side of the House, to say that any man who held a commission under the United States at the time the war broke out, and who went into secession, was guilty of perjury?

Mr. GARFIELD. I will repeat precisely the measured words I used. I said "the crime of perjury in the eyes of the law." In view of the fact of flaming war, I do not say those men should be regarded as ordinary perjurers; I never said that. But what will the gentleman call it? By what other name does the law know it? I did not make the dictionary, nor did I make the law. The gentleman certainly knows me well enough to know that I am incapable of making a reference to any personal matter in this discussion. He must see that I am using the word as it is used in the law.

Mr. TUCKER. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*, (Mr. SPRINGER in the chair.) Does the gentleman from Ohio yield further to the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. TUCKER?]

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. TUCKER. I do not ask to interrupt the gentleman that I may excuse myself, but to excuse some of the noblest men that I have ever known, and of whom the gentleman might be proud to claim to be a peer.

Mr. GARFIELD. There were some passages in the speech of yesterday which make me less reluctant

TO SPEAK OF BREAKING OATHS.

He said:

We charge all our wrongs to that "higher law" fanaticism which never kept a pledge or obeyed a law. We sought to leave the association of those who would not keep fidelity to covenant. We sought to go by ourselves; but, so far from having lost our fidelity to the Constitution, we hugged it to our bosoms and carried it with us. * * * But you gentlemen who persecuted us by your infidelities until you drove us out of the Union, you who then claimed to be the only friends of the Union, which you had before denounced as a "league with hell and a covenant with death," you who follow up the war when the soldiers who fought it have made peace and gone to their homes, to you we have no concessions to make. Martyrs owe no apology to tyrants.

There is a certain sublimity of assumption in this which challenges admiration. Why the very men of whom we are talking, who broke their oaths of office to the nation—when we are speaking of relieving them we are told that they went out because we broke the Constitution and would not be bound by oaths. Did we break the Constitution? Did we drive them out? I invoke the testimony of Alexander H. Stephens, now a member of this House, who, standing up in the secession

convention of Georgia, declared that there was no just ground for Georgia's going out ; declared that the election of a President according to the Constitution was no justifiable ground for secession, and declared that if under the circumstances the South should go out she would herself be committing a gigantic wrong and would call down upon herself the thunders and horrors of civil war.

Thus spoke Alexander H. Stephens in 1860. Over against anything that may be said to the contrary I place his testimony that we did not force the South out; that they went out against all the protests and the prayers and the humiliation that a great and proud nation could make without absolute disgrace.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me a moment?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. DAVIS. The gentleman has used a term that touches the honor of more men than one in this House and in the South. I desire, therefore, to ask him this question: Whether the war did not result from a difference of views between gentlemen of the North and gentlemen of the South with regard to what was the true construction of the Constitution? That being so, I desire to ask him further whether the oath of fidelity to the Constitution was best observed by those people of the section which he represents, those of his own party, who declared that there was a law higher than the Constitution and declined to obey that instrument, or by those who observed faithfully their constitutional obligations, and who, when raids were made upon them, merely defended themselves, as they understand it,

FROM UNCONSTITUTIONAL AGGRESSION ?

I wish to say further for myself and for those who are here with me that, the Constitution having been amended—the “higher law” party having incorporated in that instrument the abolition of slavery and certain other features which we have now sworn to support along with the rest of the instrument—if in the future we fail to observe that oath before high Heaven, then we may be declared perjured; then we may be declared rebels; then we may be declared traitors.

Mr. GARFIELD. If the gentleman has understood me he cannot fail to see that I have not used the word in any offensive sense, but in its plain and ordinary acceptation, as used in the law. We held that the United States was a nation, bound together by a bond of perpetual union; a union which no State or any combination of States, which no man or any combination of men, had the right, under the Constitution, to break. The attempt of the South to overthrow the Union was crime against the Government—the

crime of rebellion. It can be described by no other name. It is so known to the laws of nations. It is so described in the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The gentleman from North Carolina calls
THE WAR ON ONE SIDE A RAID.

I will never consent to call our war for the Union "a raid," least of all a raid upon the rights of any human being. I admit that there was a political theory of State rights—a theory held, I have no doubt, by gentlemen like the gentleman of Virginia [Mr. TUCKER] who spoke a moment ago—believed in as sincerely as I believe the opposite—which led them to think it was their duty to go when their State went. I admit that that greatly mitigates all that the law speaks of as a violation of an oath. But I will never admit (for history gives the lie to the statement in every line) that the men of the Union were making a "raid" upon the rights of the South.

Read the Republican platform of 1856 and of 1860. What did we contend for in those years? Simply that slavery should not be extended into any Territory already free. That was all. We forswore any right or purpose on our part in time of peace to touch slavery in any State. We only claimed that in the Territories, the common heritage of all the Union, slavery should never travel another inch; and, thank God, it no longer pollutes our soil or disgraces our civilization.

Now that slavery,

THE GUILTY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION.

is no more, and that, so far as I know nobody wants it restored—I do not believe these gentlemen from the South desire its restoration——

Mr. HILL. We would not have it.

Mr. GARFIELD. They would not have it, the gentleman from Georgia says. Then let us thank God that in the fierce flames of war the institution of slavery has been consumed; and out of its ashes let us hope a better than the fabled Phoenix of old will arise—a love of the Union high and deep, “as broad and general as the casing air,” enveloping us all, and that it shall be counted no shame for any man who is not still under political disabilities to say with uplifted hand, “I will be true to it and take the proffered amnesty of the nation.” But let us not tender it to be spurned. If it is worth having, it is worth asking for.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I close as I began. Toward those men who gallantly fought us on the field I cherish the kindest feeling. I feel a sincere reverence for the soldierly qualities they displayed on many a well-fought battle-field. I hope the day will come when their swords and ours will be crossed over many a doorway of our children, who will remember the glory of their

ancestors with pride. The high qualities displayed in that conflict now belong to the whole nation. Let them be consecrated to the Union and its future peace and glory. I shall hail that consecration as a pledge and symbol of our perpetuity.

But there was a class of men referred to in the speech of the gentleman yesterday for whom I have never yet gained the Christian grace necessary to say the same thing. The gentleman said that amid the thunder of battle, through its dun smoke, and above its roar they heard a voice from this side saying, "Brothers, come." I do not know whether he meant the same thing, but I heard that voice behind us. I heard that voice, and I recollect that I sent one of those who uttered it through our lines—a voice owned by Vallandigham. [Laughter.] General Scott said, in the early days of the war, "When this war is over, it will require all the physical and moral power of the Government

TO RESTRAIN THE RAGE AND FURY OF THE NON-COMBATANTS."

[Laughter.] It was that non-combatant voice behind us that cried "halloo!" to the other side; that always gave cheer and encouragement to the enemy in our

hour of darkness. I have never forgotten and have not yet forgiven those Democrats of the North whose hearts were not warmed by the grand inspirations of the Union, but who stood back finding fault, always crying disaster, rejoicing at our defeat, never glorying in our victory. If these are the voices the gentleman heard, I am sorry he is now united with those who uttered them.

But to those most noble men, Democrats and Republicans, who together fought for the Union, I commend all the lessons of charity that the wisest and most beneficent men have taught. I join you all

IN EVERY ASPIRATION

that you may express to stay in this Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its glory, and to forget the evils and bitternesses of the past; but do not, for the sake of the three hundred thousand heroic men who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives, many of them carrying in their hearts horrible memories of what they suffered in the prison-pen—do not ask us to vote to put back into power that man who was the cause of their suffering—that man still unaneled, unshrived, unforgiven, undefended. [Great applause.]

THE SHADOW OF A DEAD CONFEDERACY.

In the House of Representatives, Jan. 13, 1876.

MR. BLAINE:

Mr. SPEAKER, before proceeding with the remarks which I shall address to the question before the House, I desire to say that in the discussion on the point of order that was raised just prior to the adjournment last evening I did not intend to be understood and hope no gentleman understood me as implying that the honorable Speaker intended in any way to deprive me of the right to speak. I did not so understand the Speaker, nor did I understand it to be the motive or object of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL.] I say this much in justice to myself and in justice to the honorable incumbent of the chair.

From the tone of the debate on the opposite side of the Chamber, Mr. Speaker, one would certainly imagine that the Republican party, as represented in Congress, was trying to inflict some new punishment or add some fresh stigma to the name of Jefferson Davis, as well indeed as to lay some additional burden on those other citizens of the South who are not yet fully amnestied. It may therefore not be unprofitable just to recall to the attention of the House the precise question at issue, and how it came here, and who it was that brought it here.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania introduced a bill to confer special honor on Jefferson Davis; for what honor can be higher than the full panoplied citizenship of the United States of America? He has lost it by his crimes, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania proposes in hot haste, without debate, without amendment, to drag every gentleman up to say "Aye" or "No" upon a bill declaring him to be entitled now and henceforth to all the rights and all the honors of American citizenship. From that we dissent. We did not bring the question here. We are not seeking to throw any fresh element of an inflammatory kind into any discussion or difference that may be between two parties or two sections, and whatever of that kind has grown from this discussion lies at the door of the gentleman from Pennsylvania and those who stand with him.

Remember, Mr. Speaker, it is no proposition to punish but a proposition to honor, and while we disclaim any intention or desire to punish Jefferson Davis, we resist the proposition to honor him. And right as a preliminary matter, I desire to set myself for a moment to the constit point suggested by the honorable gen

from Massachusetts, [Mr. SEELYE,] who addressed the House last evening. He sees and appreciates the magnitude of the crime laid at the door of Jefferson Davis, and he clearly pointed out that neither the gentleman from New York nor the gentleman from Georgia had palliated or dared to palliate the crimes with which I charged him. But he is bothered by the scruple that because we are permitted to punish for participancy in insurrection or rebellion we cannot make any discrimination or distinction. Why, the honorable gentleman must have forgotten that this is precisely what we have been doing ever since the disability was imposed. We first removed the disabilities from the least offensive class; then in the next list we removed those next in order of guilty participancy, and so on, until in 1872 we removed the disability from all, except the Army and Navy officers, members of Congress, and heads of Departments. Why, sir, are we not as much justified to day in excepting Jefferson Davis as we were in 1872 in excepting the seven hundred and fifty of whom he constitutes one? Therefore I beg to say to my honorable friend, whose co-operation I crave, that that point is *res adjudicata* by a hundred acts upon the statute-book. We are entirely competent to do just what is proposed in my amendment.

Now, Mr. Speaker, on the question of the treatment of our prisoners and on the great question as to who was to blame for breaking exchange, the speech of the honorable gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] has left me literally nothing to say. He exhausted the subject. His speech was unanswerable, and I undertake to say that as yet no gentleman has answered one fact that he alleged—no gentleman in this House can answer one fact presented by him. I shall not therefore at any length dwell upon that. But in connection with one point in history there is something which I should feel it my duty, not merely as a member of the Republican party which upheld the administration that conducted the war, but as a citizen of the American Union, to resist and resent, and that is, the allegations that were made in regard to the manner in which Confederate prisoners were treated in the prisons of the Union. The gentleman from Georgia says:

I have also proved that with all the horrors you have made such a noise about as occurring at Andersonville, greater horrors occurred in the prisons where our troops were held.

And I could not but admire the "our" and the "your" with which the gentleman conducted the whole discussion. It ill comported with his later profession of Unionism. It was certainly flinging the shadow of a dead Confederacy a long way over the dial of the National House of Representatives;

and I think the gentleman from New York fell into a little of the same line. Of that I shall speak again. The gentleman from Georgia goes on to say that—

The atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, of Camp Douglas, of Fort Delaware; and of all the atrocities both at Andersonville and at Elmira the Confederate authorities stand acquitted.

Mr. HILL. I certainly said no such thing. I stated distinctly that I brought no charge of crime against anybody. But I also stated distinctly that according to the gentleman's logic that result followed.

Mr. BLAINE. But that is not the reported speech at all.

Mr. HILL. I stated distinctly that I was following the gentleman's logic.

Mr. BLAINE. I am quoting the gentleman's speech as he delivered it. I quote it as it appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Associated Press* report. I do not pretend to be bound by the version which may appear hereafter, because I observed that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Cox] spoke one speech and published another, [great laughter,] and I suppose the gentleman from Georgia will do the same. I admit that the gentleman has a difficult role to play. He has to harmonize himself with the great Northern Democracy and keep himself in high line as a Democratic candidate for Senator from Georgia; and it is a very difficult thing to reconcile the two. [Laughter.] The "barn-burner Democrats" in 1853 tried very hard to adhere to their anti-slavery principles in New York and still support the Pierce administration; and Mr. Greeley, with that inimitable humor which he possessed, said that they found it a very hard road to straddle, like a militia general on parade on Broadway, who finds it an almost impossible task to follow the music and dodge the omnibuses. [Laughter.] And that is what the gentleman does. The gentleman tries to keep step to the music of the Union and dodge his fire-eating constituency in Georgia. [Great laughter.]

Then here is another quotation:

We know our prisoners suffered in Federal hands, and we know how if we chose to tell. Thousands of our poor men came home from Fort Delaware and other places with their fingers frozen off, with their toes frozen off, with their teeth fallen out.

Mr. HILL. The gentleman will allow me to answer. I said that these things were necessary incidents of the horrors of all prisons.

Mr. BLAINE. But the gentleman states that that was a fact? I do not understand him to back down from that assertion?

Mr. HILL. No, sir. I saw it with my own eyes.

Mr. BLAINE. Now, the gentleman from

the Elmira district, [Mr. WALKER,] and I honor him for it, was not held in leash as his colleague from New York [Mr. Cox] was by party fidelity and Southern sympathy, and came out like a man and vindicated his constituents. The gentleman from Georgia makes this charge of ill-treatment of Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas.

* * * * *

Now Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to the remark of the gentleman from New York, who, as I said, delivered one speech and published another.

Mr. COX. I did not change anything in my speech or in my colloquy with you.

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman will have time to answer. I say the gentleman from New York delivered one speech and printed another.

Mr. COX. Go on with your talk; you are getting used up on this side. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman from New York stated that "he had it on the authority of sixty and odd gentlemen here, many of them having been in the service of the Confederacy during the war, that no order was issued at anytime in the South relative to prisoners who were taken by the South as to rations or clothing that did not apply equally to their own soldiers, and that any *ex parte* statements taken by that humbug committee on the conduct of the war could not controvert the facts of history." The gentleman therefore stands up here as denying the atrocities of Andersonville. He seconds the gentleman from Georgia and gives the weight of whatever may be attached to his word to denying that fact. Now, the gentleman himself did not always talk so. I have here a debate that occurred on the 21st of December, 1864, in which, while the proposition was pending in the House for retaliation, the gentleman, then from Ohio, said:

This resolution provides for inflicting upon the rebel prisoners who may be in our hands the same *inhumane, barbarous, horrible* treatment which has been inflicted upon our soldiers held as prisoners by the rebels.

Now, Mr. Speaker—

Continued the enraged gentleman at that time—

it does not follow that because the rebels have made *brutes and fiends of themselves* that we should do likewise.

Mr. COX. That is good sense.

Mr. BLAINE. "There is," he says, "a certain law of retaliation in war, I know; but," continued the gentleman, "no man will stand up here and say, after due deliberation, that he would reduce these prisoners thrust into our hands into the same condition exhibited by these skeletons, these pictures, these anatomies brought to our attention and laid upon the desks of members of Congress." Then the gentleman says: "It does not follow because our prisoners

are treated in the way represented, and no doubt truthfully represented." That is what the gentleman said in 1864; but when a solemn committee of Congress, made up of honorable gentlemen of both sides of the House, bring in exactly the statements which verify all this, then the gentleman states "that the authority was a humbug committee."

Mr. COX rose.

Mr. BLAINE. Wait; you will have plenty of time.

Mr. COX. I did not get up to interrupt the gentleman.

Mr. BLAINE. Now the gentleman takes his side among the great defenders of Andersonville, and states there has been nothing made out against Andersonville except upon *ex parte* statements.

Now, Mr. Speaker, while I do not wish to be interrupted, I would like, by a nod, if the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] will be good enough to tell me—for he is a well-practiced lawyer and I am not one at all; and when witnesses are in doubt they are allowed time to reflect and refresh their memory—I ask him to tell me after reflection whether he recollects having introduced this resolution into the Confederate Senate.

Mr. HILL. Which?

Mr. BLAINE. The following:

Senator Hill, of Georgia, introduced the following resolution in the Confederate Congress in October, 1862: "That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to incite insurrection and to abet murder; and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, he shall suffer death. And this section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated Washington, September 22, 1872, shall be rescinded."

Did the gentleman introduce that resolution?

Mr. HILL. Do you want an answer?

Mr. BLAINE. Yes.

Mr. HILL. I will say this: I state precisely and frankly, as I stated to the gentleman day before yesterday, that I do not recollect being the author of that resolution. I have no doubt the resolution was introduced, and I will state this: that at the time there was a belief in the Confederacy—

Mr. BLAINE. I did not yield for a speech. I only wanted to know that. * * * *

Mr. Speaker, what does this mean? What did the gentleman from Georgia mean when, from the committee on the judiciary, he introduced the following:

2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes

for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States shall, if captured, suffer death.

3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom, under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting, or causing them to be abducted, or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have searched somewhat, but in vain, for anything in the world that rivals this. I did find, and have here in my minutes, the proclamation of Valmeseda, the Captain-General of Cuba, who was recalled by Spain because of his atrocious cruelties to the inhabitants of that island; and the worst thing in all the atrocities laid to his charge was that he proclaimed "that every man or boy over fifteen years found away from his house, not being able to give a satisfactory reason therefor, should suffer death." He copied it from the resolution of the gentleman from Georgia.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a copy of the *Atlanta Constitution*, printed on the 24th of January, 1875. We are told that all these allegations against Jefferson Davis should be forgiven because they are all of the dead past.

We are told that we should not revive them, that there should be nothing in the world brought up in any way to disturb the beautiful serenity of the Centennial year, and that to make any allusion to them whatever is to do an unwelcome and unpatriotic act. The very last declaration we have from Jefferson Davis authentically, in the life which the gentleman from Georgia held the other day as a text book, reads thus:

Time will show, however, the amount of truth in the prophecy of Jefferson Davis—

Says the biographer, made in reply to the remark that the cause of the Confederacy was lost. Mr. Davis said:

It appears so, but the principle for which we contended is bound to reassert itself, though it may be at another time and in another form.

Now I have here, of the date of January 24, 1875, a speech by Hon. B. H. HILL, in the *Atlanta Constitution*, and it is said to have been the "grandest speech" he ever delivered.

Mr. HILL. Oh, that is a mistake.

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman says it is a mistake. I know he has delivered some very grand speeches, but the editor characterizes this as the grandest of them all. I quote from him:

Fellow-citizens, I look to the contest of 1876 not only as the most important that ever occurred in American history, but as the most important in the history of the world; for if the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against this Republican party it will perpetuate itself in power in the United States by precisely the same means that the President has taken in Louisiana, and the people will be powerless to

prevent it *except they go to war.* [Applause.] If we fail with the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. I trust we will not fail. I hope the Northern people have had a sufficient subsidence of passion to see this question fairly.

Then the gentleman goes on to say—

If we must have war—
why his voice is always for war.

Mr. HILL. Never, never!

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman says—

If we must have war; if we cannot preserve this Constitution and constitutional Government by the ballot; if force is to defeat the ballot; if the war must come—God forbid that it should come—but if it must come; if folly, if wickedness, if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come; I am ready. [Laughter.]

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me one word?

Mr. BLAINE. Not now. There will be plenty of time. And then the gentleman said in another speech of May 12:

He impressed upon the colored men of the country the truth that, if the folly and wickedness were consummated in war, they would be the greatest sufferers. If peace was preserved they were safe, but as sure as one war had freed them, just as sure another war would re-enslave them.

Now that was precisely the kind of talk we had here by folios and reams before the rebellion. Oh, yes; you were for war then. The gentleman in his speech says that the Union now is an unmixed blessing, providing the Democratic party can rule it, but that if the Republican party must rule it he is for war. Why, that is just what Jefferson Davis said in 1861.

I have here very much more of the same kind. I have been supplied with very abundant literature emanating from the gentleman, more, indeed, than I have had time to read. He seems to have been as voluminous as the Spanish Chroniclers. In one speech he says:

I must say a word about this list of disabilities removed. I would rather see my name recorded in the Georgia penitentiary than to find it on a list of the removal of disabilities. Why, my friends, do you not know that when you go to that Congress and ask for a removal of disabilities you admit that you are a traitor?

Mr. HILL. What do you read from?

Mr. BLAINE. From a report in a Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, giving an account of a great meeting in 1868, at which Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs, and the Hon B. H. HILL made speeches. And there the gentleman declared that he would rather have his name on the list of the Georgia penitentiary than on a list of the removal of disabilities.

Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to stir up more needless ill-blood, but the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] yesterday, apparently without much thought, spoke of a class of men in the Southern States who had

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committed perjury, and I would like to address the gentleman a question that he can answer when he gets the floor.

Mr. HILL. Will you not allow me to answer it now?

Mr. BLAINE. No, sir; not now. Suppose you inaugurate a great war if the Republican party retains power, and you and all these gentlemen, who sympathize with you upon this floor, and who had taken an oath to bear true allegiance to the Government of the United States, and that you took that oath without mental reservation, then revolt against the country; what would that be? Would it have any relation to perjury?

But, Mr. Speaker, you see the effect of the speeches of the gentleman from Georgia. They are very tremendous down there. The very earth quakes under him. One of his organs says:

We assert without fear of contradiction that Mr. HILL in his bitter denunciation of scalawags and carpet-baggers has deterred thousands of them from entering the ranks of the radical party. They dare not do so for fear of social ostracism, and to-day the white population of Georgia are unanimous in favor of the Democratic party.

And when he can get the rest of the States to the same standard he is for war.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman cannot, by withholding his speech here and revising it and adapting it to the northern Democracy, erase his speeches in Georgia. I have quoted from them. I have quoted from Democratic papers. There is no accusation that there is any perversion in Republican papers or that he was misrepresented. But the gentleman deliberately states that in a certain contingency of the Republican party having power he is for war; and I undertake here to say that, in all the mad, hot wrath in the Thirty-sixth Congress that precipitated the revolt in this country there is not one speech to be found that breathes a more determined rebellion against lawful authority or a guiltier readiness to resist it than the speech of the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. Speaker, I have not much time left. I said briefly in my first speech that God forbid I should lay at the door of the Southern people, as a people, these atrocities. I repeat it. I lay no such charge at their door. Sir, I have read in this "*ex parte* humbug report" that there were deep movements among the Southern people about these atrocities; that there was a profound sensibility. I know that the leading officers of the Confederacy protested against them; I know that many of the subordinate officers protested against them. I know that an honorable gentleman from North Carolina, now representing his State in the other end of the Capitol, protested against them. But I have searched the records in vain to find that the

gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] protested against them. They were known to the Confederate Congress; they were known at the doorway of your Senate and along the corridors of your Capitol. The honorable and venerable gentleman in my eye at this moment who served in the Confederate Congress, and who had before served in the Senate of the United States, himself brought them to the attention of the Confederate Congress, and I class him with great gladness among those whose humanity was never quenched by the fires of the rebellion. I allude to Hon. Henry S. Foote.

My time is running and I have very little left. I confess—and I say it to the gentleman from Georgia with no personal unkindness—I confess that my very blood boiled, if there was anything of tradition, of memory, of feeling, it boiled, when I heard the gentleman, with his record, which I have read, seconded and sustained by the gentleman from New York, arraigning the administration of Abraham Lincoln, throwing obloquy and slander upon the grave of Edwin M. Stanton, and demanding that Jefferson Davis should be restored to full citizenship in this country. Ah! that is a novel spectacle; the gentleman from Georgia does not know how novel; the gentleman from New York ought to know. The gentleman from Georgia does not know and he cannot know how many hundred thousands of northern bosoms were lacerated by his course.

Mr. HILL. I never said it, Mr. BLAINE; you are mistaken.

Mr. BLAINE. Oh, no; you accused the administration of Mr. Lincoln with breaking the cartel and violating the honor of the Government, and a thousand other things; the speech as published in the papers show it. And as soon as he made it the gentleman from New York run to him in hot haste to congratulate him, sympathizing, I suppose, with the assault.

Mr. HILL. Upon that subject I read nothing but published letters and documents, and of northern origin at that.

Mr. BLAINE. I repeat, that proposition strikes—I might say almost terror into northern hearts; that here, in an American Congress, the gentleman who offered that resolution in the Confederate Congress, who in his campaign for a seat in this House comes here breathing threatenings and slaughter, who comes here telling you that in a certain contingency he means war, advising his people to be ready for it—that gentleman, profaning the very altar of patriotic liberty with the speech that sends him here, arraigning the Administration that conducted the war and saved the Union—that gentleman asks us to join with him in paying the last full measure of honor that an American

Congress can pay to the arch enemy of the Union, the arch-fiend of the rebellion.

Suppose Jefferson Davis is not pardoned; suppose he is not amnestied. Oh! you cannot have a centennial year without that! No man on this side has ever intimated that Jefferson Davis should be refused pardon on account of any political crimes; it is too late for that; it is because of a personal crime.

If you ask that there may be harmonious and universal rejoicing over every forgiven man, release all your criminals; set free every man who has been sentenced for piracy or for murder by your United States courts; proclaim the jubilee indeed.

Mr. HEREFORD. And the whisky convicts!

Mr. BLAINE. Mr. Speaker, that reminds me of one thing which in the haste and pressure of my hour I might have forgotten. The gentleman from Georgia aimed to be very humorous about General Grant, and said that the logic which I had presented the other day in regard to Jefferson Davis made General Grant responsible for McDonald and Joyce. The gentleman might have thought that he was witty, but I could not see it.

Mr. HILL. I know you could not.

Mr. BLAINE. It was not so witty as the remarks of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Cox.] It was more grim. If Jefferson Davis, the moment the crimes of Andersonville had been brought to his attention, had arraigned the offenders with all competent authority, and had issued an order that "no guilty man should escape," there would be some little consistency in the gentleman's position. It was therefore ill-conceived levity, and in very bad taste, for the gentleman to introduce General Grant's name in that connection.

But I am authorized, if the gentleman desires it—not authorized especially to mention it here, but I mention it on the authority of General Grant, whom the gentleman from Georgia impugned in connection with the exchange of prisoners—

Mr. HILL. No, sir.

Mr. BLAINE. To say that one thing touching the exchange of prisoners was that the Davis government observed no honor in regard to it; and General Grant states that the brigade of Carter L. Stephenson, that was dislodged at Chattanooga, was made up of paroled prisoners from Vicksburg, and that Stephenson himself was one of them. He states that the paroled prisoners of one day in front of his line were taken the next. But in stating this he was careful to say that, as to Lee and the two Johnstons and Pemberton, and the other leading Confederate generals, their word was honor itself; but that for the Davis executive govern-

ment there was no honor in it—none whatever. The gentleman has got enough of General Grant by this time, I hope.

Now in regard to the relative number of prisoners that died in the North and the South respectively, the gentleman undertook to show that a great many more prisoners died in the hands of the Union authorities than in the hands of the rebels. I have had conversations with surgeons of the Army about that, and they say that there were a large number of deaths of rebel prisoners, but that during the latter period of the war they came into our hands very much exhausted, ill-clad, ill-fed, diseased, so that they died in our prisons of diseases that they brought with them. And one eminent surgeon said, without wishing at all to be quoted in this debate, that the question was not only what was the condition of the prisoners when they came to us, but what it was when they were sent back. Our men were taken in full health and strength; they came back wasted and worn—mere skeletons. The rebel prisoners, in large numbers, were, when taken, emaciated and reduced; and General Grant says that at the time such superhuman efforts were made for exchange there were 90,000 men that would have reinforced your armies the next day, prisoners in our hands who were in good health and ready for fight. This consideration sheds a great deal of light on what the gentleman states.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HURLBUT] puts a letter into my hands. I read it without really knowing what it may show:

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
WAR DEPARTMENT,
Richmond, Virginia, March 21, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: If the exigencies of our army require the use of trains for the transportation of corn, pay no regard to the Yankee prisoners. I would rather they should starve than our own people suffer.

I suppose I can safely put it in writing: "Let them suffer." The words are memorable, and it is fortunate that in this case they can be applied properly and without the intervention of a lying quartermaster.

Very truly, your faithful friend,

ROBERT OULD.

Colonel A. C. MYERS.

That is a good piece of literature in this connection. Mr Ould, I believe, was the rebel commissioner to exchange. When the gentleman from Georgia next takes the floor I want him to state what excuse there was for ordering the Florida artillery, in case General Sherman's army got within seven miles of Andersonville, to fire on that stockade.

Mr. HILL. That was just to keep your Army from coming. That is all.

Mr. BLAINE. Upon this point letters have flowed in upon me—letters which, without pretending to any extraordinary

tenderness, I say in this presence I could not read without unbecoming emotion.

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to say—

Mr. BLAINE. I have a letter which states that at Andersonville they had stakes put up with flags in order that the line of fire might be properly directed from the battery of Florida artillery.

Mr. HILL. Oh, that is not so.

Mr. BLAINE. There is that order.

Mr. HILL. That is said to be a forgery. I do not know whether it is genuine or not. You have the records; we have not; you will not let us see them. You merely say what they are. Let us see the whole of them.

Mr. BLAINE. Let us take one single case. I suppose the gentleman would deny that they ever used bloodhounds at Andersonville.

Mr. HILL. Oh, no; though I do not myself know the fact.

Mr. BLAINE. Did the gentleman ever hear of Colonel James H. Fannin, of the first Georgia reserves, who was on duty at Andersonville?

Mr. HILL. Oh, yes.

Mr. BLAINE. He says "that Surgeon Turner, the owner of the dogs, belonged to the first regiment of reserves of my company. Then he goes on to tell how the dogs were obtained and how used; and here is one of the returns made by Wirz:

Twenty-five men more escaped during the month, but they were taken by the dogs before the daily returns were made out.

The gentleman is a very able lawyer—

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Has not the time of the gentleman from Maine expired?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*, (Mr. Hoskins in the chair.) The time of the gentleman from Maine has not expired.

Mr. HANCOCK. He commenced ten minutes before one o'clock.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I ask that the fifty-seventh rule of the House be read. I should like to have it read, because the gentleman from Maine is constantly violating the rules of this House.

Mr. BLAINE. In what respect?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Kentucky is out of order.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. BLAINE. I hope it will not be taken out of my time.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Speaker of the House set the dial exactly at the time the gentleman from Maine commenced his speech, showing exactly when his hour will expire, and the present occupant of the chair when that time is reached will notify the House.

Mr. BLAINE. How much time have I left?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. About two minutes.

Mr. BLAINE. The gentleman is inconsistent. I should like to get him to admit something. He does not deny that bloodhounds were used at Andersonville.

Mr. HILL. I understood they were; I do not know; farm dogs, not bloodhounds.

Mr. BLAINE. Here are four or five Georgia witnesses. I conclude in the two minutes left me by saying that in all the evidence I have adduced I have never asked to bring in one piece of Union testimony; the whole of it is from Confederate prisoners.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the administration of Martin Van Buren, that went down in a popular convulsion in 1840, had no little of obloquy thrown upon it because it had ventured to hunt the Seminoles in the swamps of Florida with bloodhounds.

A MEMBER. No bloodhounds there.

Mr. BLAINE. Blood-thirsty dogs were sent after the hiding savages, and the civilization of the nineteenth century and the Christian feeling of the American people revolted at it. And I state here, and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HILL] cannot deny it, that upon the testimony of witnesses as numerous as would require me all day to read bloodhounds were used; that large packs of them were kept, and Georgia officers commanded them; that they were sent after the poor unfortunate, shrinking men who by any accident could get out of that horrible stockade. I state, sir, that the civilization of the world stands aghast at what was done at Andersonville. And the man who did that was sustained by Jefferson Davis, and promoted. Yet the gentleman says that was analogous to General Grant sending McDonald to the penitentiary.

Mr. Speaker, in view of all these facts I have only to say that if the American Congress, by a two-thirds vote, shall pronounce Jefferson Davis worthy to be restored to the full rights of American citizenship, I can only vote against it and hang my head in silence, and regret it. [Applause.]

PRACTICABLE AMNESTY.

In the House of Representatives, Jan. 14, 1876.

MR. BLAINE:

MR. SPEAKER, the object of this side of the House is not to become obstructive, is not to delay legislation by those means with which in the last Congress we were made so familiar. We have no desire to filibuster, although the civil-rights bill, which was designed to give the rights of manhood to the colored members, was ordered to be reported regularly from a committee, and for seventeen consecutive Monday mornings filibustering cut off the chance to report it; and one of the chief parliamentary glories of my honorable friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] was that by extreme use of this power he prevented the consideration of that bill. We design no such process. We simply desire to have a vote upon the question whether Jefferson Davis shall be included in this general amnesty; and in addition to that, if my friend from Massachusetts, [Mr. BANKS], who smiles with that winsome smile to which I am always ready to respond, will allow me, he will observe that my amendment is better than his in another respect. I will read it in the original terms in which I offered it:

"That all persons now under disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, with the exception of Jefferson Davis, late President of the so-called Confederate States, shall be relieved of such disabilities upon their appearing before any judge of the United States and taking and subscribing, in open court, the following oath, duly attested:"

Now the gentlemen's amendment makes it necessary that an oath be taken in any court in any State, a court of probate for instance—any small court. I think that this is a matter with which the United States is dealing. It is a governmental matter between the Government of the United States and some of its erring children. They are coming back to the United States to be reclothed and rehabilitated with the full rights and glories of American citizenship. I think that important transaction should be cognizable only in courts of the United States. In that respect I claim that my amendment is better than that of the gentleman from Massachusetts. As to the oath proposed in the two amendments, there is no difference between them, or if there is any difference it is merely verbal.

I hold in my hand a letter which I endeavored to have this morning the poor privilege of reading, and which I could not get, but again under the rules of the House, always beneficent; and which I have no doubt will always be beneficent as administered by the honorable occupant of the chair, I have that privilege. This morning I received a letter which I commend to gentlemen from the South. With that fascinating eloquence which my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. BANKS] possesses, he called your attention to the great value in this centennial year of having no man in the length and breadth of the land under the slightest political disabilities, and why ex-

cept poor Jefferson Davis! I have here a letter written to me without any request, and, so far as I know, without any expectation that it would be made public; but I am sure that even if it be a private letter the gentleman writing it will pardon me for reading it. It is as follows:

"RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA,
"January 12, 1876.

"MY DEAR SIR: I observe there is excitement in the House on the amnesty proposition.

"In 1870 I was impeached and removed from office as Governor of this State solely because of a movement which I put on foot according to the Constitution and the law to suppress the bloody Ku-Klux. This was done by the Democrats of this State, the allies and the echoes of Northern Democrats. I was also disqualified by the judgment of removal from holding office in this State. The Democratic legislature of this State and its late constitutional convention were appealed to in vain by my friends to remove this disability. The late convention, in which the Democrats had one majority by fraud, refused by a strict party vote to remove my disabilities thus imposed; and I am now the only man in North Carolina who cannot hold office.

"I think these facts should be borne in mind when the Democrats in Congress clamor for relief to the late insurgent leaders. Pardon the liberty I have taken in referring to this matter, and believe me, truly, your friend,
"W. W. HOLDEN.

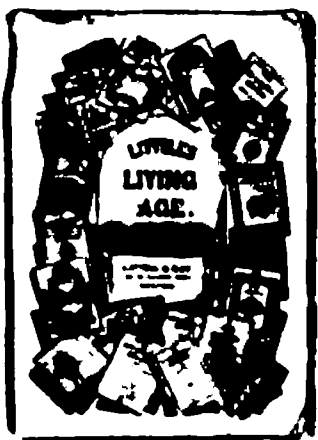
"HON. JAMES G. BLAINE."

Now, gentlemen, what have you to say to that? It is purely a political impeachment; not prosecution, but persecution; persecution of a man for opinion's sake. And it is to-day within the design of the Democratic party to remove Governor Ames, of Mississippi, from his chair by impeachment, and to disqualify him from holding office. The legislation proposed here has this end, that two friends of the Union, one a Union man of North Carolina, and the other as gallant a Union soldier as ever tied sash around his body, are to be disfranchised and disabled men, and poor Jefferson Davis is to be let free to enjoy the Centennial at Philadelphia. [Laughter.]

* * * * *
Now I wish to make this proposition that I may bring my bill before the House by unanimous consent, and I will yield to any gentleman to move an amendment to it. I will give to that side of the House all I have asked for this side. Now, if it be the case that gentlemen will refuse that proposition, then it is because they do not want any bill passed. I am for a practicable amnesty. I am for an amnesty that will go through.

Mr. ROBBINS, of North Carolina. I object.
Mr. BLAINE. Now, Mr. Speaker, I will end this matter, which I have within my power. I withdraw the motion to reconsider.

THE 128th VOLUME.



THE MOST EMINENT authors of the day, such as Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Prof. Max Muller, Prof. Huxley, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, Prof. Tyndall, R. A. Proctor, Frances Power Cobbe, The Duke of Argyll, Jas. A. Froude, Mrs. Muloch, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Thackeray, Jean Ingelow, Geo. MacDonald, William Black, Anthony Trollope, R. D.

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THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

Vol. VII.—No. 2.

AUGUST, 1876.

Whole No. 42.

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FALSE TEACHINGS.

Unfortunately there was little in his ante-

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Yet, notwithstanding these embarrassments which attended the experiment of reconstruction and made wise and prudent men falter in the adoption of a policy, the sworn enemy, who had just surrendered his treason with a broken heart and had given no evidence that he could be trusted as a worthy citizen, was promptly restored to all the rights and privileges he had forfeited, and the States he was destined to control were readmitted to the Union with largely increased political power.

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But there were national considerations quite as vital as those peculiarly local to the South. In 1861 the Representatives in Congress from the slave States numbered 74 against 159 from the States then free, while under the present apportionment they have 106 to 185 from the North. Thus, a solid Southern vote, which the Democracy have

determined to secure in the election next November at all hazards, with only 40 Representatives from the North, will give the South undisputed control of that body, while it will require only 10 votes from the North to also give it control of the Senate. According to this basis it will be seen furthermore that with the addition of only 47 electoral votes to the 138 belonging to the South that section will be enabled to elect a President and Vice President and enter upon absolute control of the Government. It was this alarming possibility, which now presents itself in a practical and threatening form, that made men doubt the wisdom of any system of Southern restoration which might ever enable the rebel citizen to gain the ascendancy and take possession of the Republic. A brief experience of ten years has demonstrated that the fears and misgivings of those times were indeed well founded. Not content with the usurpation of authority in half the States of the South by means that trample under foot every essential principle of reconstruction and hold the laws of God and man in utter defiance, they propose now, by the same nefarious system, to usurp the authority of the nation.

This being the manifest spirit of the combined master element of the South, which to-day is better organized and more thoroughly united and determined than at any time since it surrendered on the field, it is pertinent to inquire with what temper it approaches the National Capital.

SLAVERY VERSUS FREEDOM.

It is well known that two distinct sets of ideas have long divided the North and the South. The North has ever been jealous of her institutions of freedom and protected all her citizens alike in their enjoyment. Freedom of speech, freedom of political thought and action under the widest latitude, and a patriotic, paramount loyalty to the nation have been held as cardinal tenets among her people. The South has ever been exclusive, intolerant, illiberal, domineering, and sectional. Her inheritance of freedom was subordinated to the more "sacred" inheritance of slavery, by which every principle of Government, every right and duty of the citizen, and every sentiment of loyalty and

patriotism was determined. The National Government was regarded only as an instrument to be manipulated for the protection and extension of the "divine" institution, and when at last an indignant and outraged people protested against this high abuse, the Government was declared a failure and its dissolution demanded.

BOURBONISM ALIVE AND DEFIANT.

But we are told that the sad lessons of the war and the correcting influences of time, accompanied by a wholly changed condition of affairs, have worked a corresponding improvement in the sentiments and aspirations of the Southern Democracy, and that they may now be as fully trusted with all the interests of the Government as the loyal men of the North who have ever been its friends. Would that an impartial inquiry, seeking only to find the truth, might sustain this assumption; but a familiar acquaintance, based upon personal experience and observation, with the temper of the old slaveholding element of the South and its expectations staked upon Democratic ascendancy, shows that no more dangerous and fatal delusions could be entertained.

'Tis true, slavery and secession, the primal causes of Southern alienation, are dead and buried, but it is equally true that their authors and advocates, and terrible consequences, still survive. The Hills, Gordons, and Lamars who led the Confederates into rebellion with enthusiastic ardor continue to be their chosen leaders, and are supported with all the zeal and devotion of former days. The loss of thousands of their bravest sons and millions of treasure, with ruined homes and universal impoverishment and sorrow inflicted upon them, has not taken a scintilla of their confidence from the authors of their misfortunes; and why? Simply for the reason that they still believe the "Lost Cause" to have been just and righteous, and hold it in affectionate remembrance as the palladium of their lost liberties.*

*The South is to-day ruled over by the miserable thrall of Yankeedom; but they cannot muzzle our chivalry and patriotic devotion to the "Lost Cause." We have fought for our rights, but in God's dispensation we are vanquished, but not cowed. Slavery was a divine institution, and we must have that institution or the South will ever be bankrupt. They speak of our cause as the "Lost Cause." If so

The politician who seeks their favor and has exhausted every other expedient without success, can appeal to this fond sentiment with unerring assurance. It is the sentiment of the hustings, the church and the school, and unites society in its tender ties as the only remaining emblem of common sufferings in a common cause. Every idea of human liberty, every principle by which they would govern the State and the Nation, every sense of justice toward their fellow men, every conception of their duty as citizens, and every hope they have for themselves or for the nation, is limited by the traditions, teachings, and prejudices of the Past; and to dissent from these and adopt the more enlightened and progressive views

shall it be lost forever? No! a new generation has sprung up, and at a not far distant day there will be "stars and bars" floating proudly over our Sunny South. In the next political campaign we must, even if in the minority, support a Southern man who will build up our interests and hurl the Yankee pickpockets from our midst. We are to-day united to the Puritanical host by an artificial tie; but we are a distinct people, and God and the right will enable us to show to the world the truth and the equity of our claims. Our statesmen now in Congress are the cream of that body, and are the only element that reflects credit on the United States. Is it not better to hang on to the "Lost Cause" than to stay in a government of corruption?—[Extract from an address delivered by Rev. J. Taylor Martin at Charlotte, N. C., May 5, 1876, Confederate memorial day.]

We bow not in the spirit of cravens; and while we bend to the "higher-law" authority, that pollutes our Republic as transmitted to us by our fathers, respect for ourselves, our posterity, and the good opinion of mankind forbid our enrolling ourselves as the *whining* slaves, or silent slaves, of the conquering power. *We have surrendered none of our convictions, and still claim the right of VINDICATION!* In looking back at our past actions and motives, and the wrongs we have suffered and are still suffering, we confess that we have no regrets for the choice we made between the "higher-law" license of majorities in the Union and the sacred security of self-government in the States—between the Federal and Confederate Governments. We are not conscious of a solitary dereliction of duty either as citizens or soldiers, and feel that truth, reason, and religion exculpate us from wrong-doing. We know we were right, and though crushed to earth we should ever remember, and teach our children to remember, our CAUSE WAS JUST! We are still proud of the cause and glory in the fight we made. Posterity will yet decide that, though we lost all but honor, to save honor it was better to have fought and lost than not to have fought at all."—[Extract from an address by ex-Governor Benjamin G. Humphries, of Mississippi, before a reunion of the 13th Mississippi Confederate infantry, at Meridian, November 22, 1875. Governor Humphries was a Confederate major general, and was elected Governor of Mississippi in 1865 and served until 1868, when he was again nominated for that office. He is probably the most popular Democrat in the State.]

of the North meets with a visitation of calumny, denunciation, and proscription that the most courageous men will shrink from encountering.

A WAR OF INVASION AND VANDALISM.

Kindred to this feeling, and to add to its intensity, is a deep sense of the imagined injuries inflicted by the North. The war is looked upon as a savage vandalism, which despoiled their property, murdered their sons, and suppressed their dearest rights wholly without cause—a crusade of oppression and robbery that perpetrated the most atrocious wrongs upon an unoffending, innocent, and blameless people; and this belief in the great wrongs of the North, and their own unmerited suffering, is as strong to-day as it was ten years ago, and stubbornly refuses to be reconciled except upon its own terms.

HOW THE SITUATION IS ACCEPTED.

If the modifying influence of time has perceptibly improved this well known temper it is difficult to discover the character or extent of the change. In every instance where new conditions have been prescribed they have been accepted only in empty form and no further than the force of necessity required, and the best is regarded only as an unmixed evil and is pointed to as evidence of continued Northern innovation and oppression.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution were accepted only in this spirit, and are endured under a standing protest and menace which holds them in utter disregard and contempt. As was said by the *Mobile Register*, (Democratic,) in its issue of the 14th of June last, "those amendments to the Constitution stand a reproach to the honor and discretion of the country."*

*We have to contend with the blunder of the XVth Amendment while it stands as best we can. Ridiculous appeals to the reason and judgment of the negro have been the cause of incalculable injury in the inflation of his vanity, and making him believe he was of real consequence as a governing element in the body politic. Now that the negro in this State is down, and his personal self-conceit well knocked out of him, it is, probably, a fit time for the white people to impress upon him that the white people will, in future, control the politics of this State, and that he should keep himself in his proper sphere, and leave to the intelligent white man the exclusive use of Statecraft for the best interest of both races. Impress him continually with the

But beneath this superficial recognition of right principles the cherished sentiments of a lifetime of hostility to free institutions and national supremacy, and the grievances of war, lie undiminished, and are but awaiting the opportunity to assert themselves without compromise in the administration of the Government. With this unconquerable spirit defiant as ever in the Southern Democracy, it is not difficult to foreshadow their inexorable policy. Maddened by defeat, desperate of impoverishment, relentless in hostility, barren in principle, beggared in honesty, faithless in promise, and ravenous for the spoils of office, their accession to power would signal an era of national prostitution, spoliation, and revenge unexampled in the history of free governments. Traitors would succeed patriots in public places; the policy of the Confederacy supplant the policy of the nation; and retaliation upon the North for its imagined wrongs, and payment of the South for its losses, become the controlling objects of their policy. This species of plunder would be justified as a measure of peace, reconciliation, and justice, and the reorganization of the Government under the Confederate theory be demanded to restore to the South the constitutional rights and liberties wrenched from her by a relentless enemy!

Thus the victory of the nation in war would be turned into a triumph of treason in peace, and traitors be enabled to accomplish within the Union what they failed to without, and reward themselves from the national treasury for the losses entailed by their defeat.

And let it not be said that this picture of the impending crisis is overdrawn. The present Confederate House has given us a foretaste of a policy even more alarming and ruinous than has here been depicted, and at a time, too, when but one branch of Congress is in control of the Democracy, and it is impossible that their wicked schemes can be immediately realized. What, then, may not be expected when the South gets control of the Government, and intrenches itself in power as it did before the war?

idea of his unfitness for the ballot, and his proper place on election day away from the polls.—*Meridian (Miss.) Mercury*, November 20, 1865.

A FEW IMPORTANT FACTS.

Some idea of the magnitude of the proposed raid on the Treasury may be formed by examining a few of the proposed "measures of relief" introduced in the House. The first in order is a bill presented by Mr. Scales, of North Carolina, (H. R. 3145,) entitled a "bill to refund certain direct taxes on land collected from citizens in the late insurrectionary States under the act of August 5, 1861."

The law of 1861 levied a direct tax of \$20,000,000, and apportioned the same among the several States, according to population, for payment. All of the States but those in insurrection assumed their quotas and paid them, excepting a small balance still due. The amount apportioned to the South was as follows:

States.	Quota.	Uncollected.
Virginia	\$937,550	\$260,396
North Carolina	576,194	173,144
South Carolina	363,570	140,869
Georgia.....	584,367	502,167
Florida	77,522	71,027
Alabama.....	529,313	529,313
Mississippi.....	413,084	343,137
Louisiana.....	385,886	75,022
Texas.....	355,016	197,055
Arkansas	261,886	102,983
Tennessee	669,498	66,654
Total	\$5,153,886	\$2,661,776

When the war closed the collection of this tax South was begun, and continued until July, 1866, when Congress passed an act suspending further collection until January 1, 1869. No effort has been made to collect any portion of this tax since 1866, but, not satisfied with this generous and magnanimous forbearance on the part of the Government, it is now proposed by Mr. Scales to refund to the tax-payers the \$2,492,100 collected, alleging as reasons that said taxes "were taken from a people greatly impoverished by the war, and wholly unable to pay the same, and that the burdens of taxation may be made equal, and that all the people alike in said States may be equally relieved by the act of suspension." It seems not to have occurred to these selfish economists that there remains still another "inequality of burdens" imposed by the crisis that demanded this assessment that is not relieved by the bill in question. Not only did the

loyal people of the North pay the bulk of the twenty millions assessment, but mortgaged their property and their sacred honor for two thousand six hundred millions more, and gave the priceless lives of half a million of their bravest sons to save the Union from destruction by those who are now asking for this relief. Who will repay their taxes and repair their losses? By what system of equity and justice are they to be indemnified?

THE COTTON-TAX JOB.

Akin to this measure is the scheme to refund the tax collected on raw cotton in the Gulf States during the years 1865-'66-'67, when the law under which it was levied was repealed. The aggregate amount of this tax, as appears by the books in the Treasury Department, is \$68,072,088.

For several years past a determined combination has been at work to secure the refunding of this tax. At first steps were taken to test its constitutionality in the Supreme Court of the United States, but in the decision of the case the court stood equally divided in opinion, which in effect affirmed the law. Then a raid was organized to push the scheme through Congress, and zealous Southern Representatives have vied with one another to secure this appeasing act of plunder for the gratification of their anxious constituents.

HOW IT WOULD WORK.

Ostensibly the bill (H. R. 232) proposes to "refund the tax to the parties who actually produced the cotton," but in fact it is a gigantic job of lobbyists and speculators who have managed to get nearly all of the original claims into their own hands by agreeing to pay a trifling per cent. on their face value if the bill should become a law. The immense sum to be refunded and the cheapness of the purchased claims, with the encouragement offered in Congress, make this the most popular scheme for the lobby ring now pending, and its final passage may be accepted as certain if the South gets possession of Congress.

The present plan proposes to issue bonds of the United States in sums of one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand dollars, payable at the Treasury of the United States to

bearer at the end of thirty years from date, in gold, bearing interest at the rate of five per centum per annum, payable semi-annually in gold. The annual interest on this sum would be \$3,403,619, and in thirty years would aggregate \$102,108,570, thus swelling the claim, principal and accumulated interest, to the enormous amount of \$170,180,958.

This is demand No. 2, to relieve an impoverished people, equalize the burdens of taxation, and make loyalty endurable!

SOUTHERN CLAIMS.

But there is another class of demands compared with which the foregoing might be regarded as real luxuries. These comprise the rebel losses during the war.

Under an act of Congress, approved March 3, 1871, the "Southern Claims Commission" was created and empowered to "receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of such claims as should be brought to them of those citizens who remained loyal adherents to the cause and the Government of the United States in States proclaimed as in insurrection against the United States during the rebellion."

It will be observed that this law confines claims exclusively to "loyal adherents," &c., signifying that the Government holds itself responsible to no others for losses sustained by the war. The Southern Claims Commission has adhered strictly to this principle, as will be seen by a few of the eighty standing interrogatories propounded to all claimants:

"Did you ever do anything or say anything against the Union cause; and if so what did you do or say, and why?"

"Were you at all times during the war willing and ready to do whatever you could in aid of the Union cause?"

"Which side did you take when the insurgent States were seceding from the Union in 1860 and 1861?"

"Did you adhere to the Union cause after the States had passed into rebellion or did you go with your State?"

"What were your feelings concerning the battle of Bull Run or Manassas, the capture of New Orleans, the fall of Vicksburg, and the final surrender of the Confederate forces?"

The law allowed two years in which to file claims of this character, and the reports of the Commissioners show that 22,298 have been presented for allowance. Of this num-

ber 9,222 have been examined, and about half thereof reported favorably to Congress, to be paid, leaving still 13,076 claims unadjusted. The gross value of all claims filed is \$60,258,150.

As has been shown "loyalty" is a test of the validity of claims under this general act, yet it has repeatedly occurred before the Commission that the most violent secessionists and rebels have endeavored by wholesale deception and perjury to prove themselves loyal and to recover on claims that were fraudulent upon their face. False swearing doubtless has carried a few such claims successfully through, but most of them have been rejected as unworthy.

But what becomes of the

TENS OF THOUSANDS

of other rebel claimants who have not dared to venture before an "iron-clad" commission, but who regard themselves as equally entitled with loyal men to compensation for private property taken or destroyed by the Union armies. Before what "commission" are they to obtain redress? This question they promptly answer for themselves and the country by electing a tribunal where disloyalty commands a premium rather than works a disability. A peep into the files of the House shows how thoroughly ready they are to improve their opportunity. There, among the various bills under consideration, are scores providing for the special relief of this class of claimants; and it is significant that not half a dozen even suggest "loyalty" as an excuse for their payment. The character of these claims may be judged by examining the following briefs made from the face of the bills as introduced, and showing the name of the introducer, the amount and the purpose of the appropriation:

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay the Christian Church, Union City, Tenn., \$1,800 for the appropriation of the church for Government purposes.

By Mr. Haralson, Ala. A bill to pay the Medical College of Alabama \$50,000 for loss sustained by military occupancy.

By Mr. Clark, Mo. A bill to pay the University of Missouri \$17,475 for damages done by soldiers of the Union army.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Cooper's Chapel, Tennessee, \$1,441.66 for use and occupation of said building by military forces of the United States.

By Mr. Wilson, W. Va. A bill to pay the Methodist Episcopal Church South at Clarksburg, West Virginia, \$2,100 for the use and occupancy of said church by Union soldiers.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the M. E. Church at Harper's Ferry \$3,000 for the occupancy and destruction by United States troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay La Grange Synodical College, Tennessee, \$34,300 for rent and destruction of building by United States troops.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Shelby Medical College at Nashville \$20,604.90 for rent and for property taken from said building during the war.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay St. Cecilia Academy at Nashville \$4,250 for supplies taken therefrom by the Union army.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the Methodist Episcopal Church at New Creek, W. Va., \$1,000 for converting said house of worship into a bakery for Federal soldiers.

By Mr. Tucker, Va. A bill to pay Washington and Lee University (formerly Washington University) \$17,484 for injury done to said university in June, 1864.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the Methodist Episcopal Church at Mill Creek \$1,040 for the use and abuse of said church by Federal soldiers.

By Mr. Riddle, Tenn. A bill to pay Cumberland University, Tennessee, \$10,000 for property appropriated by Union soldiers.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the Baptist Church of Charlestown, W. Va., \$1,400 for the conversion of said church to the use of the army.

By Mr. Gunter, Ark. A bill to pay the Christian Church at Fayetteville, Arkansas, \$2,464 for property taken from said church and used during the war.

By Mr. Durham, Ky. A bill to pay Madison Female Academy \$10,325 for damage done said institution by Union troops.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay the Presbyterian Church of Murfreesborough, Tennessee, \$10,000, said church having been used as a hospital for sick and wounded Union soldiers.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Fairfax county \$1,595 for timber cut from the poor-house tract of land by Federal soldiers.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Andrew J. Duncan, of Nashville, \$39,229, on account of property taken and used by United States military forces.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay D. W. Glassie and others \$9,000 for occupation, consumption, and destruction of their property by the armies of the United States.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Mrs. Sarah A. Turner \$12,400 for damage done

to property at her home in Rutherford county, Tennessee.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Elihu S. Marshall \$5,000 for property taken from him by the United States army.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Martha A. Stevens, Tennessee, \$2,478 for claims against the Government.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Duncan Marr \$8,024 for wood and brick taken from him at Clarksville, Tennessee.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay Wm. Park \$1,304.05 for property taken from him at Nashville, Tennessee.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay Thos. Hoard \$58,995 for supplies taken and used by the army of the United States from the farm of said Hoard, (the battle-ground of Stone's River,) near Murfreesborough, Tennessee.

By Mr. Atkins, Tenn. A bill to refund to the citizens of McNairy county, Tennessee, certain sums of money, aggregating \$20,000, (estimated,) the same having been a forced loan under a special order by Col. J. W. Harney, 48th Illinois volunteer troops, issued December 14, 1862.

By Mr. Wells, Miss. A bill to pay Mrs. Priscilla Burwell, of Vicksburg, \$6,250 for rent of property by the United States army.

By Mr. Whitthorne, Tenn. A bill to pay Walter Akin, Maury county, Tennessee, \$4,700.50.

By Mr. Whitthorne, Tenn. A bill to pay A. J. Reed \$9,603.75 for forty-five bales of cotton taken from him by Gen. Mitchell and Gen. Draper, of the United States army.

By Mr. Davis, N. C. A bill to pay Amelia Ann Whitaker \$1,950 for stores taken and used by the United States army.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay the county of Randolph, Virginia, \$1,200 for damages done the court-house, jail, clerk's office, roads and bridges during the occupancy by Federal troops.

By G. Wiley Wells, Miss. A bill to pay A. Burwell, Vicksburg, \$3,000 for wood and lumber taken from his farm near Vicksburg.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Rosetta Freel \$3,100.70 for destruction of property by United States military forces.

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay F. L. Sidebottom \$3,958 for property appropriated by the United States army.

By Mr. Ely, Ala. A bill to pay William Stewart \$2,500 for rent and damage of furniture by certain officers of the army at Mobile.

By Mr. Willshire, Ark. A bill to pay John Jackson, \$3,665.80 for property taken from him by the United States army while operating in the State of Arkansas.

By Mr. Faulkner, W. Va. A bill to pay Carey Thompson \$2,000 "for property taken

during the late civil war by the United States army."

By Mr. Terry, Va. A bill to pay Philip A. Wellford \$3,150 for private property taken possession of by officers of the United States at Richmond, April 18, 1865.

By Mr. Willis, N. Y., (Democrat.) A bill to pay Mrs. Sarah A. Gayle, Amita county, Miss., \$15,700 "for certain cotton and salt belonging to her and taken by the United States Government."

By Mr. Willis, N. Y., (Democrat.) A bill to pay Horace D. Mead, of Yazoo county, Miss., \$24,267 for certain cotton taken from him by United States authorities.

By Mr. Willis, N. Y., (Democrat.) A bill to pay James M. Watson, of Rankin county, Miss., \$9,100 for certain cotton taking from him by the United States Government.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John Morrisson, of Memphis, \$4,600 for rent and damage of property by United States military authorities.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Elizabeth Burke, of Memphis, \$2,000 for loss of property by the United States military forces.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay R. Dudley Frayser \$25,400 for rent of his cotton shed and store house in Memphis and for buildings destroyed by United States military authorities.

By Mr. Atkins, Tenn. A bill to pay James A. Heard, of Memphis, \$10,000 for 59 bales of cotton taken by the authorities of the United States from his farm in Clarke county, Miss.

By Mr. Gause, Ark. A bill to pay the treasurer of Prairie county, Ark., \$30,000 for use and destruction of the court-house and jail by the Federal army during the late war.

By Mr. Morgan, Mo. A bill to pay Mary J. Josling and Lavinia Scott \$15,000 for their mill, woolen factory, and dwelling destroyed by Union soldiers under military orders.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Mrs. Sallie Garrett, of Tennessee, \$1,730.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Samuel Mosby, of Tennessee, \$26,951.74.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John Allen, of Tennessee, \$3,179.20.

By Mr. Harris, Va. A bill to pay Mrs. Cellie Stockton, of Virginia, \$1,950 for stores and supplies taken for the use of the United States army.

By Mr. Terry, Va. A bill to pay George C. Wedderburn and J. S. Newberry \$1,400 for rent of farm and destruction of property by United States military forces.

By same. A bill to pay C. C. Campbell \$6,000 for property taken by United States army under General Stoneman.

By Mr. Morey, La. A bill to pay certain parties named \$60,366 for expenses in dredg-

ing the Southwest Pass of the Mississippi river in 1859.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay the financial agent of Davidson county, Tennessee, the sum of \$36,416.45 in full settlement of claim of said county on account of the occupancy by United States troops of the county court-house.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Mr. H. Howard, Tennessee, \$970 on account of property burned by United States army.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Randall Brown, of Nashville, \$1,600 for property taken by rebel forces.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John T. Stratton, of Memphis, \$5,236.67 for use of a cotton shed by United States army.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Joseph Tagg, of Memphis, \$3,500 for buildings destroyed by United States military authorities.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Ann E. Connell \$16,816.31 for buildings and material used and destroyed by United States military authorities at Memphis.

By Mr. Gunter, Ark. A bill to pay Joseph C. Schaller, of Little Rock, \$3,264 for cattle and sheep taken by Union soldiers.

By Mr. Goodin. A bill to pay Nicholas White \$9,000 for the use and occupancy of his property at Newport News, Virginia, by United States army.

By Mr. O'Neill. A bill to pay James Milinger \$19,893.75 for the use and destruction of his property at Nashville, Tenn.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Ann S. McKenzie \$1,500 for property taken by Federal soldiers and destroyed in Fairfax county, Virginia.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay Mrs. E. W. F. Chevis \$15,895 for property taken from her plantation by the army under command of General N. P. Banks.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay John B. Bronssard \$850 for oxen, horses, and mules furnished the United States army.

By Mr. Darrell. A bill to pay Lessien Bronssard \$4,600.25 for horses, cows, corn, and wood furnished the United States army.

By Mr. Ellis, La. A bill to pay Amalie H. Smith \$4,602 for fuel, cattle, and hogs taken from her by the army of the United States in 1862 and 1863.

By Mr. Caldwell. A bill to pay A. E. Lunsford, of Lauderdale county, Tennessee, \$5,400 for 18 bales cotton taken by United States troops.

By Mr. Hancock, Texas. A bill to pay Santiago de Leon \$2,988 for mules, horses, wagons, and harness taken for the use of the United States Government, at Brownsville, Texas.

By Mr. McFarland, Tenn. A bill to pay

James and Wm. White for 96 bales of cotton taken in 1864, (estimated value \$45,000.)

By Mr. Thornburg, Tenn. A bill to pay Hardin Scaggs \$235 for supplies furnished the Federal troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Peter Targurana \$103,740 in payment for two steamboats taken by officers of the United States Government after the close of the war.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Lucia Jameson, of Memphis, \$7,650 for rent of storehouse occupied by United States authorities during the war.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay Neville Bronssard \$600 for beef, cattle, and horses furnished the Union army under General Franklin.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay P. J. Francis \$9,682.70 for horses, cattle, hogs, and farming implements taken from his estate by troops under General Banks.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay Mrs. Raymond Riu \$3,000 for cattle and horses taken from her and used by the United States army under General Banks.

By Mr. Darrell, La. A bill to pay J. P. Lewis \$1,000 for horses furnished the army under General Banks.

By Mr. J. B. Clark, Mo. A bill to pay William Morrison, of Lexington, Mo., \$30,000 for foundery stock, supplies, fixtures, and so forth, burned and destroyed by order of General Lewis Merrill December 22, 1861.

By Mr. Young, La. A bill to pay Reuben S. Jones, of Memphis, \$18,492.50. (No purpose stated.)

By Mr. Young. A bill to pay Emmarrilla J. Carr, of Memphis, \$1,804 for rent of her dwelling occupied by United States authorities in said city.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay W. B. Hamlin, of Memphis, \$36,200, in full payment for property destroyed in Lee county, Arkansas, by Federal troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Martha M. Parker, of Memphis, \$2,762.50 for rent and damages to property by United States authorities.

By Mr. Rea, Mo. A bill to pay Lawson Moore, of Mo., \$2,241.50 for property taken, used, and destroyed by United States troops near Independence, Mo., in 1864.

By Mr. Clark, Mo. A bill to pay Thomas B. Wallace, Lexington, Mo., for destruction of dwelling-house and out-buildings by order of Colonel James A. Mulligan, then in command of United States forces. (No amount given.)

By Mr. Hancock, Texas. A bill to pay David C. Burnet, of Texas, \$2,500 for timber taken by United States troops stationed at Fort Lincoln in the fall and winter of 1849.

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay W.

W. Waggoner \$12,410 for certain quartermaster stores taken from him by United States troops at Will's Point, Tenn.

By Mr. Clymer, Penn. A bill to pay Andrew M. Sallade, of Atlanta, Ga., \$17,705.40 for hardware and other goods furnished the United States army.

By Mr. Douglas, Va. A bill to reimburse Essex county, Virginia, for loss of its jail destroyed by fire while occupied by United States troops; and appropriates \$3,020 for that purpose.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Louisa Summers \$10,588.75, for property belonging to her taken and used by the United States army near Anandale, Fairfax county, Virginia, during the late war.

By Mr. Milliken, Ky. A bill to pay John M. Elder, of Kentucky, \$14,862.50, for 53 bales cotton destroyed by the United States army in the late rebellion, in Talbot county, Georgia.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Charlotte M. Gailer, of Memphis. \$400, for damage done her property by Union troops during the war.

By Mr. Hyman, N. C. A bill to pay \$7,000 to reimburse Jones county, North Carolina, for destruction of court-house by United States forces in 1863, "the said court-house not being then, or at any other time, used by the authorities of the (so-called) Confederate States for any purposes of the war."

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Mary Maguire, of Shelby county, Tennessee, \$1,500 "for property appropriated and destroyed by the United States army during the late war."

By Mr. Warren. A bill to pay Mrs. Amelia A. H. Richards, of Fairfax county, Virginia, \$6,335 "for stores and supplies taken for the use of the army of the United States during the late war."

By Mr. Ellis, La. A bill to pay Philip Rhor, of Virginia, \$1,600 for tobacco seized by the Federal army in 1864.

By Mr. Candler, Ga. A bill to pay John A. Richardson, of Fayette county, Georgia, \$10,000 for property taken and destroyed at Atlanta, Georgia, by United States troops.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay William Park \$1,304.05 for property taken and used by the army at Nashville, Tennessee.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay Ann P. James \$12,000 for the occupation and use of her property by the army under General Rosecrans.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay John E. Baurran, of the Rock City Mills, Nashville, Tennessee, \$16,302.16 for the use and occupation of his mills by the United States authorities.

By Mr. Bright, Tenn. A bill to pay

Robertson Popp and William L. Vance for one hundred bales of cotton, (estimated value \$50,000,) seized by the United States army, on the Yazoo river, in 1864.

By Mr. Sinnickson, N. J. A bill to pay James R. Thompson, of Virginia, \$3,295 for supplies furnished the United States troops during the late war between the States.

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay J. M. Bragg and others in Tennessee \$6,650 for supplies taken by the Federal armies.

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay Joseph J. Cummings \$1,200, "the value of his tannery buildings burned by soldiers of the United States army, by order of General Elliott, near Sparta, Tennessee."

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Andrew Morrison \$4,645 on account of property used by the United States.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay James H. Charlton, Davidson county, Tennessee, \$9,412 on account of property taken from him and used by the army of the United States.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay Georgetown E. Welkinson, of Nashville, \$5,000 "on account of property used in the construction of the defenses of Nashville."

By Mr. Wells, Miss. A bill to pay A. Burwell \$75,000 for property destroyed at Vicksburg.

By Mr. Wells, Miss. A bill to pay A. Burwell \$35,150 for 140 hogsheads and 14 boxes of sugar taken and appropriated by the United States authorities.

By Mr. Scales, N. C. A bill to pay \$17,000 to Davidson county, North Carolina, on account of the destruction by fire of the court-house while occupied by United States troops.

By Mr. Singleton, Miss. A bill to pay Joseph R. Shannon, Louisiana, \$17,000 for the use of the steamer Shannon while employed in the military service of the United States.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Aquilla Lockwood, of Virginia, \$1,100 for the use and occupancy of his property for military purposes.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay Septimus Brown, of Virginia, for damage to his real estate, in the erection of forts, etc. (No amount stated.)

By Mr. Goode, Va. A bill to pay \$65,000 to William and Mary College, of Virginia, "for destruction of their buildings and other property destroyed without authority by disorderly soldiers of the United States."

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay John Eastwood, of Gallatin, Tennessee, \$351.50 for moneys taken from him by the United States forces.

By Mr. Dibrell, Tenn. A bill to pay B. F. Martin, Charleston, Tennessee, \$550 for

the use and occupation of his warehouse, stables, etc., by United States troops.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Edgar McDavitt \$2,180 for rent of his cotton shed and storehouse in Memphis, Tennessee.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay Samuel H. Duns court, Memphis, \$5,236.67 for rent of his cotton shed and storehouse by military authorities.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay E. T. Keel, Memphis, \$832 for rent of his storehouse in Memphis.

By Mr. Blount, Ga. A bill to pay Antoine Poullain \$2,032.38 for the use of his dwelling and other property in Augusta, Ga.

By Mr. Cabell, Va. A bill to pay A. Bostwick, Halifax, Virginia, \$750 for commissary and other stores impressed and taken from him by the officers of Gen. Wright's corps.

By Mr. Boone, Ky. A bill to pay R. C. Smith, of Kentucky, \$3,322.86 for property destroyed by Federal gunboats and soldiers.

By Mr. Hunton, Va. A bill to pay R. L. Rotchford, of Fairfax, Virginia, \$1,372.49 for the sale of his property under the confiscation act.

By Mr. House, Tenn. A bill to pay John H. Galbraith, Davidson county, Tennessee, \$1,600 for property taken and destroyed by United States forces during the war.

By Mr. Caldwell, Tenn. A bill to pay James A. Bowling, of Haywood county, Tennessee, \$3,000 for property taken and used by the army during the late war.

By Mr. Blount, Ga. A bill to pay Harriet B. Fulton, of Bibb county, Georgia, the sum of \$24,750 for horses, mules, cattle, etc., taken by United States troops.

By Mr. Cabell, Va. A bill to pay Thomas B. Doe, of Danville, Virginia, \$6,200.34 for commissary and other supplies taken by the soldiers of the Sixth United States Army Corps.

By Mr. Ellis, Va. A bill to pay W. H. Tegarden, of Mississippi, \$12,334 for damage done to his property by United States troops.

By Mr. Riddle, Tenn. A bill to pay Hiram Lyles \$1,000 for a fine stable horse taken by Gen. Gillem on his march through East Tennessee.

By Mr. Riddle, Tenn. A bill to pay John O. Cage, of Tennessee, \$— for property taken by United States troops during the war.

By Mr. Warren, Mass. A bill to pay Jos. Anderson, Tennessee, \$5,000 for lumber used by the United States troops in building pontoons, etc.

By Mr. Knott, Ky. A bill to pay Jacob Kaufman \$11,350 for goods and stores taken from him by the rebel General Morgan.

By Mr. Blackburn, Ky. A bill to pay O. Perry \$59,677 for wood and lumber taken

and used by the military authorities of the United States.

By Mr. Stowell, Va. A bill to pay P. O. Lipscomb, of Virginia, \$400 for corn furnished the Sixth Army Corps.

By Mr. Walker, Va. A bill to pay Susanah Cook, of Virginia, the sum of \$2,000 for property taken and destroyed by troops of the United States.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay John Pittman, of Memphis, \$6,300. (No consideration given.)

By Mr. Brown, Texas. A bill to pay Sylvanus Sanford, of Cass county, Texas, with interest since 1862, the sum of \$16,709.15 for seven hogsheads of granulated sugar taken by United States military authority.

By Mr. Young, Tenn. A bill to pay James S. Leath, Tennessee, \$2,000. (No consideration mentioned.)

By Mr. Morgan, Mo. A bill to pay Mary J. Josling and Lavinia Scott \$15,000, in full compensation for their mill, woolen factory, and store occupied and destroyed by Union soldiers.

The aggregate of these one hundred and forty claims is \$1,582,269, and they average \$11,301 in value. Such is the character of some of the House bills examined. In the Senate no inquiry has been made extending beyond two bills which are somewhat striking in their provisions. The first, introduced by Mr. Merrimon, of North Carolina, proposes to "repeal so much of section 3480 of the Revised Statutes as forbids the payment of the accounts, claims, and demands therein named, and to appropriate \$400,000 to pay the same when duly established." The accounts, claims, and demands referred to are any against the United States which accrued or existed prior to April 13, 1861, in favor of any person who "promoted, encouraged, or in any manner sustained the late rebellion."

It is well known that the amount of claims barred by this act far exceeds \$400,000, although there are no definite figures available fixing the exact sum, and that the claimants voluntarily forfeited their rights and inflicted the loss upon themselves by joining the rebellion.

The other proposition referred to comes from Mr. Johnston, of Virginia. He claims to have found two hundred and six "loyal" citizens in Loudoun county, Virginia, whose property was destroyed in conformity with an order by Major General Sheridan, November 27, 1864, and asks an appropriation of

\$199,228 for that purpose. The order referred to says:

"This section has been the hot-bed of lawless bands who have from time to time depredated in small parties on the line of army communication, on safeguards left at houses, and on troops. Their real object is plunder and highway robbery. To clear the country of these parties that are bringing destruction on the innocent as well as their guilty supporters by their cowardly acts, you will consume and destroy all forage and subsistence, burn all barns and mills and their contents, and drive off all stock. This order must be literally executed, bearing in mind, however, that no dwellings are to be burned, and that no personal violence be offered the citizens. The ultimate result of the guerilla system of warfare is the total destruction of all private rights in the country occupied by such parties. This destruction may as well commence at once and the responsibility of it must rest upon the authorities at Richmond, who have acknowledged the legitimacy of guerilla bands."

These two bills added to the above amount swell the appropriations to be made on special account alone to \$2,181,497.

A BIG BONANZA.

But this skirmishing about the Treasury, whereby only a few thousands or millions are carried off at a time, is found to be too slow and aggravating to satisfy the demand, and while it feeds a few in the front leaves the great army of claimants starving in the rear. It is but the scent of blood to the hungry lion, and something must be done to appease his devouring appetite. In this desperate emergency the intrepid Confederate Riddle, of the 4th district of Tennessee, shows himself equal to the demand and leads the clamoring army in the charge. The plan he proposes is not peace-meal or cowardly in any sense, but a bold, comprehensive scheme, the very daring and magnitude of which challenges admiration. It means plunder by the wholesale under the cover of legalizing statutes.

The bill in question (H. R. 2364) is entitled "a bill directing compensation to be made for the use and occupation of all property by the United States during the late war," and specifically sets forth its objects in the first section, as follows:

"Be it enacted, &c., That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to allow compensation to all citizens of the United

States for the use and occupation of their property by the United States army, or any part thereof, during the late civil war in the same manner and under the same regulations as compensation is now allowed for quartermasters' stores used by said army: *Provided, however,* That the affidavit of the claimant, supported by the competent testimony of any reputable citizen, shall be sufficient proof to establish the fact of use and occupation of such property by said army. But it is not the intention of this act to limit the parties to the amount of proof herein specified, but other additional testimony may be taken to establish the fact of the use and occupation and the rental value of the property occupied."

During four long years the immense army of the Union was marched and encamped exclusively on Southern territory, and the property it occupied in that time may be said to be co-extensive with the area of the Confederate States. From Washington, Cincinnati, and Cairo, south to the Gulf of Mexico, scarcely a landlord or planter could be found who had not at some time during the war been quartered on by the Union troops and sustained damages, which, when aggregated, would be simply fabulous.

THE HIGH CARNIVAL COMPLETED.

But bold, aggressive, and ruinous as is this scheme of plunder, it still remains for the concluding bill to open full wide the Southern flood-gates and complete the carnival of jobbery and robbery in the Treasury of the Nation. The bill presented by Mr. Riddle covers the "use and occupation" of rebel property by the Government. This bill (H. R. 553) proposes to "adjust and settle the claims of citizens of the United States for stores and supplies *taken or furnished during the rebellion* for the use of the army of the United States and for other purposes."

It will be noticed that nothing is said about *loyal* citizens as being the only proper claimants, but all citizens, whether they were loyal or disloyal, are to appear on a common footing and be paid without distinction. Nor is there any limit fixed to the "stores and supplies taken or furnished" short of the entire amount, whatever that may be. It means in effect that the Government shall pay for every head of cattle; every bushel of corn or other grain; every pound of meat, flour, meal, and commissary stores and quar-

termaster's supplies of every kind whatever, foraged, used, or destroyed by our soldiers during the war!

THE GRAND TOTAL.

And what would be the grand aggregate of claims accruing under these wholesale raids upon the Treasury? A reasonable estimate may probably be reached by taking the 22,293 sworn loyal claimants as a basis. The total amount claimed by this class, as appears in the preceding pages, is \$60,258,150, making the average value of each claim \$2,702 40. It will not be regarded as extravagant to say that the number of disloyal claimants South stand as forty to one loyal, and using the same average value of \$2,702 40 per claim, as above, the total to be appropriated on account of these two bills alone would swell to the sum of \$2,410,326,000.

RECAPITULATION.

Direct tax	\$2,661,776
Special relief bills	2,181,497
Cotton tax	68,072,088
Use and destruction of property	1,205,163,000
Supplies used or destroyed ...	1,205,163,000
Total	2,483,241,361

. In round numbers, *an amount equal to the national debt at the close of the war.*

THE WRECK OF GOVERNMENT.

When the national resources and credit have thus been exhausted, and bankruptcy and dishonor have followed these multiplied bounties to traitors, then, and not until then, will the nation have paid the debt of Southern restoration and contentment demanded by that section and contemplated as certain under Democratic ascendancy. Are loyal men prepared to give up the warfare and surrender to the enemy after having sacrificed so much of life and treasure upon the field to avert these evils, or will they again rise in their might and forever destroy this new conspiracy while yet it is within their power? Require the terms of Confederate surrender to be strictly kept, without compensation for past treason or reward for future loyalty, and demand that life, liberty, and perfect political freedom be protected throughout the South at any cost, to the end that the faith and integrity of the nation may be maintained unimpaired, its honor untarnished, its loyalty unrepached and unrepachable, and the enjoyment of peace and prosperity, assured by a loyal, enlightened, and economical government, be secured throughout our fair land as the best inheritance of the people and the highest attributes of the Republic.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—HAS IT BEEN FAITHFUL TO ITS TRUST?

The Republican party, as a political organization, dates its history from 1856. It came into power March 4, 1861, and from that time to the present it has been responsible for the administration of national affairs.

Has it been faithful to its trust? This question has been passed upon by the people three times since 1861. First, in 1864, in Mr. Lincoln's re-election; second, in 1868, at the election of General Grant; third, in 1872, when the people returned the present incumbent by the largest popular majority ever given to a President. Thus it would appear that up to 1872, at least, the people had an abiding faith in Republicanism, and by their votes proclaimed to the world that the party had been faithful to its trust. Has

it done anything since the last popular indorsement to forfeit the confidence and goodwill of the American people? It has not, for the record shows that its services have been as faithfully performed since 1872 as they were before. If it has made mistakes it has been quick to correct them, and in this it has shown a desire to conform to the wishes of a nation that has intrusted it with power for the past fifteen years. This prompt reflection of the popular will has been a leading trait in the character of Republicanism. All its public measures have been based upon public wants, and to discover these wants and to administer to them have been the chief aim and object of the party.

As we are on the eve of a political cam-

paign whose issues are to shape the future policy of the nation it is well to briefly review the past history of the Republican party, and to again ask the question, "Has it been faithful to its trust?"

A nation without credit at home and abroad, its treasury nearly bankrupt, its currency insecure, its navy scattered, its army small and demoralized, its authority repudiated and defied in eleven States, its Southern forts and arsenals in the hands of insurgents, a powerful political party, which had been instrumental in bringing about this disastrous state of affairs, holding sufficient influence to prevent unity of action, is a fair picture of the condition of the trust when Republicans came into power.

Democracy had abandoned all hopes of saving the Union—had announced its willingness to see its bonds severed—had proclaimed its determination to make no efforts to stay the tide that was sweeping the nation to certain destruction, when the loyal people called the Republican party into power, and gave into its hands a trust which Democracy was about to betray.

Therefore, to the Republican party, to its wisdom and fidelity, its patriotism and courage, the people owe the existence of the Union. If it had no other claim on the gratitude of the nation than this one of preserving its nationality it should outweigh all the claims of Democracy, and entitle it to the confidence and support of every loyal American citizen.

But it has other claims. It has not only organized the means for saving the nation, in the face of the greatest rebellion of modern times, but it has, by the operation of wise laws and a liberal policy, developed a growth of material prosperity rarely equaled in the history of nations.

To fully comprehend the advancement made during a single decade of Republican ascendancy let us briefly compare the condition of the country in 1860 with its condition in 1870, as shown by the ninth census. It should be remembered that this growth was in the face of a terrible civil war and the results which followed its close. In view of this fact the people may well be proud of the Republican party and challenge the world for a party record equally honorable.

INCREASE IN PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES.

The substantial growth in the products of manufactures from 1860 to 1870 illustrates the industrial prosperity of the nation. It is safe to assume that the increase of products of manufactures to June 30, 1876, would be upward of \$3,000,000,000. The following table shows the increase from 1860 to 1870:

States.	Products of manufactures.		Increase.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern....	\$468,669,287	\$1,009,116,772	\$540,517,485
Middle....	798,926,290	1,783,113,923	984,187,633
Western....	346,675,298	1,072,933,354	726,258,056
Southern....	193,462,52	253,618,436	60,155,916
Pacific.....	71,229,988	89,342,482	18,112,493
Total.....	1,876,893,37	4,208,924,971	2,331,931,594

GROWTH IN TRUE WEALTH.

The increase of the true wealth of the nation for the same time will better illustrate the character of the Government which in a large measure has been instrumental in bringing it about. This increase shows the wonderful growth of the nation under a single decade of Republican rule, and disposes of the charge so often made by Democracy that Republicanism has impoverished the country. No better evidence can be found of the fallacy of this assumption than that contained in the impartial returns of the ninth census.

From this we tabulate the following:

States.	True wealth.		Increase.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern....	\$1,863,842,765	\$4,039,875,247	\$2,176,032,482
Middle....	4,150,920,784	12,181,738,740	8,030,817,956
Western....	3,966,735,763	9,536,453,603	5,569,717,840
Southern....	5,268,209,219	8,343,007,549	3,074,798,330
Pacific....	235,805,250	721,439,961	485,634,711
Territories	73,094,297	245,883,367	172,789,070
Total..	16,159,616,068	30,068,518,507	13,908,902,439

* Decrease. Value of slaves included in 1860.

It will be seen from the wealth of every section, of the Southern, has in degree, the total increase 000,000,000. The loss of value of which was in 1860, partially accounts for the decrease of the true wealth.

rule, of \$3,128,501,392, while the Southern States, during the same period, show a decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate amounting to \$365,111,106.

The question may be asked, Why has not the Republican party advanced the material interests of those States in the South where it has had control? The answer is, because it has met the organized opposition of the intelligent, wealthy, and business elements of those States. Its control has been the control of a majority out off by deep-rooted prejudice from the sympathy and support of an influential minority. Thus, insurmountable obstacles have been placed in its way. Its efforts to build up have been met by counter efforts to tear down, and this conflict, carried on through a series of years, has borne its natural results, the paralyzation of industry and the stoppage of growth. At the North active party opposition against a State administration ceases when the ballot announces the people's choice. At the South the opposition of Democracy is intensified by the elevation of Republican officials. The choice of the people is disregarded, the minority refuse to cheerfully submit to the decree of the ballot-box, and thus the administration of government lacks that co-operation of effort on the part of all classes essential to a complete development of State interests.

We have already shown the material prosperity which the Union has developed. This far outweighs the money expenditures made necessary by four years of war. The compensation for the bloodshed cannot be found in dollars and cents. The elevation of the human race, the extinction of human bondage, the erection of free States throughout the world, and the future preservation of hundreds of thousands of lives which would be sacrificed in the defense of separate nationalities are among the legitimate fruits which will spring up from the graves of the Union defenders.

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES.

As the Democratic party has arraigned the Republican party for an extraordinary increase of the national revenues and expenditures since 1860, and have carefully concealed the causes which led to the increase, a brief review of the items of expenditure

since 1860 to the present time may not be out of place:

NET REVENUE OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING PREMIUMS AND INTEREST RECEIVED.

From March 4, 1789, to July 30, 1860	\$1,806,354,650 53
From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1875	4,725,187,816 22
Total	6,531,542,466 75

NET EXPENDITURES, INCLUDING PAYMENTS FOR PREMIUMS AND INTEREST.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860	\$1,731,734,673 73
From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1875	6,740,521,315 68
Total	8,472,255,989 40

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860.	
War	\$552,534,463 79
Navy	347,733,003 88
Indians	84,091,969 79
Pensions	79,713,465 20
Miscellaneous*	465,237,077 08
Premiums	5,834,626 94
Interest	196,590,068 09

Net expenditures

From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1875.	
War	\$3,575,284,220 35
Navy	585,124,614 01
Indians	76,042,153 59
Pensions	292,271,046 50
Miscellaneous	743,924,941 55
Premiums	59,738,167 73
Interest	1,408,186,171 95

Net expenditures

Net expenditures from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1875

The tables submitted now at a glance the extraordinary expenditures directly due to the rebellion. The work required of the army and the magnitude of military operations can only be realized by a comparison of the expenditures. The army expenditures for the years 1861, 1863, 1864, and 1865 amounted to \$2,713,594,222 83, or nearly five times as much as the entire army expenses of the Government from 1789 to 1860, a period of seventy-one years. The army expenditures of a single year, 1865—the close of the war—were \$1,036,904,400 06, or within a fraction of \$3,000,000 for every day in the year.

The nation has been required to pay for the item of interest one during the past fourteen years \$1,305,426,627 38, as against \$196,590,068 09, the amount paid from 1789 to 1860, or more than seven and a half times as much as the entire amount of interest paid by the Government in seventy-one years.

*Includes civil service, foreign relations, light-house, and public buildings expenditures, and the cost of collecting the internal revenues.

The pension payments, also directly chargeable to the rebellion, show that \$262,814,830 28 have been paid out, or more than three times the entire pension payments of the Government for the seventy-one years prior to 1860. In view of these facts is it not rank demagoguery to charge the increase of revenue and expenditures to the extravagance of the Republican party?

If the expenditures shown are without parallel in our history the means employed, the honesty and energy displayed, the statesmanship which entered the measures necessary to carry the Government through the most dangerous period of its existence, must be regarded as without parallel in the history of nations.

If a party is to be judged by the weight of its responsibilities when the Republican party in its administration of public affairs cannot fail to invoke the favorable judgment of impartial minds. The magnitude of its labors can only be measured by their priceless results, and these will grow in value as generation follows generation.

The wisdom and sagacity which developed the internal revenue system and our present currency system should entitle the Republican party to the gratitude of the country. The first made possible the immense revenues necessary to prosecute the war to a successful issue. The latter made the payment of the taxes uniform throughout the country; provided a safe currency of equal value in all the States; protected industry, by removing its earnings from the possibility

war, will fail to discover that the payment of these countless millions was regarded as oppressive, or checked for a moment the growth of a nation's prosperity.

To show the amount collected under the internal revenue system and by direct tax since 1861 to 1875, we submit the following:

Year.	Internal revenue.	Direct tax.
1862 .....	.....	\$1,795,331.73
1863	\$37,640,787.95	1,485,103.61
1864	109,741,134.10	475,648.96
1865	209,464,215.25	1,200,573.08
1866	309,225,813.42	1,974,754.12
1867	266,027,537.43	4,200,233.70
1868	191,087,589.41	1,768,145.86
1869	159,356,460.88	765,665.61
1870	184,699,756.49	229,102.88
1871	143,098,153.63	580,355.37
1872	130,642,177.72	.....
1873	113,729,314.14	*315,254.51
1874	102,409,784.90	.....
1875	110,007,493.59	.....
Total	2,066,331,218.89	14,810,189.37

*Balances due in 1871, collected in 1872 and 1873, and covered into the United States Treasury in the latter year.

Since July, 1866, internal revenue taxes have been gradually reduced, until the amount of taxes repealed now reaches an aggregate of two hundred million dollars per annum, a reduction of two-thirds of the internal revenue tax of 1866.

The other principal source of revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government was the customs revenue. From this source the following amounts were collected from 1861 to 1875, inclusive:

Year.	Customs revenue.
1861	\$39,592,125.64
1862	49,050,397.62
1863	69,059,642.40
1864	102,316,152.99
1865	84,928,260.60
1866	179,046,651.58
1867	176,417,810.88
1868	164,464,399.56
1869	180,048,426.63
1870	194,538,374.44
1871	206,270,408.05
1872	216,370,286.77
1873	188,089,522.70
1874	163,103,883.69
1875	157,167,722.35
Total	2,170,460,215.90

During the war period, from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1865, the net expenditures of the Government far exceeded the net ordinary

revenue. The following table will show the ordinary receipts and expenditures for the five years named :

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1861.....	\$41,476,299.49	\$62,616,055.79
1862.....	51,919,261.09	458,379,896.81
1863.....	112,094,845.51	694,004,575.56
1864.....	243,412,971.20	811,283,679.14
1865.....	322,031,158.19	1,217,704,199.28
Total.....	770,934,635.48	2,241,988,406.57

To the above receipts should be added \$33,561,924.24 received as premiums, and to the expenditures should be added \$176,034,714.75 paid for interest and \$1,717,900.11 paid as premiums, making the total net receipts for the five years named \$804,496,559.72, and the total net expenditures for the same time \$3,419,741,021.43, or more than four times the amount of the receipts. It will thus be seen that the expenditures exceeded the receipts during the five years of war, \$2,615,244,461.71.

To meet this excess the nation was forced to look outside of its ordinary revenues, and the amount needed was provided by its loans and Treasury notes. These loans make up the bulk of our present national debt. The following shows the yearly payment for interest from 1861 to 1875 :

Year.	Interest.
1861.....	30
1862.....	84
1863.....	62
1864.....	69
1865.....	30
1866.....	91
1867.....	91
1868.....	71
1869.....	80
1870.....	00
1871.....	93
1872.....	72
1873.....	44
1874.....	21
1875.....	57
Total.....	1,408,136,171.95

RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES FROM JUNE 30, 1861, TO JUNE 30, 1875, INCLUSIVE.

Customs.....	\$2,170,460,215.90
Internal revenue.....	2,066,331,218.88
Direct tax.....	14,810,189.37
Public lands.....	24,436,276.73
Miscellaneous.....	252,540,413.58
Premiums.....	196,670,028.05
Total.....	4,725,148,342.49

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY, REDUCTION OF DEBT, ETC.

Yet, with these immense receipts and expenditures, made necessary by the suppression of the Democratic slaveholders' rebellion, the records show a degree of official integrity without a parallel in the history of governments.

A very careful calculation of losses sustained was embodied in an official letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in 1872. As equal honesty has been practised in all the departments since the date of this letter, it may be safely taken as a basis for present calculations. According to this letter, the per cent. of losses to the Government in the collection of internal revenue since March 3, 1869, was less than one-fiftieth of one per cent. of the amount collected, or less than two dollars in ten thousand.

In the collection of the customs for the same time the loss was \$28,000 out of \$553,000,000, or the one-hundredth part of one per cent., or less than five dollars in every one hundred thousand.

The loss to depositors, through our national banking system, was the one hundredth and eighty-sixth part of one per cent.—equivalent to five dollars and three-eighths in every one hundred thousand.

The money entries on the books of the United States Treasurer, covering time from June 30, 1861, to January 9, 1872, showed the immense sum of \$55,000,000,000, and out of this vast amount the loss was about \$55,000, or less than one ten-thousandth part of one per cent., or one dollar in one million of money transactions.

On the 28th June, 1876, Senator Anthony in calling the attention of the Senate to an official report on defalcations, said :

"The aggregate statement of the disbursements of the Treasury under the list is a paper exceedingly creditable to the American Government. I do not mean to any particular party, but to the financial history of the United States. There have been disbursed since 1834—I can hardly read such big figures—\$13,936,870,072.03, of which is marked upon these books \$22,266,000, being about half a million of dollars a year, and a great part of this is nominal, not real.

"The losses on the \$1,000 of disbursements were, in the administration of Jackson, \$10.55; Van Buren, \$21.15; Harrison, \$10.37; Polk, \$8.34; Taylor and Fillmore,

\$7.64; Pierce, \$5.86; Buchanan, nearly 6 98; Lincoln, \$1.41; Johnson, 48 cents; Grant, the first four years, 40 cents; the second four years, 26 cents—showing a constant decline, which is owing in a large degree to the improved manner of keeping the accounts; and that is due very largely to the Committees on Finance and Appropriations, who have introduced legislation here which has compelled much greater accuracy and responsibility. The average percentage of losses during this whole period on the disbursements is \$1.59 on the thousand. I do not believe that the aggregate of any class of corporate or private business, banking, commercial, or any other kind, can show so small a percentage of loss as this, and it is gratifying that the percentage of loss is continually decreasing, coming down from \$21.15 in the administration of Van Buren to an average of twenty three cents on the thousand dollars, or only about one-sixtieth as much under the present Administration. This is exclusive of the Post Office, which administers its own revenue. In the Post Office the loss has gone down from \$11.18 on the \$1,000 in Jackson's administration, and \$26.19 in Van Buren's, to \$1.59 for the first term of Grant and \$1.01 for the second, with an average of \$3.51 for the whole period."

The excess of expenditures over receipts, or that which far exceeded the ordinary revenues, and which were met by pledges of public faith, ceased with the close of the war. The public debt had reached its highest point in 1866, being at that time, June 30, \$2,773,236,173.69. Since then the revenues of the nation have exceeded the expenditures, leaving a balance each year for the redemption of the public debt. From June 30, 1866, to June 30, 1875, the public debt has been reduced \$599,711,641.74. This reduction has taken place in the face of reduced taxation. Under the acts of Congress dated July 13, 1866, March 2, 1867, Feb. 3, 1868, March 1 and July 20, 1868, July 14, 1870, May 1 and June 6, 1872—the Internal Revenue taxation has been reduced from its highest point, in 1866, \$309,226,813.42, to \$110,007,493.58, June 30, 1875. In this reduction of the public debt, and this descending scale of taxation, we have at a single

fifteen years of Republican rule. They may safely be held up, as being without a parallel in our history, if not in the history of nations. To carry on these operations through a long series of years, without infringing upon the constitutional rights of a single citizen, or without oppressing the industrial interests of the country, has required the highest degree of administrative and legislative talent, and the highest order of executive integrity. It should be borne in mind that these heavy financial responsibilities were forced upon the country by treasonable Democracy, and that the part performed by the Republican party was simply the execution of an imperative duty which it owed to the Union, to freedom, to humanity, and to the world's civilization.

With these figures before us, with a clear remembrance of those terrible years of sacrifice and suffering, when the hopes of the nation centered in the courage and patriotism of the Republican party, with at least \$150,000,000 of yearly expenditures to remind us of a party that betrayed the nation, and with a burdensome public debt, which a loyal people are nobly bearing—who that loves his country, or wishes to see it continue in the path of peace and prosperity, can give his vote or influence to the support of a party that stands to-day as responsible for the rebellion, as it did when its recognized head, James Buchanan, folded his arms and gave it the sanction of his official encouragement, by the admission that he had no power to coerce.

OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY SYSTEM.

We have shown the immense financial operations of the Government during the fifteen years ending June 30, 1875. To those measures which led to the adoption of our present national currency the success of these operations is largely due. Under the old State banking system, financial embarrassments would have attended the collection of the taxes, irredeemable paper money would have become nearly worthless, gold needed for custom duties and for the payment of interest on our bonds would have become exorbitantly high, the credit of States and individuals would have been destroyed, and before the close of the war, even if success

had been possible, universal bankruptcy would have stared us in the face.

Therefore to the adoption of our present currency system the nation is largely indebted for the success of its financial operations. It gave to the country a currency of uniform value; it pledged the faith of the nation for the security of the circulating medium; it removed the possibility of loss on the part of the bill holder by making the Government the redemption agent; it united the moneyed interests of the country with the efforts of the Government to maintain its existence, by making the currency, and through this, prosperity, wholly dependent upon the credit and integrity of the nation.

Under the old State banking system every financial disturbance entailed heavy losses on holders of bills, while panics like those of 1837 and 1857 wrecked hundreds of banks and entailed hardships upon thousands of individuals holding their notes. Under the present national system, these losses, which generally fall upon the workingmen, are impossible. A bank may be badly managed; it may fail; yet its notes, being secured by a deposit of United States bonds, are as valuable as the notes of the best managed bank in the country. They continue to circulate, or if the holder desires it, they may be redeemed by the United States. Thus the circulating notes, under the present system, may be considered absolutely safe. Not a dollar has been lost by the holder on the bill of a broken national bank since the organization of the system. All that is now needed to make the national currency system as perfect as any ever devised by human wisdom is the redemption of its notes in coin or its equivalent. If hostile legislation does not interfere to change or cripple the present plans of Republican administration the resumption of specie payments will be soon brought about without shock or detriment to business interests.

As a comparison of the old system and the present one may be of value, we present the following statement, exhibiting by sections the bank circulation, the amount per capita, and the ratio of circulation to wealth and to capital in 1862 (State bank system) and in 1874:

	Ratio of circulation to bank capital.		Ratio of circulation to wealth.		Circulation per capita.		Bank circulation.*	
	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.
States and Territories.								
			Per ct.	Per ct.				
			51.7	67.4	\$31.45	\$20.90	\$65,516,155	\$109,705,018
			53.1	64.2	12.66	9.97	82,372,091	128,052,872
			66.3	79.5	2.81	6.17	71,098,403	86,885,704
			125.4	90.8	6.86	2.49	18,084,564	77,174,850
			79.3	2.00	.....	.....	1,902,706
Total States and Territories..			1.5	1.1	7.59	.....	238,671,210	848,791,152

*National bank notes, June 30, 1875, \$351,889,008; old demand and legal tender notes, \$375,841,687.50; fractional currency, \$42,129,424.19; total paper currency, \$769,840,119.69. Total circulation per capita, \$18.38.

It will be admitted that our currency is safe not only in times of business prosperity, but in the midst of financial panics. Founded upon the credit of the Government, nothing but the loss of public credit could affect materially the value of our currency. To maintain this credit, to strengthen it at home and abroad, has been the object of the Republican party. Under its wise management our national credit has steadily improved. Our securities are sought for as among the best and safest in the world, and if the party whose administration has brought about so favorable a result is continued in power, we may confidently look forward to the refunding of our national debt at a low rate of interest, thus in this single item saving annu-

ally millions of dollars to the Government. We appeal to true citizens everywhere, to all who desire to maintain the credit of the nation, to all who appreciate a good currency, that is gradually approaching a gold basis, to all who are in any way interested in maintaining public faith, to lay aside petty prejudices and local issues, and earnestly support the party that has rendered noble service to the Republic. Its overthrow means the loss of public credit, the paralyzation of business enterprise, the depreciation of national securities, and eventually a repudiation of national obligations.

A SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENTS.

To do justice to a review of Republican achievements would fill a volume. A brief summary will be a fitting conclusion to the statements already made.

During the period of Republican ascendancy we have seen the nation increase in population from 1860 to 1870, 7,115,050, with an estimated increase, up to the present time, of 11,500,000. We have seen an increase of the products of manufactures during the same time of \$2,231,931,594, with a probable increase, up to this time, of over \$3,000,000,000. We have seen an increase in the true wealth of the Northern States, up to 1870, \$13,908,902,439, which to-day may be estimated at \$20,000,000,000. We have seen the assessed valuation of real estate increase in ten years \$3,128,501,392, which at the present time would make it over \$4,000,000,000. We have seen the Government successfully conducting financial operations of great magnitude, and improving its credit, while meeting obligations which bore heavily upon its resources. We have seen a defective State currency system supplanted by one of a national character, safe, sound, and effective, and destined to become, at no distant day, the most perfect currency system ever devised by man. Yet these items of growth and improvements are but a few of the many that could be presented if time permitted.

The homestead acts; the building of the Pacific railroad; the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, and the legislation necessary to enforce their provisions; the reconstruc-

tion of the Southern States; the settlement of the Alabama claims and the vexed San Juan boundary; establishment of life-saving stations; protection to immigrants; encouragement of labor; advancement of science and education; and above all, the crowning work of the century—the abolition of human slavery—are items in the long list of Republican triumphs which will insure the gratitude of posterity, and ever command the admiration of the world.

Is a party record, so glorious and praiseworthy, to be destroyed by the breath of slander, or blotted out from the hearts of a grateful people by the efforts of partisan malice? Is a party that has given such transcendent evidence of its ability to govern wisely, and justly, and honestly the affairs of a great nation to be laid aside just as the fruits of its noble labors are ripening to the touch? No! We speak for the American people—who are not ungrateful, who still bear in remembrance the services of the past, who are yet unwilling to trust a country saved by loyal blood and treasure in the hands of those who encouraged its destruction—when we say that despite the efforts of Democracy, and the schemes of bad men, the Republican party will still be supported by the loyal element of the country as the only party that has been faithful to its trust, and that is able to protect the nation's honor while advancing the nation's prosperity.

It would be an act little short of national suicide to turn over to Democratic hands the administration of our national affairs. Democracy before the war was under the complete influence of Southern sentiment, during the war it aided and abetted the Southern cause, since the close of the war, through the period of reconstruction, it has done all within its power to obstruct the course of justice and to encourage the disloyal element in secret and open defiance of the Federal authority. If in any of its measures the Republican party has fallen short of the complete success promised, the failure can be traced directly to the obstruction placed in its way by Democracy.

The present policy of the Democratic party if indorsed by the people must inevitably lead to national bankruptcy, through

the destruction of our credit and the prostration of our industries. Under the mockery of reform the pauper element of Europe would overrun the free labor of America; our currency, through its irredeemable character, would become worthless; our securities would sink in value and cease to be quoted in the money markets of the world; and a financial panic, involving general ruin to the agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile interests, would of necessity follow.

The bills introduced in the Democratic House of Representatives calling for payment of Southern claims, the efforts to secure the repeal of wise laws, the legislative obstructions which have been placed in the way of necessary appropriation bills, and the spirit of opposition which has been manifested against those measures which have been sanctioned by the loyal sentiment of the nation since the close of the war, all go to show that Democracy is not in sympathy with the nation and could not, if in-

trusted with power, advance its interests or protect its honor.

A moment's reflection ought to convince the unprejudiced mind that Democracy cannot be trusted. Within its ranks the most dangerous elements of society are found united. It is not claimed that every Democrat is disloyal, but it is claimed and it cannot be denied that every disloyal man in the nation is a Democrat. The Republican party has none of this class within its ranks; and this thought, of itself, should prompt good citizens everywhere to stand by the party that represents, not only the intelligence and virtue of the nation, but the loyal sentiment on which its existence depends. The practical question for the people to answer in the present campaign is, "Ought the Government in time of peace to be intrusted to those who were its secret and open enemies in time of war?" This is *the vital issue* before the people. On its proper settlement depends the peace and prosperity of the nation.

THE THEORY OF THE RIGHT TO IGNORE THE STATE A FALLACY.

When a first principle is laid down by a writer, and he argues from it to a given conclusion, and tells us that his conclusion is logically derived therefrom, and we have unbounded confidence in the soundness of his first principle, there is often great danger of our accepting his conclusion upon insufficient evidence. For our conclusion to be legitimately derived from our first principle we must suppose that all the factors affecting and entering into the problem have been given their exact value. We shall presently find that those who hold the citizen has a right to ignore the State, and who also hold that such right is legitimately derived from the law of equal freedom, that is, the freedom of each limited only by the like freedom of all, overlook the value of an important element which enters into the question.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his "Social Statics," tells us, "as a corollary to the proposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom

we cannot choose but to admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry." We here see that Mr. Spencer does not base his argument by which he arrives at this conclusion upon any bad faith or shortcomings of the State towards the citizen, but upon the law of equal freedom. Much could be said tending to show that the theory of the right to ignore the State is practically the State's right doctrine logically carried out which led to the attempted secession of the Slave States from the Union, resulting in the war of the rebellion. But if the theory cannot be shown to be philosophically unsound, to be in conflict with the law of equal freedom independently of the State's right doctrine, it would be useless to combat it from any other stand-point whatever. And if the right to ignore the State is not a corollary from the law of equal freedom, it must be shown that Mr. Spencer has left out some element that should have been taken in, that he has not considered all the factors entering into the problem. A

person to sever his connection with a thing, corporation, or institution implies a previous connection with such corporation or institution, in some way or other. This is a truth which we may suppose will not be questioned by any one capable of formulating a logical train of thought of ordinary simplicity. It will be well, therefore, to at once briefly examine the nature of the citizen's connection with the institution called the State, which it is claimed he has the right to ignore. What is meant by the State and what constitutes a citizen I think should be definitely understood at the threshold of the discussion. Whether our definition of what is meant by the State be broad enough or not to suit all, I feel sure it is one upon which there will probably be found no difference of opinion as far as it goes. The State, then, we may consider an institution or mutual safety confederation whose sole function is for the purpose of protecting those composing it, the guaranteeing to every citizen all the freedom he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other citizen. But to more fully illustrate the connection of the citizen with the State let us introduce for a moment a witness cross-examined by Mr. Spencer: "Your hypothesis," asks Mr. Spencer of the witness whom he cross-examines, "implies that men when they entered into the social state * * * entered into it voluntarily; does it not?"

"It does."

"Then they must have considered the social state preferable to that under which they had previously lived?"

"Necessarily."

"Why did it appear preferable?"

"Because it offered greater security."

"Greater security for what?"

"Greater security for life, for property, for the things that minister to happiness."

"Exactly; to get more happiness, that must have been the object. If they had expected to get more unhappiness they would not have willingly made the change, would they?"

"No."

"Does not happiness consist in the due satisfaction of all the desires? in the due exercise of all the faculties?"

"Yes."

"And this exercise of the faculties is impossible without freedom of action. The desires cannot be satisfied without liberty to pursue and use the objects of them?"

"True."

"Now, it is this freedom to exercise the faculties within specified limits which we signify by the term rights, is it not?"

"It is."

"Well, then, summing up your answers, it seems that, by your hypothesis, man entered the social state voluntarily, which means that he entered it for the sake of obtaining greater happiness; which means that he entered it to obtain fuller exercise of his faculties; which means that he entered it to obtain greater security for such exercise; which means that he entered it for the guaranteeing of his rights?" * * *

"Then to say that men formed themselves into communities to prevent the constant violation of their claims to life and property is to say that they did it for the preservation of their rights?"

"It is."

"Wherefore either way we find that the preservation of rights was the object sought."

This is a fair statement of the case, and represents in a strong light the true purposes of social organization. Again, Aristotle says "the State is nothing else but an association of equal beings seeking in common a happy and comfortable existence." A citizen, then, is an individual belonging to this mutual-safety confederation, association, or institution which we call the State, and from his own testimony it is shown that by belonging to it he must derive certain benefits or advantages, consisting in the better security for life, for property, and for those things that minister to happiness.

The State being a combination of individuals or social units for purposes of mutual protection or better preservation of their rights, it follows that there must be some means of protection, some agent employed whose duty it shall be to stand guard over the community, or that portion of it engaged in other occupations than that of giving protection. Now, the objects sought by social organization, better security, better preservation of individual rights, may be

had in either of two ways. There may be an alternation of guard duties by each citizen, or the community may employ a certain number of its own members, if any choose to engage, whose sole specialized function shall be to stand guard over and afford protection to the others. In the evolution of society the latter method is that which probably always comes gradually to be adopted. Let it now be borne in mind that our first principle, "the freedom of each limited only by the like freedom of all," implies that no one has complete freedom. The complete freedom of all belongs only to the ideally perfect social state, which universal humanity will probably never reach. If men could live in the presence of each other with complete freedom of action, there would be no necessity for the existence of the agent which we call government. But we cannot even think of the existence of government, without also thinking of the existence of something else antagonistic to the happiness of those employing it. Indeed, it would be as easy for us to think of an effect without a cause as to think of the existence of government without also thinking of the imperfections of men's moral constitutions making it necessary. Now, it is perfectly clear that those whose specialized duty is to afford protection cannot have as great a sense of security, and in fact will not have as great security for life, as those they are guarding or protecting. The very existence of government, too, implies vicarious suffering; and, having employed a certain number of our neighbors to ward off impending evils which we acknowledge would afflict us without intervention of some kind, we cannot equitably drop connection with them on our own account; for those rendering such important service as that of shielding us from danger have as much right to put a price upon their services as those accepting them. That is to say, in a social organization such as we are considering, relations become established that cannot equitably be dissolved by any single individual social unit without his claiming for himself greater freedom than some other individuals of the society. It may be said, however, that those employed

in this service which gives less security for life were free to contribute no more than their *pro rata* of such service to the general security. But whether such service be performed alternately by each citizen, or whether society employs a certain number of its members who make the function of affording protection a specialized duty, does not alter the fact that a member employed and injured in the performance of his duty is not as free to drop connection with the State as the citizen who has been protected, and enjoys that security for life and for property which he entered into the social state to obtain, and which has been bought by vicarious suffering.

There have been within the past few years in India villages and districts almost depopulated by tigers. If we suppose, now, a colony of Europeans to settle in some district there uninhabited by the natives, and the settlers to agree among themselves to employ a given part of their number to protect the remainder in carrying on their agricultural, industrial, and commercial pursuits against the ravages of tigers and other wild beasts; and if we further suppose those so employed after awhile to succeed in destroying nearly all of these enemies, but in doing it receive various physical injuries, will any one capable of the smallest appreciation of justice say that these maimed and injured members are as free to drop connection with the society as those who have been protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? We cannot think so. If, then, the citizen cannot equitably withdraw from a society without its consent under these circumstances, he cannot without cause under any circumstances where the combination is for protective purposes; for, if a principle is true of a hundred persons combined or associated together for a definite purpose, it must be equally true of a hundred thousand or a hundred millions associated together for similar purposes. Well, so long as it may be necessary to employ the agent we call government to give better security for life, for property, and for the things that minister to happiness, there must of necessity be that vicarious suffering implied by the existence of armies, navies, and policemen. The very fact of a man

living in a community physically sound and in possession of property, while his neighbors around him carry various disabilities contracted in shielding him from evil, shows that he has fared better than they. But for this protection which secures to him greater happiness and greater exercise for his faculties than would have been possible without it, he may hold that the sacrifices which he has made toward paying for his protection are equivalent to the services rendered for that purpose. Such temporary sacrifices, however, are not equivalent to the services rendered in giving protection, as we shall presently see. Security for the lives and for the property of certain individuals implies, as has already been stated, that pain and insecurity must be borne by certain other individuals. Or, putting it another way, those efficiently protected we may consider permanently benefited, whilst, in many cases, those engaged in the specialized duty of giving protection are permanently injured. Can any one reasonably say, then, that a human life may actually be valued at a certain sum, or that even a limb may be so valued? Can we justly say that society owes nothing to the orphaned child whose father has been killed that other individuals might repose in security? Can we justly assert that society owes nothing more than his wages to the date of disability to the man who has lost a limb or become otherwise disabled in its service? No, we have

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then made against it as a cause for claiming the right to ignore it. We call protection its legitimate function, because, as already stated, there is no difference of opinion on this point. But the moment we assign to it other functions, then there immediately arises a difference of opinion, and frequently a very serious difference. If A voluntarily combines with B, C, and Z for a definite purpose he cannot, without some qualification, limitation, or changing of the originally-defined purpose of the combination without his sanction, justly withdraw from it, unless it can be shown that all the other members are equally free to withdraw. And this we know would be next to impossible in almost any social organization of which we can form any conception. Having accepted the service of the State's agent (Government) to give us protection we cannot equitably say to the State, as soon as the evil has been removed from our doors, that our obligations to it immediately cease, because its agent is composed of sentient beings like ourselves, who also have rights that cannot justly be ignored. Any section of our race once organized into a society is very much like an individual of one of the more complex organisms, in this: that the failure of any one of its members to perform its specialized function affects more or less all the other members in the healthy performance of their specialized functions. We have seen, too, that in any society in which government is absolutely necessary it is impossible for all the members to be equally free to drop connection with it, for the reason that the very nature of the association implies, as has been shown, vicarious suffering and sacrifices which must render some more unfit than others to get along without the continued existence of some kind of social organization. It cannot be logically held that the duties of the State to the citizen are any more binding than the duties of the citizen to the State. Hence, then, it follows that if the citizen has a right to ignore the State the State has a right to refuse protection to the citizen. Mr. Spencer nowhere in his social statics goes so far as this.

If it is true, as we have endeavored to show, that the citizen has no right to ignore the State it must be equally true, for it is a

logical sequence, that the State has no right to ignore the Government, which holds to it the same relations that it holds to the citizen. States are but individuals in their collective or organized capacity, and the Government over all—that is the nation—is but a larger collection and more extensive organization, and the duties of the smaller combinations to it are equally binding with those of the citizen to the State. The theory of secession is a defective one, whether it is applied to the citizen in his right to withdraw from the authority of the State or the State in its right to withdraw from the authority of the nation. To admit the first is to admit the last—to deny the first is to deny the latter. Both are equally repugnant, opposed to reason, common sense, and good government.

As the State protects the citizen and secures to him the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, so the nation protects the State, and makes it possible, through this protection, for it to protect its

citizens. Independent States, without superior power over them, would be in the same condition as independent individuals without the protection of society, the weaker ones would be at the mercy of the stronger, and each would be a law unto itself without power to compel others to respect its rights or to defend itself against despotic encroachment. Under a well-organized State the weakest individual has the same rights before the law as the strongest, and the power of the State compels the recognition of those rights; so, under a well-organized nation like our own, the weakest State has equal rights with the strongest, and the power of the nation exercised over all compels each State to recognize and respect the rights of the others. On this theory of mutual protection the American Union is based, and to acknowledge the theory of secession as a correct one would be to destroy all hope of government among men, and to defeat the very object for which society was organized, mutual protection.

THE BLOODY SHIRT.

That those who realize that the nation was saved from destruction through the devotion of the loyal adherents to the Union should sometimes refer to the history of the war is to be expected. The retrospect has its lessons, its admonitions, and its warnings. It brought about changes not only in the mutual relations of the citizens of the Republic, but also in our position as regards foreign States. State policy is forever changing, and never so much as when it has to be shaped by the results of a war. The conquered generally have to succumb to the victor; the victor usually endeavors to dictate his policy. Never in the history of the world can be found an instance where the vanquished have so soon been called into the councils of the prevailing party as is presented in the legislation of the last few years of the United States. But though clemency is commendable and equality before the law the heritage of all American citizens, future generations will never fail to draw experience from the history of the

American civil war. It is as necessary to draw inferences therefrom as it is to cite the counsel of our patriots and sages. It has entailed upon us a debt, to meet which all our financial policy has to be shaped. It has given to the nation wards and pensioners whose care requires not only grievous taxation but armies of officials. It has cast loose upon the social system four millions of people to degrade and debase whom was the business and interest of those who raised their hands against the parent government. Any statesman who is chosen to participate in the councils of the nation and who would ignore the issues of the war in shaping the policy of the country is not only incapable but unworthy of the trust. Those few statesmen left who passed through the ordeal of the battle for the Union naturally recognize the terrible legacy it has left the people, and pause when any movement is made that aims to curtail its benefits or negate the truths it has established. Naturally they shudder when they see efforts made to

debase or lower the public credit by those whose avowed effort is to place the bonds of the Confederate government on the same basis as the Union loan. Naturally they feel shocked at the proposition to place the soldiers who wore the grey side by side on the pension rolls with the gallant boys in blue. Naturally they feel appalled when they see those from whom the shackles of slavery have been broken denied equality of rights guaranteed them by law written in heroes' blood. When these issues are presented to them, as they are daily, naturally they turn over the pages of the history of the war, draw in new inspiration from hallowed memories, and feel that though the sword is sheathed there are many victories that peace has yet to gain. To keep these problems before the people, to provide for the burden the war has made inevitable for years to come, the statistics of history must be relied upon, and it is idle, cruel, and the very height of folly to cry out bloody shirt when statesmen find it necessary to stand on the watch towers of the nation and give timely warning of threatening storms. There is entirely too much sentimentality on this subject. If the slightest allusion is made to the record of any person who was prominent in the Confederate cause a howl goes up throughout the land that we must forget and forgive everything and everybody. If the logical sequences of the war are sought to be carried out, and to do so intelligently the records of filthy prison dens, the haunts of pirates, and the scenes of conspirators have to be looked into, it will not do to cry out blatantly, Bloody Shirt! The war has left records, traces, scars, and wounds that, like Banquo's ghost, will not down at the mere bidding. It is in vain to cry, like Lady Macbeth, "Out damned spot," the stain is on the palm. There is another side to the bloody shirt business, and it is of no use to deny it. Those persons, however honest now or heretofore, who by force of circumstances or by inclination fought against the Union, have by the very fact been taught in a school that has had more or less influence on their judgment and powers of reason; they see things from a different stand-point than do those who never swerved from their

country's flag. It is impossible to be otherwise. They have acquired opinions that in their very nature will not allow them to appreciate the broad, luminous doctrines that have become, by the fire of the cannon, welded into the American Constitution and have created what must be recognized as the fundamental law of the land. There is a restless spirit in the land that will not admit or recognize this American system; that will not admit and will not recognize that we are a nation; that still insists that the organic law of the land can be set aside by State enactments and is subservient to municipal codes. The duty of the Republican party is to root out this political heresy, and if in carrying out their mission it is sometimes necessary to hold up pictures that these incredulous students have placed in the family photograph album, it will not do to cry out bloody shirt every time the book is opened and portraits of heroes and martyrs are displayed. Be it as it may, it may as well be understood plainly that these lessons will have to be read, this history will have to be consulted, until every man in the country, however humble, whatever may have been his previous condition, shall be able to sit at his own fireside unmolested, shall be in practice as well as in theory equal before the law; and more than that, shall be able and free, without let or hinderance, to cast his vote for whomsoever he pleases. It is plain that the Republican party has to assert and maintain this, and for doing so the sneer is thrown at them of aiming to flaunt the bloody shirt. Now it is plain that the party opposed to the Republicans take a contrary view, try to make municipal law supreme and paramount, to which the national will must succumb; it is plain that the rights of freemen are to be circumscribed and narrowed down by local legislation. This local legislation is but the outgrowth of doctrines that have been proven to be pernicious to the public weal, but they have been bred in the bone and cannot be gotten out of the flesh until the good sense of a rising generation becomes reconciled to the logic of events. When Republicans say, what is as plain as the sun at noonday, that the opposition to the organic law of the Republic is the effect of a cause, and that cause was disloyalty to the Union, they state but a truth, and though

the heavens fall it had better be stated. A disease must be properly diagnosed before a remedy can be understandingly prescribed. The Republican party, which is the only true reform party that ever handled the reins of government, has the duty to repel every new invasion on the rights of the people, and it is poor argument to simply meet them with the cry of bloody shirt. They may pertinently answer that the shirt has no stains upon it from their hands; they may reply that from no act, desire, or wish of theirs was the shirt made bloody; they may reply that when the body of a brother is stabbed his raiment is very likely to become saturated with his blood, and that though the blow may be forgiven and the wound healed, still the scar should be a lesson to him who gave the blow fully as much as to the stricken. While it is true that those who were at enmity with the Government and sought its life cannot fully comprehend the true theory of the American system, just so true is it that those who were always with the people and for

the people are the best to understand their wants, their rights, their privileges, and their powers.

Because the Republican party are of the people, are with the people; because they understand their rights; because they maintained them; because they always stood up for the privileges of the people and *never against them*; because they knew the power of the people and *never sought to destroy it*, therefore are they the fit party and the only safe party to trust, because in spite of clamor, in spite of being accused of shaking a bloody shirt, they have the courage and the manhood to stand up for the rights of the people they are the party to trust. As for the cry of bloody shirt, it is a mere effort to turn people aside from main issues. It is the cry of mad dog, it involves no principle, discusses no theory, it is simply a whine uttered by the demagogue under the smart of being detected pandering to the tastes of the country's enemies, or found fawning in the smiles of the hero of an hour.

GOVERNOR HAYES' LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

The following is the letter of Governor Hayes, accepting the Republican nomination for the Presidency:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 8, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson, Hon. William A. Howard, Hon. Joseph H. Rainey, and others, Committee of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your official communication of June 17, by which I am informed of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, I accept the nomination with gratitude, hoping that under Providence I shall be able, if elected, to execute the duties of the high office as a trust for the benefit of all the people. I do not deem it necessary to enter upon any extended examination of the declaration of principles made by the convention. The resolutions are in accord with my views, and I heartily concur in the principles they announce. In several of the resolutions, however, questions are considered which are of such importance that I deem it proper to briefly express my convictions in regard to them.

The fifth resolution adopted by the convention is of paramount interest. More than

forty years ago a system of making appointments to office grew up, based upon the maxim "to the victors belong the spoils." The old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only real qualifications for office, and that there is no other claim, gave place to the idea that party services were to be chiefly considered. All parties, in practice, have adopted this system. It has been essentially modified since its first introduction. It has not, however, been improved. At first the President, either directly or through the heads of departments, made all the appointments. But gradually the appointing power in many cases passed into the control of members of Congress. The offices in these cases have become not merely rewards for party services but rewards for services to party leaders. This system destroys the independence of the separate departments of the Government. "It tends directly to extravagance and official incapacity." It is a temptation to dishonesty. It hinders and impairs that careful supervision and strict accountability by which alone faithful and efficient public service can be secured. It obstructs the prompt removal and sure punishment of the unworthy. In every way it degrades the civil service, and the character

of the Government. It is felt, I am confident, by a large majority of the members of Congress to be an intolerable burden and an unwarrantable hinderance to the proper discharge of their legitimate duties. It ought to be abolished. The reform should be thorough, radical, and complete; we should return to the principles and practice of the founders of the Government, supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was formerly established by custom; they neither expected nor desired from the public officer any partisan service; they meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the Government and to the people; they meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the Government upon these principles, and all constitutional powers vested in the Executive will be employed to establish this reform. The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati Convention makes no announcement in favor of a single Presidential term. I do not assume to add to that declaration; but believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington and followed by the early Presidents can be best accomplished by an Executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own reelection, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term.

On the currency question I have frequently expressed my views in public, and stand by my record on this subject. I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal-tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the Government which must in good faith be kept. It is my conviction that the feeling of uncertainty inseparable from an irredeemable paper currency, with its fluctuations of value, is one of the great obstacles to a revival of confidence and business and to a return of prosperity. That uncertainty can be ended in but one way, the resumption of specie payments. But the longer the instability connected with our present money system is permitted to continue the greater will be the injury inflicted upon our commercial interests and all classes of security. If elected I shall approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end, and shall oppose any step backward. The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be appre-

hended until by constitutional amendment the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment. The resolution of the convention on the subject of the permanent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is timely and of great importance. The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union in their progressive recovery from the effects of the war. Their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of government which will protect all classes of citizens in all their political and private rights. What the South most needs is "Peace," and peace depends upon the supremacy of law.

There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. A division of political parties, resting merely upon distinctions of race, or upon sectional lines, is always unfortunate and may be disastrous. The welfare of the South, alike with that of every other part of the country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor, to immigration, and to capital; but laborers will not go, and capital will not venture, where the Constitution and the laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehension, and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life. All parts of the Constitution are sacred, and must be sacredly observed—the parts that are new no less than the parts that are old. The moral and material prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectively advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all by all, a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the General Government, the effort of the people of these States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire to labor for the attainment of this end. Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that, if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests, the interests of the white and the colored people, both and equally, and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between the North and South in our common country; with a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy; a strict regard

for the public welfare solely in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unsparing prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts; with a sound currency; with education unsectarian, and free to all; with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs, and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the peo-

ple of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessing of God, be pre-eminent as an era of good feeling and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

Very respectfully, your fellow citizen,
R. B. HAYES.

WHAT OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS HAVE DONE FOR THE NATION.

Our fathers, the founders of the Republic, were men who understood the science of government and the doctrine of liberty. The addition of a new Power to the States of the world, without a monarch or a favored class of hereditary nobility, was regarded as an experiment which time alone would justify or destroy. It was indeed a problem in whose solution all humanity was interested, inasmuch as the foundation on which the whole political structure was to rest was the equality of all men before the law, and the consequent security of life and property and the rights of the individual. The Republic was born of blood and sacrifice when the world was fighting for dominion. No gushing theories of human perfection, borrowed from foreign enthusiasts, disturbed the stern minds of the men who battled for independence. Nor was there any intention of making this country the theater to try the revolutionary philosophy of France. American statesmen beheld from afar the struggle of the French people, and witnessed their defeat from two causes: First, the lack of popular intelligence and political knowledge; and secondly, the crushing influence of a political sacerdotalism inspired from Rome, which was adverse to popular liberty and enchained and misled the leaders of the people.

With such an example before them our fathers were likely to learn a profitable lesson. Church and State were eternally separated, and the proper measures taken for public instruction; and it was announced as an axiom that the stability and prosperity of the Republic depended upon the intelligence of its citizens. From that time till 1855 the efforts of the free States to make provision for the education of their youth were proportionate to their population. But

the zeal of the South in the same direction materially lessened; and there grew up amid the white communities of masters and people who believed in the peculiar institution, the slaves, who were ignorant as cattle, and the mean whites, who despised both learning and labor. The breaking out of the rebellion; the ejection of the Democratic party from power; the succession to power of the Republican party, which fought the war and saved the Union; the emancipation of the slaves and their citizenship; and the reconstruction of the South, followed as historic sequences. Next to the grand old principle of human freedom, which the Republican party has wrought out, stands the avowal of the necessity of public education for the purpose of preserving it. And one of the earliest duties undertaken by Republicans was that of making provision for educating all within the States. This was a great work and proceeded well until it was unfortunately discovered in the South that general education would destroy the claim of the slave power, and put the colored man on the plane of independence.

The work, however, was carried on in the North, East, and West with increasing vigor, and with a determination to protect it from assault. Immense progress was made both in the method and in the means of education, and both have been utilized in our public schools. The country feels the advantages of public schools in the formation of character, and in the intelligent adaptation of the people to the quiet performance of the duties of citizenship. This was observed by Professor Goldwin Smith, of Cornell University, who was formerly Professor of Modern History at Oxford, England. He came here

a stranger; but being by profession an educator, he examined the system of public education prevailing amongst us from the stand-point of one who understood his subject, and was well qualified to give an opinion. Mr. Smith's testimony to the influence of our public schools is not only pleasant to read, but, as that of a faithful observer, confirms the views of Republicans of the importance of education as developing a manly manhood and that peculiar attitude of mind which makes the American citizen a conservator of public order, fitting him for the position he is to occupy as a part of the Government of the Nation or State. Mr. Smith says:

"It has been truly said that secular education does not mean irreligious. A secular school here is different from a religious school, but not opposed to it. What branch of education in the common schools has any tendency to corrupt children's moral sense? I am not a blind worshipper of the Americans or their institutions, but I tell you that the influence of their common schools is good,

morally as well as intellectually. Though there are bad things and bad men in America the influence of these schools is good, and they tend in the main to produce not "clever devils," but a law-loving and God-fearing nation; and if you ask about manners, I tell you I have been in the United States in the midst of exciting political contests, when the struggle has been going on between North and South, and that I saw meetings of both parties and torchlight processions on both sides of the streets, and not on one side or the other did I observe the slightest discourteous interruption of their opponents. I say those schools will not do everything, then, for I know very well that a moral and religious teacher must exert his influence in order to train the character of the child; but the effect of the schools, upon the whole, is to produce a moral as well as an intelligent population, and if the morality and intelligence of the nation are promoted by their common school system, so is their wealth."

These words are worth remembering. And Republicans should resolve to do their utmost to preserve the public schools in their independence and integrity.

THE FIRST VOTE.

At the next general election there will be a large number of young men who will cast their first ballot. Many of this class of voters will form opinions and mark out a political course that will be pursued throughout their lives, while others, of less consideration, will vote now and hereafter as circumstances may direct. As the first vote is the first recognition of manhood by the State, it is important that that vote should be considered and duly weighed before it is placed in the box, and that the young man who casts it may be conscientiously convinced that he is voting right, and that he is not giving his support to the promulgation of errors that may eventuate in detriment to or destruction of the Government. With the voters rest the responsibility, and they alone are accountable for good, bad, or indifferent officers that may be elevated to power. It therefore behooves every young man who is about to step into the political arena to consider well the responsibility that is thus thrust upon him. Although unsought there is no escaping it, and no man should shrink from it. If there ever was a

time when our country needed the cool, calm, and decided action of her wise and patriotic sons, that time is now. The spirit of treason is abroad, and as the campaign progresses this spirit will become more apparent. The late rebel element is defiant, and, united with the Democracy, every effort, both fair and unfair, will be made to carry the election for Tilden and Hendricks.

Judging from the past, we know what to expect in the future, and all good citizens should co-operate to secure a fair expression at the polls in November next. To young men who are to cast their first ballot we would say: Study carefully the history of the two parties for the past fifteen years. Compare the records of each since 1861, and then decide as to which party we are indebted for a united country and a substantial Government. Decide within your own mind which party has been guilty of treason and which remained loyal to the old flag, and by force of arms sustained and perpetuated the Government under which we now live. Determine which party furnished the soldiers and statesmen that prosecuted the war and

reconstructed the Government that it did not perish in the first century of its existence. Discriminate as to the present position of the two parties on the important questions of finance, labor, free schools, Church and

State, and all other questions that concern the welfare and prosperity of our people as a nation. This done, you will be able to vote intelligently, and to deposit your first ballot for the party of the Union.

TILDEN AND TWEED.

Samuel J. Tilden and William M. Tweed were formerly bosom friends. Evidence is fast accumulating that a portion of the money stolen by Tweed was used by Tilden and his fellow-politicians to run the Democratic machine. Tweed had special favors shown him while confined on the island. While at Ludlow-street jail he was permitted to go about the city in charge of an officer. It will be remembered that he escaped from custody while at his home in New York. Some power from behind the throne helped him. Circumstances point to Tilden as that power. Certain it is that as Governor of New York he has made no effort to discover his whereabouts. Not a dollar of reward has been offered for his capture. Even the Democratic sheriff who allowed him to escape still holds his position.

The following letters may throw a little light on the relationship existing when Tweed was in his glory between himself and the present candidate for Democratic honors on the so-called reform ticket:

NO. 15 GRAMERCY PARK,
August 12, 1866—11 A. M.

MY DEAR SIR: I decided to go to Philadelphia in the morning, and shall not be able to see you before I leave. Mr. Richmond is at the St. Nicholas somewhat ill. If well enough he will come on the 2 P. M. train. Whether he is there to-day or not I hope you will not fail to be in Philadelphia.

Very truly, your friend,

S. J. TILDEN.

Hon. Wm. M. Tweed.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to present to your attention the case of Mr. Samuel Allen, a very old friend of ours, who is in great need of a small appointment under your department, for which he has applied. He would be content with something for a time of not a very high rank. You will know him so well that I need add nothing. *He used to be a very efficient and useful worker*, and is an entirely reli-

able man, and I should be personally glad if you could help him.

Truly yours,
Hon. Wm. M. Tweed.

S. J. TILDEN.

NEW YORK, September 8, 1868.

The National Broadway Bank will pay to order of William M. Tweed five thousand dollars.

(Signed) WILLIAM M. TWEED.
Indorsed "Pay S. J. Tilden or order."

WILLIAM M. TWEED.

For deposit in the Bank of North America.
S. J. TILDEN.

It would be well if the friends of Samuel, the Reformer, would rise and explain what he did with the \$5,000 received from Tweed. As the Democrats cast over 50,000 fraudulent votes in the city of New York in the fall of 1868 the receipt of this money from Tweed, the head of the Ring, looks suspicious, to say the least.

REFORM.—The Democrats are in favor of civil service reform. They have shown it in the House of Representatives. Every Union soldier suspected of being a Republican has been "bounced." There might be some compensation for this if Democratic Union soldiers took their places, but when ex-Confederate soldiers are quartered on Uncle Sam, as the best that can be done in the line of reform, even good-natured people will be found to object.

THE MIGHTY TRIO.—When two such illustrious ex-pounders as John Morrissey and John Kelly promise reform under Samuel J. Tilden, who can be so soulless as to doubt the genuineness of the reform movement. There must be hope for a nation that has in reserve such a mighty trio of reformers as Morrissey, Kelly, and Tilden. Oh, for a return of Tweed, the innocent, that a quartette might be formed to sing the praises of the Centennial year.

THE TRUE INWARDNESS OF DEMOCRACY.

If there was any chance for Mr. Tilden to be elected as a reformer that chance must be sadly interfered with when he explains his connection with his railway bonds. The charge has been made, and the people will bear in mind that no authentic denial has been given. But it is as a reformer that Mr. Tilden's friends delight to view him. As he looms up "the great ring smasher," ugly letters are published showing his connection with the Tweed ring, and with the acceptance of funds, it is said, to import repeaters from New York to Philadelphia for the purpose of increasing the Democratic vote. The loudest shrieker for Mr. Tilden as a reformer, who roars so loud that people cannot help recalling his unsavory name, is Charles A. Dana, of the *New York Sun*. He becomes absolutely oppressive by his demonstrations. He is a reformer himself and therefore knows what he is about. He has been a reformer ever since he was a disappointed applicant for office in the New York custom-house under a Republican administration. Mr. Dana is confiding to the last degree, if not a little indiscreet. He speaks of office-holders and reform; of the effect of the votes of men in office for Hayes and Wheeler; and what Mr. Tilden will do with them when he becomes the reform President. The *Sun* says:

"ONE OUT OF EIGHTY THOUSAND.—The Republicans propose to elect Hayes President in place of Grant. The whole number of public offices is estimated to be eighty thousand. One is to be changed, and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine left in! One drop in the pail of sour milk is to be changed—will that make the whole pail sweet?

"Whereas, if Tilden is elected, the great majority of the public officers will stand not upon the order of their going, but go at once. This would be civil service reform in earnest; not a reform of one eighty-thousandth part, but a reform of the whole body.

"This view of the matter makes it very plain how electors who want to give their support to reform should vote. Those who desire one eighty-thousandth part of reform can vote for Hayes, while those who are for entire reform will vote for Tilden."

The true inwardness of which is the old Democratic war-cry, "To the victors belong the spoils." And Mr. Tilden being a reformer of most magnificent proportions,

though otherwise a very small man, intends to resort to the vulgar but very common practice of the Democratic party of turning out of office, if he has a chance, eighty thousand Republicans and replace them with Democrats. This is reform with a vengeance. Ugh!

THE REFORMER.—The *New York Times* makes some revelations regarding Tilden's private affairs which indicate that he has not always been a hard-money man. We extract as follows:

"The revelations concerning Tilden's shin-plaster mill in Northern Michigan continue. There were fifty-eight companies engaged in the manufacture of the 'currency,' the returns of two of which are thus stated:

Iron Cliff, (Tilden's).....	\$4,552,094.00
New York, (Tilden's).....	2,113,666.66

"The whole amount of the currency issued in Michigan was over \$100,000,000, and it had an exclusive run from 1863 until 1874, when some persons were indicted for counterfeiting it, and the court discharged the prisoners on the ground that the currency itself was fraudulent and illegal, and it was no crime to counterfeit it. At the same time the revenue officers began to demand the internal revenue tax, and began to take evidence as to the amount in circulation. The tax was 10 per cent., and for the twelve years Tilden's share amounted to at least \$10,000,000. But by some secret manipulation a bill was smuggled through Congress on the night of March 3, 1875, remitting this tax, except for the last year. Here was the apostle of hard money talking and writing to the people upon the destructive demoralization of paper money, and pointing out the glories of hard money, while for twelve years he was running two mills for the manufacture of rag money, and palming it off on the miners as better than gold. Sam also had several stores in the neighborhood of the mines, where groceries and dry goods and a variety of other articles were for sale, and Sam made his notes legal tender in exchange for these goods. His notes being legal tender only at his own stores, the unfortunate holders had to make all their purchases from Tilden, who thus pocketed a handsome extra profit on the sale of his wares."

THURLOW WEED does not think Tilden would make a good President, even if he could be elected, as he could only be by the union of the Democracy with rebellion—a union which, if successful, would throw the Government into the hands of those who attempted to destroy the country.

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SLANDER.

England may have its elections, and there may be fighting and bribery, but the slander which afflicts this country is an element not to be found in British politics. No political speaker ventures to indulge in it, and however heated the contest, the press studiously abstains from villainous charges and scandalous aspersions from a wholesome fear of the law. Nor is there the slightest chance of politicians setting themselves to calumniate public men. If a charge is made and published it must be proved; for it has been purposely made dangerous and expensive to all of that class who are willing to tell what they know to the detriment of others from partisan motives or to aid the party to which they belong by attacking political opponents high in office or in public esteem. The law and the courts in England are relied upon to meet slanders. There is no occasion to pass the court by and ask Parliament to investigate a case by a special committee, where Whigs favor the Whigs, and Tories the Tories. Men stand in wholesome dread of slander because a slanderer has few friends, and a Parliamentary committee is not the tribunal before which a slander should be tried. The people of the United States might learn a useful lesson on this subject. Mean men have charged Blaine, Morton, Conkling, and Bristow with conduct which, if proved, would disqualify them for the Presidency. Blaine, in the midst of a Herculean defense, in which he fought the Democracy single handed, was stricken with sudden and dangerous illness. Morton took the slanderers at their word, and proved himself a war governor of which the nation may be proud. Conkling was not the man to destroy himself for a fee in a patent case. And no mule or "Mary Merritt" cases could make Bristow any other than he is—the man that introduced the element of backbone in politics, and when the revenue fell short, struck with all his might at the men who were guilty of fraud and brought them before the courts, where they were convicted and punished.

The Democrats have joined hands and

hearts with the ex-Confederates of the House of Representatives to render this session odious and notorious for bogus investigations and slanderous charges. The expenses of their investigating committees will far exceed a million dollars; and for this Democratic indulgence the people will have to pay. The investigations have been so numerous that nothing else has been done, and the session is drawing to a close with the appropriation bills in a chaotic state and unpassed. Democrats have always shown a desire to attempt to blacken the character and villify Republicans. The Democratic members of committees have taken as evidence the infamous statements of men who would have been put out of any decent court in Christendom. These statements were taken at irregular meetings, during the absence of Republican members, who are in the minority, and without cross-examinations by the Republicans charged, and the statements have been given to the Democratic press for publication and comment as if they were true! Will the people tolerate this infamy? Is it not time that the reign of slander terminated? Will not the people rally round the Republican candidate for President and other Republican candidates throughout the country, and destroy the last hope of the Democracy to accomplish the country's ruin? It all depends upon the people. If they are faithful to their trust and do their duty the assembling again of a Democratic-ex-Confederate House of Representatives will be an impossibility, and the insidious and dirty working of Democratic committees never be repeated.

Just how these committees work Mr. Clymer's may serve as a notable instance. It was Mr. Clymer's committee that investigated Lawrence Harney's charge of bribing Speaker Kerr with \$450 for securing a captain's commission for A. P. Green in the regular army. Mr. Strouse, a Democratic member of the House when Mr. Harney was a doorkeeper, appeared as a witness before Mr. Clymer's committee to testify against Harney and in favor of Mr. Kerr. But he

had been true to his instincts as a Democrat notwithstanding. He had the misfortune to be cross-examined when the following incident was revealed. He had been paid upward of \$300 for his influence in securing an army commission for a person who did not pass the surgeon's examination, and the amount was returned by Mr. Strouse with the profoundest regret as a serious loss of official emolument. Mr. Clymer's committee acquitted Mr. Kerr, and Mr. Danford, a Republican member of the committee, took the opportunity to express himself in language which Republicans only can utter. Mr. Danford agreed with the conclusion of the committee, but charged upon the Democratic party the responsibility of the production of such men as Harney, a thorough falsifier and detractionist from the life-long good character of public men that should weigh in the balance, and the searching of junk-shops for old telegrams to show evidence relevant and irrelevant against the character of men in public and private life, as instanced by buying up the waste paper of a telegraph office to find evidence for Congressional investigating committees.

He challenged the Democracy to an issue like that, but said most emphatically that Mr. Harney is a bad man, and that the apparent truth of his story should guide them in consulting probabilities before they put another man on the witness stand to defame a public man, or no member of Congress would be safe from attack, no matter how pure his life had been before. He scouted the idea of a conspiracy in the matter, and charged it to Harney's inherent badness, and deprecated the indiscriminate attacks that had been made on even the President as degrading to our institutions and our nationality. He fully, entirely, and positively exonerated Mr. Kerr, and said the question was decided in a manner that must be not only pleasing to Mr. Kerr's friends, but thoroughly and entirely satisfactory to his family.

This is the way Republicans say what they mean. It has the ring of the true metal, and there is no room for slander in the heart of a Republican. Republicans have an inborn hatred of slander; and they repudiate it with all the scorn that arises

from a profound patriotism, and a determination to serve the people without resorting to what they abhor, even to acquitting a Democrat when convinced of his innocence as an example to Democrats to go and do likewise to Republicans whom they know to be not guilty of the charges made against them.

RECONCILIATION.—It was no careless or hasty selection which secured for William A. Wheeler the second place on the ticket. He may be less known than he ought to be, in his native State as well as in the country at large; but wherever he is known his name elicits a warmth of attachment and esteem such as few public men have ever merited or enjoyed. Honest and moderate men of both political parties in the South have learned to respect in Mr. Wheeler one who appreciates the gravity of the problems with which the friends of Southern progress have to deal, and who discerns a nobler triumph than mere partisan advantage in the reconciliation of social and political elements whose interests are substantially the same.

TWO QUESTIONS.—Is our present system of national currency worth sustaining? If it is, then the party that created it and protects it must be sustained by the people in November next.

Are our national bonds worth protecting and the credit of the nation worth sustaining in the markets of the world? If so, there can be but one answer to the question, "Which party can best protect our bonds and our credit?" Common sense ought to dictate that the party which guarded both during the rebellion and since its close is the only party that can be trusted to protect them at the present time.

THE NEW LEADERSHIP.—The names of Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler are amply sufficient guarantees that the party has shaken off the influences which threatened to paralyze it; that it has repudiated the corruption which its so-called leaders have suffered to stain its record and make its honest members hang their heads for shame. A campaign under such leadership will be an aggressive, enthusiastic, and united one.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER MONEY.

The history of the system in vogue in the Treasury Department, inaugurated and carried into successful operation by a Republican administration, which took charge of the reins of government at a time when the country was threatened with a great civil war, and when the Departments in Washington were almost in a state of chaos, would be very interesting were the materials at hand to cover such an extended narrative. But as this is almost impossible just now, a sketch will be given simply of the methods of securing the interests of the Government in the printing, issue, redemption, and accounting of public securities.

THE PRINTING OF PAPER MONEY.

When the people of the North actually realized that war had begun they also discovered that the state of the finances would not permit the Government to take very stringent steps to protect itself. To remedy this, action was taken by Congress authorizing the issue of sixty million dollars in United States notes, payable in gold. These are known as the "old demand notes."

The suspension of specie payments by the banks, in December, 1861, was followed by the withdrawal of gold, silver, and even copper coin from circulation. Then the difficulty of making payment of small sums became so great that the people were driven to the use of postage and revenue stamps and the checks of individuals and corporations as substitutes.

To remedy this Congress on the 17th of July, 1862, passed an act authorizing payments in stamps of the United States, but prohibiting the circulation of notes of individuals and corporations. These stamps were exchangeable for United States notes.

Complaints were soon made, however, against this form of currency, it being subject to great losses, as was shown subsequently by the fact that while about twenty million dollars were issued there still remain some four million dollars outstanding, most of which will never be received at the Treasury.

To replace postal and revenue stamp currency the Secretary of the Treasury was by

act of March 3, 1863, empowered to issue a new fractional currency in like amounts—the same to be printed in the Treasury. A little more than twenty-three million dollars were thus printed and issued. This is known as the second issue of fractional currency.

To replace the "old demand notes" the first issue of what were termed "greenbacks" was authorized by act of July 25, 1862, of which there were printed nearly six hundred and seventy million dollars—the original act having been amended to admit of this large issue.

Following these issues came the—

One-year notes of 1863.

Two-year notes of 1863.

Two-year coupons of 1863.

Compound interest notes of 1863.

Compound interest notes of 1864.

Third issue of fractional currency.

Fourth issue of fractional currency.

United States notes of 1869.

Fractional currency, fourth issue—second series.

Fractional currency, fourth issue—third series.

United States notes of 1874.

The total paper money issued and redeemed since the beginning of the war, and outstanding on the 30th June, 1875, was as follows:

Issued	\$2,081,224,564 45
Redeemed	1,662,767,805 76

Outstanding	418,456,758 69
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Thus it will be seen that the printed securities of the Government amounted in fifteen years to the enormous sum, in round numbers, of two thousand and eighty-one million dollars. Of this sum, which has been in the pockets of the people, there are nearly sixteen hundred and seventy-three million dollars now retired.

Prior to 1869 there was considerable difficulty found in preventing counterfeiting; and the printing of the early issues by Government was done under circumstances very discouraging to those who were compelled to devise systems for a work that required the greatest perfection in a thousand details, without precedents to guide them. Yet the

greatest credit is due for the success with which their efforts have been crowned.

The skilled workmen of the country were then in the employ of private corporations, and most of the work was necessarily given to the bank-note companies, they possessing the greatest facilities for the prompt execution of contracts. Gradually, however, the Government became its own printer, and to-day the major part of the work is done in the Treasury by Government employes.

DISTINCTIVE PAPER.

One of the sources of weakness in the printing of securities was found to be the facility with which the paper on which the securities were printed could be obtained by counterfeiters; and to afford the greatest protection against fraud an act was passed authorizing the making of a special kind of material known as "distinctive paper," to be used exclusively by the Government. All of the current notes, fractional currency, bonds, and stamps are printed on this kind of paper.

On the adoption of this material the mill in which it is manufactured was placed under the surveillance of the Treasury, which maintains a force of watchmen to guard against tampering with its manufacture. An agent of the Treasury is in charge as superintendent, who receives the paper from the manufacturer as soon as it is made, and stores or forwards it as directed. Every precaution is taken to prevent the loss of paper, and none but those employed are allowed access to the grounds. The mills are at Glen Falls, West Chester, Pa. In the manufacture of this "distinctive paper" short pieces of red silk are mixed with the pulp in an engine, and the finished material is conducted to a wire without passing through any screens which might retain the silk threads. By an arrangement above the wire cloth a shower of short pieces of fine blue silk thread is dropped carefully upon the paper while it is being formed. The lower side, on which the blue silk is deposited, is the one used for the back of the notes, and from the manner in which the threads are applied must show them more distinctly than the upper side, although they are embedded deep enough to remain fixed. Each

sheet is registered as soon as it is manufactured.

As soon as the paper is transferred to the care of the superintendent a report is made by the manufacturer and another by the superintendent, stating the date, size of paper delivered, number of sheets, and for what it is to be used. These reports are forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury, and are examined and recorded in the currency division, where the accounts are kept of all paper of this character used for Treasury purposes. The accounts of this office relating to paper embrace every variety used in printing Government securities, and reach every distinct class of issues by denomination; so that any information relating to paper or printed money can be obtained by reference to the records. This system serves as a check also upon the manufacturer, the superintendent, the express companies as forwarders, the bank-note companies in New York and Washington, Carpenter & Co., Philadelphia, and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing in the Treasury, so far as paper and printing are concerned; and in the matter of paper after it is printed—when it becomes money—it forms a check upon the United States Treasurer, Register of the Treasury, and Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The accounts take each sheet of the paper as soon as it is manufactured, follows it through the various offices and processes of printing to its issue as money, and also, after redemption from circulation, to its final destruction by the Secretary of the Treasury. The success with which these accounts have been kept is evident from the fact that, while the printing and deliveries of money have run into the billions, it has been done without the loss of a cent to the Government by fraudulent issues or otherwise.

ADDITIONAL PRECAUTION AGAINST FRAUD.

The printing is principally done in the Treasury, but a portion of the work on each note is done outside. This is to avoid the possibility of fraud by combination, which might be possible if all the work was performed in one building or by one company or establishment. In the printing bureau of the Treasury the checks adopted against the possibility of fraud are also of the most elab-

orate kind, and apparently they are amply sufficient to prevent either mistake or loss.

After the securities receive the finishing touch in the printing bureau they are delivered to the Treasurer if money, to the Register if bonds, and to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue if stamps. Sheets spoiled in printing or otherwise imperfect are delivered to the division of currency of the Secretary's office. This completes the work, and the money, bonds, and stamps are then placed in the vaults of the various offices designated for issue when needed, except the spoiled imprints, which are counted and destroyed by a committee appointed for that purpose.

THE ISSUE AND REDEMPTION OF PAPER MONEY.

When a remittance of mutilated money is received by the Treasurer the package is delivered to experienced counters in his office who examine and count the contents, throwing out counterfeits when found. These counters are ladies, whose quick perceptions and nimble fingers are found to be much better suited to the work than those of men. The counters are held responsible for the detection of counterfeits and for losses while in their hands. They account each day for the amounts they receive. If they pass a counterfeit they are compelled to pay the amount, as the issue of new money is made upon their report.

After this count each note is cut in two through the center, put up in duplicate packages of perhaps \$4,000, and cancelled by the punching of holes in each stack of half notes. These are then delivered, one half to the Register and the other end or half to the Secretary's office—the upper or left half of each greenback, and the right halves of fractional currency going to the Register, while the opposite ends are sent to the Secretary. Each note is then examined and counted in these two offices, making three counts in all, and if errors are found the Treasurer's office rectifies them. After this the duplicate lots are delivered to a committee of four, one representing the Secretary, the second the Register, a third the Treasurer, and the fourth the people generally. When internal revenue stamps are to be destroyed another agent is added for that office. A schedule

of the lots prepared to be destroyed is delivered to this committee, who check off each lot as it is thrown into a large boiler which, when filled, is sealed up, and the chemicals previously thrown in acted upon by a flow of steam and water, produces decomposition and reduces the paper to a pulp. It is, however, allowed to remain in this state forty-eight hours, when the seal is broken, the pulp examined, and certificates of destruction are signed by the committee. These certificates are sent to the Treasurer, Register, Comptroller, and Secretary, and form the vouchers of these officers in the settlement of their accounts.

The printing, issue, and redemption of internal revenue stamps, bonds, and national bank notes are carried on with very little variation, as herein indicated. Nothing has been left undone that was deemed necessary to render the obligations of the Government of every form as safe to the people as it is possible to render them; and on reflection it will be admitted that the checks and guards are so numerous, and so well arranged, that it is almost impossible that any "irregularity" can occur without immediate detection.

THE "FIRST" VOTE.—Some half a million young Republicans have arrived at the age of manhood since the last Presidential election, and will cast their first Presidential vote in November next. Mr. Hayes will have the entire lot. He is "young in years and younger in spirit," and the magnetism of youth will attract to him the full first vote. With the vote will come the youthful enthusiasm of each, with the will to work for victory.

OUR CANDIDATES.—The foremost of the candidates is a man of plain, unobtrusive manners, unimpeachable honesty, keen intelligence, and robust common sense. The second place on the ticket has been given to one whose ability as a legislator and whose influence as a clear-headed, far-seeing statesman are worthy of the noblest era of our history and the highest standards of our public life. The Convention has given the Republican party a ticket and a platform on which it can and must win.

Republicans undertake the work in the South it will remain undone, and there will grow up a dangerous class for which the Democracy must be held responsible. The Republican party conferred freedom on the slaves who were loyal, when their masters were fighting against the Union; and Republicans were prepared to educate them. The blacks made wonderful advances while the opportunity was given them. But the Democratic party saw that if they were educated it could not control them; and Southern Democrats resorted to intimidation or worse to prevent the colored people being taught. The success resulting from these outrages led to their application to the black voters intending to exercise the right of the fran-

chise, and as the votes of the black men were needed to count, the Democracy either cast the black men's ballots for their friends, or counted in Democratic candidates without the trouble of being voted for.

On the success of the Republican party in November next depends the doing away of this injustice, and the stopping of these murderous deeds. If the strong arm of the Government can reach across the seas to protect an American citizen, Republican statesmen will devise means to protect the citizens of the Republic within its own borders, that the advantages of education and the rights of the franchise may be secured for every citizen in the land, however humble or obscure.

GENERAL HAYES ON THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

In the Ohio campaign of 1875, General Hayes took a decided stand in favor of hard money and an early return to specie payments. The contest was mainly on that issue. The Democratic candidates, Mr. Allen, for Governor, and General Cary, for Lieutenant Governor, opposed the Republican policy of hard money. Governor Allen claimed that the greenback was not only a bond or note of promise to pay money, but that it was money itself "to pay all debts, including United States bonds." General Cary savagely attacked the bondholders and wealthier classes, and appealed to the passions of the ignorant in speeches calculated to deceive and prejudice the popular mind against the Republican policy of specie resumption. Senator Sherman, General Woodford, of New York, Carl Schurz, and General Hayes warned the country against the evils of a fluctuating paper currency. Hayes spoke nearly every evening during the canvass, and his voice was persistently in favor of hard money. A reporter writing from Ohio to the *New York Times* said: "Hayes meets the money question squarely everywhere. On this subject no man in the canvass has been more positive, more manly, or more firm." The result was a victory for Hayes, who was elected Governor by a handsome majority over Allen, the Democratic candidate. The

inflation and repudiation movement was struck a blow from which, says the *New York Times*, it never recovered. The victory for sound money in Ohio defeated the inflationists in Pennsylvania, and has so far prevented the Democratic House of Representatives from repudiating the pledge of 1875. Had the contest been other than what General Hayes and the other advocates of hard money made it innumerable ills might have come upon the country. At best the uncompromising advocates of honest money have had a long, hard task in holding the country to its successive small advances toward resumption. To that inestimably important end General Hayes contributed as much as any one man in the country.

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NO APOLOGIES TO MAKE.—Personally the Republican nominees have nothing to extenuate or explain, and their public life has been identified neither with the men who have betrayed the trust which the party confided to them, nor with the scandals which have marked the recent history of all sections of American politics. Neither of them has excited violent animosities, and both of them have done such service to the Union and to their party as will secure for them the warmest support of Republicans of all shades of opinion.

THE IDEAL AND THE REAL—DEMOCRATIC STAGNATION.

The world moves, and the evidence of its progress is everywhere before us. This idea seems to have been prevalent in the minds of some of the gentlemen who recently attended the meeting of the trustees of Hampden-Sidney College, Va., for the purpose of conferring degrees. After the degrees had been conferred and the delivery of the speeches by the graduates, a Centennial address was spoken by Dr. Hoge. He said :

"You behold the traces of the mother mellowed by time. The years between youth and manhood vanish to-day. Anticipation and realization meet together. As the evening becomes the morning star memory becomes hope, and the glory of the past is the dawn of brighter glory."

This is a pretty thought, prettily expressed; but its meaning is that progress is continuous; that the achievements of the present will soon become those of the past; and that using all moral and material advancement as the stepping-stone for exertion, we reach forward to higher aims and nobler achievements in what lies beyond us in future. There is indeed a golden chain which connects the PAST with the PRESENT; and the brighter glory which labor has yet to develop, for the welfare and elevation of man in the FUTURE, will nevertheless be bound together by the same golden links, that the full fruition of what has been bestowed in time may be secured and preserved.

There is truth in this ideal view of man, and what concerns him. It is of interest to the student, the graduate, and to the men fighting the battles of the world and beating down all opposition. But if it is true when applied to ethics, is it possible that it could be untrue when applied to politics; to the science of Government; to man as a citizen, responsible for the formation of correct political opinions or the acceptance of correct political principles; and of the performance of his duty to the State and to his fellow men?

This question appears to have been answered by Senator Stevenson, of Kentucky, in his oration before the Society of the Alumni. It was an able and feeling appeal to the young men present, in which Mr.

Stevenson reviewed the scenes in the institution where he was a student forty-seven years ago. He called upon his audience to consider the living present, and said :

"American independence and Hampden-Sidney College had been born the same year. Twins at their birth, they had been allies in life for the freedom and salvation of man. The question as to each is whether from this time we shall advance or decline. We are cowards if we do not boldly look the future in the face. The Constitution purchased by the red blood of our fathers is to be preserved. We must pass away. To you younger men is committed the trust which patriotism and liberty impose. Dead empires show the certain decay of that prosperity which is only material. I come to depress nobody. All dangers increase responsibility. Is there not a cloud? Is nothing different from what it was in the days of our fathers?"

It is true that the generation passing away will be succeeded by the generation of young men, whose right training, whether in college, school, or home, is of unspeakable importance. But there is the same sad inconsistency in the address of Senator Stevenson which marks the leaders of the Democratic party in the South and in the North. If he and other Democrats are to be held before the youth of to-day as examples for imitation, there is indeed danger to the future of the country. "The Constitution purchased by the red blood of our fathers is to be preserved." Did the Senator hold this view when he entered the Confederacy with the avowed intention to destroy the Constitution? Could the fathers ever have imagined the outbreak of the rebellion in the South, and the consequent war for the purpose of preserving slavery? This is 1876—the Centennial year. The authors of American Independence never imagined a bloody civil strife between the South and the rest of the Union, for the great hope of all of them was the preservation of their mighty work. But the authors of the rebellion thought otherwise, and they became responsible for the additional bloodshed which desolated the land, and caused the vast debt to be inflicted upon the people. The authors of the Constitution provided for the growth of the country and for the progress that has ensued. In adapting the

names of scores of its high officers and public men our public scandal and our shame."

This is what General McClernand said of Republicans! The Republican party inherited the war. The leaders of the Democracy had allowed the preparations for rebellion to mature without taking measures to prevent them. And when the people lost faith in the Democratic party and cast it out of power the Republican party, ever true and loyal to freedom and the Union cause, succeeded the Democracy, and moreover succeeded in saving the Union. If the preservers of this Republic are greater than the founders of empires does not the Republican party deserve the credit for its stupendous efforts in putting down the rebellion? And if the Republican party preserved the Republic can its record be otherwise than good and noble and patriotic? Yet General McClernand says of its record that it is—

"A record of horrible incapacity, venality, waste, fraud, and the party which had been powerless to break down and trample under foot its corruptionists, with stupendous ef-

frontery pledged itself to a reform of which it has become incapable."

The "stupendous effrontery" is on the side of the Democracy whose record shows its sympathies were with disloyalty. That General McClernand was able to speak of "the whole Union" was due to the courage, wisdom, and endurance of Republicans. And it seems to be something more than effrontery in General McClernand to charge the Republican party with fraud and incapacity, when a Confederate House of Representatives has stopped the legislation of the nation through its imbecility and ignorance in the conduct of public affairs, and the Democratic party is consenting to the plot to cripple the public service by the House recklessly refusing to appropriate sufficient money to carry on the business of the Government.

Had the South prevailed in its rebellion, and founded a slave empire, what "heritage of liberty" would the Democracy have preserved and transmitted to us? We should like to hear General McClernand reply.

WORK AND VOTE.

The other day an article appeared in a Virginia journal alleging that a particular locality in the South was so prolific that labor was superfluous. The land surrounding the city where the paper is published is unquestionably of a superior quality; and the inhabitants of the city number some 25,000 souls. But the city had little evidence of prosperity. Business men complained of heavy taxation and the ruinous State debt. The State debt crushed out the life of trade and commerce. Farmers with good crops needed railway accommodation to dispose of them at remunerative prices; traders had lost heart because they were losing money; and when the stranger looked at the unenterprising character of the people and the absence of that energy which denotes freedom and manhood, he saw at once how deep and extensive was the curse of slavery, as it had made the people dislike labor. This dislike of physical labor had extended to mental labor as applied to scholarship and to politics. A dark political pall seemed

to hang upon the brows of the community. The Republican party had been fraudulently overcome by the Conservatives. Conservatives had come in upon the cry of being the exponents of Democratic doctrine, and claimed respectability for so doing. Voters were caught by this clap-trap appeal. They took their opinions upon trust, and followed their leaders without taking the trouble to inquire. This had been the political and commercial ruin of the place. The people are now calling to Conservatives to re-found the Republican party, by joining with Republicans, white and black, and thus become affiliated with the only men who can give the country prosperity.

Knaves and fools only despise labor. Wise men are industrious from choice; for they know that nothing lasting, nothing valuable can be achieved without it. The Presidential contest in which we are engaged will demand of all the most persistent effort and the most faithful example. Republicans in the South are beginning to discover that in

spite of the grievous wrongs they have endured the future is big with hope if a united and manly effort be made. For instance, it is said that Democrats have for sometime been having things pretty much their own way in Tennessee. A few sturdy Republicans have put their shoulders to the wheel, and invited their friends to do likewise. Hence, they say, it is more than brag to speak of carrying the State for the Republican party, which will insure for it prosperity, and peace, and order. But they are aware that the Democracy cannot be beaten without labor.

A genuine Republican is just the man to pledge his hand and heart to assist, and as the invitation goes from county to county in Tennessee, and the most prominent Republicans come forward to help, the State will be one vast hive of workers

in the Republican cause—the cause of humanity and freedom, which cannot fail. Other States, too, will catch the spirit of vigorous resistance to Democratic oppression and injustice. And when Republicans are awake to the best interests of the Union, and all do their utmost for the common good, the political darkness of the Democratic past, which has pressed upon the people like a nightmare, will give place to sunlight and concord of States. Then the true principle of brotherhood will be developed in reality, because it will be based upon the divine principle which the Republican party recognizes and advocates, viz: to do to others as we would they should do to us, and to grant and defend the rights and equality of all men before the law which the Constitution guarantees and which every Republican claims for himself.

WHAT DEMOCRATS THINK OF HAYES AND WHEELER.

The utter imbecility of the majority of the present House of Representatives has been demonstrated by the chaotic confusion in which the public business is found at the end of the fiscal year. When the rebellion was on the eve of breaking out, Howell Cobb, as Secretary of the Treasury, reported to Congress that 1860 was a most prosperous year; that the harvest had been bountiful and the commerce of the country larger than ever. Having placed on record these facts, which could not be gainsaid, he retired from office and went home to assist his State to secede from the Union. Other prominent Southerners had seats in Congress, and they rose in their places one after another to avow their treason and disappear from association with Northern men. This was the case with Southerners generally, who recrossed Mason and Dixon's line with peculiar fervor, resolving to return and capture Washington, dissolve the Union, and do many more wonderful exploits of the same character, as they whipped the mudsills of the North out of their boots and called the roll of slaves at Bunker Hill.

This was the programme of the rebellion; but unfortunately, although the Southern

heart was fired to a white heat, the programme was too extensive to carry out. A war was fought, however, which lasted more than four years, and slavery was the prize; but the history of the Union, which never was dismembered, does not give the victory to the South; and as to slavery, that Southern idol, it perished in the light of a purer day.

The Republican party, which conducted the war and which was the party of freedom and union, know that the war has been fought by the number of noble men who sleep the sleep of heroes, having sealed their patriotism with their blood, and by the vast debt incurred in the preservation of the Union which the survivors are pledged to pay. Republicans know and feel this to-day, and those who live at Bunker Hill have never heard the call of the slave roll yet. But the Democracy are like that famous monarch who never did a wise thing; and the ex-Confederate Democrats profess to have made the discovery that the people who fought the war have become convinced that they were wrong, and, as they were chiefly Republicans and fair-minded, they were disgusted with their record of opposing

the South, and were only too willing to wipe it out and forget it, that the South might forgive them for saving the Union.

With this discovery Confederates came to Congress highly elated. They felt that the North was sorry and desired to forget the war; and consequently the South was ready to forgive, and turn out of office or destroy the reputation of every Republican as a proof of it. The Congressional Democracy, which reached very low down and tickled the diaphragms of the Democratic party, were so convinced of the truth of what the South said of Republicans that, without guile, they joined the ranks of the Congressional Confederates, and both became the standard-bearers of that flag which carries death and dismay to Republicans in the South, white and black, that will not acknowledge and vote for Democratic supremacy. And these standard-bearers have earned the fame of the most blunderheaded of Bourbons, who never learned anything and forgot nothing, so that the problem of their alliance is a little mixed upon the question of their political erudition.

These Democrats and Confederate allies assumed the control of Congress, and very soon showed their utter incapacity for public affairs. They were unable to disconnect themselves from the past. With Republicans alleged to be sorrowing and with arms extended to take Messrs. Lamar and Hill, the loveliest of the rebel brotherhood, to their bosom, Southerners could not interpret the public sentiment, but hoped it would come round all right at last, that they might be friends with the North. So they became devotedly magnanimous. All they wanted was the supreme control of the country they fought to destroy; and such Republicans as were mean enough to dispute their supremacy they would punish by excepting from their affection and would on no account befriend. Off they went upon their journey, as time was precious. They traveled in the old ruts and opposed all Republican legislation, in order to re-establish the political condition of the days when the Democratic party was banished from power because it deserved it. True, the road was rough and the task was difficult. Strangely, the people

did not sanction downright disloyalty uttered in Congress and elsewhere. Nor did the Confederates in the South receive public approbation for their denial of the rights of citizenship to Republicans. Indeed, the nation complained of the vulgar and stupid trick of rebels asking restoration because they were such, and attempting to demonstrate that the Republican party was wrong in saving the Union, and should make way for the Democratic party, in which the rebels found shelter, as it and they only had been loyal to the Constitution.

This was hard work, but every Confederate had an inward conviction that the days of the Republican party were numbered; that it was born to die; that the only imperishable thing under the sun which the people loved and longed to behold was a full return to the glory of Democratic ascendancy, when a Democratic President would grace the White House, a Democratic Administration put back the hands of time, and a Democratic majority be found in the House and the Senate. Then would the country shine forth in its prosperity. Republican statesmen and soldiers should take back seats and witness the undoing of the work of the last sixteen years. Soft money would be plentiful and taxation light. The public debt would be repudiated and the Southern war debt paid, together with the slave-owners of the South for the slaves emancipated. The South would rise in its majesty. The Slave Power, defiant in its grandeur, with none to make it afraid or curb it, would deal with the "niggers" reduced to slavery hopeless and eternal. In a word, all the blessings, moral, political, and social, that culminated in 1860 would be transplanted to the Centennial year 1876; the progress of the country would be stopped; and the fires of discontent rekindled in the land, and be ready to burst forth with increasing volume and with a hundred-fold the desolating power of the war.

Such was the dream of the Confederate of the Democratic party. Its leaders talked wildly of corruption, of the rottenness of the Republican party, of its weakness, of the indifference of its best men, and of the necessity of a Democratic-Confederate succession.

The star of Democracy stood over the White House, and thither all wise men would proceed. Alas! the day came for the meeting of the nominating convention at Cincinnati. The Republican delegates were expected to nominate for the offices of President and Vice President the men who were to kill the Republican party and make room for the nomination of the standard-bearers of the Democracy, who would fascinate the country. But Hayes and Wheeler were nominated; and, while the sturdiest rebels began to quake, there was a sense of general discomfiture throughout the Democratic camp. This is shown by those quiet little communications which Democrats were heard to make to one another.

The nomination of Hayes was so unexpected that it sorely perplexed them. Had Blaine or Conkling or Bristow or Morton been the man they would have known the opponent they would have had to deal with, but Hayes had disconcerted them, as they frankly and openly admit.

"He is a first-class fellow," said Sunset Cox, recalling his acquaintance with him in Congress.

"I dread Hayes' nomination more than that of anybody else," said Ben Hill, of Georgia.

"It's a respectable ticket," said another well-known Democrat.

"Well, it has knocked us all to pieces," said one of the officials of the House. "We'll have to take Tilden now to carry New York, and if we take Tilden the West will bolt and nominate a soft-money ticket." Another Democrat said: "We have got to keep our eyes wide open at St. Louis. We've got to nominate the best kind of a man, and we've got to put him on the right kind of a platform."

Shortly after Mr. Hill had expressed his dread of Hayes' nomination he became still more communicative to his friends, though his spirits did not rise. He seemed to become more dejected the more he thought of the situation; and, with almost streaming eyes, he at last threw his soul into his words, as he uttered in a tone of disgust—

"By G—d, they've got us again!"

This little historic record is worth preserving for the events which are to follow.

Since these remarks were uttered the nomination of Tilden has been made at St. Louis. Republicans may now go to work and make the fears of the Democrats true by securing a Republican victory.

GENERAL HAYES IN MILITARY AND CIVIL LIFE.—Of his military character, one who served with him in nearly all of his campaigns has written as follows:

"As an officer he was noted not only for strict loyalty to his superiors, but for gallantry in battle and alacrity in the discharge of every duty, however perilous or arduous. The first suggestion of his nomination for Governor was strongly disfavored by the General, who put a quietus upon the movement in that direction as soon as heard of it. He generally preferred to remain in the military service as long as the rebellion lasted, and no political promotion was any temptation for him to leave it while the triumph of the national arms was incomplete. During the war he was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of the Second District, and directly afterward received a letter importuning him to return home and make the canvass. General Hayes replied to this letter as follows:

IN CAMP, October 2.

Yours of the 29th ult. is received. Thanks. I have other business just now. Any man who would leave the Army at this time to electioneer for Congress ought to be scalped.

Truly yours, R. B. HAYES.

Notwithstanding this refusal to leave the field to co-operate with his friends in securing his political preferment, he was handsomely elected, defeating Joseph C. Butler, the Democratic candidate by a majority of 2,455.

In 1868 he was re-elected, his competitor being Theodore Cook, and his majority over that gentleman was 2,556. In Congress his industry, sound judgment, and fidelity to the interests of his constituents were conspicuous, and gave him a position of great prominence and influence with his fellow-members. Though not apparently ambitious of oratorical display, and seldom occupying the time of the House with even a short speech, his unobtrusive and thoroughly efficient discharge of his duty won for him not only respect but reputation, and he was regarded both in Washington and in Ohio as one of the ablest and best members on the floor. He took a deep interest in all the great and agitating questions then before Congress, including those relating to the reorganization of the lately revolted States, and acted uniformly in accord with the Republican line of policy in reference to the measures.

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY.

The cry of official corruption has been the peculiar hobby of the Democratic party since it was driven from power by an indignant people whose confidence it had betrayed. From time to time wholesale charges of official corruption have been made against the Republican party and its administration of affairs. There has been nothing definite in these charges, but they have been uttered so persistently that many, ignorant of the true facts, have been willing to believe them. In order to give an air of authority to these Democratic falsehoods a Democratic Senator called for a statement of the official defalcations as they appeared upon the books of the Treasury. The Senator wanted only those which had occurred since the Republican party came into power, but the resolution was so amended as to call for those under previous Administrations also, running back to 1834. As many of the balances found due the United States were more technical than real, and if classed among criminal defalcations would work injury to some of the best men of the nation, living and dead, the Senate declined to print them, to which no objections were offered. The justice of this course will be apparent to all when it is stated that such names as Washington Irving appear in the list owing the United States sums ranging from one cent to ten dollars. Riggs and Corcoran, Baring Brothers, even the English Government, were down for small amounts. In lieu, therefore, of the complete list, a summary of the well known defalcations will be published, and from this the country can judge how unjust have been the charges raised against the Republican party.

The remarks of Senator Anthony on the subject give valuable information, which, in these times of political defamation, may be of service to Democracy. He said:

"The aggregate statement of the disbursements of the Treasury under the list is a paper exceedingly creditable to the American Government. I do not mean to any particular party, but to the financial history of the United States. There have been disbursed since 1834—I can hardly read such

—\$13,936,870,072.05, of which is

marked upon these books \$22,266,000, being about half a million of dollars a year, and a great part of this is nominal, not real.

"The losses on the \$1,000 of disbursements were, in the administration of Jackson, \$10.55; Van Buren, \$21.15; Harrison, \$10.37; Polk, \$8.34; Taylor and Fillmore, \$7.44; Pierce, \$5.86; Buchanan, nearly \$6.98; Lincoln, \$1.41; Johnson, 48 cents; Grant, the first four years, 40 cents; the second four years, 26 cents—showing a constant decline, which is owing in a large degree to the improved manner of keeping the accounts; and that is due very largely to the Committees on Finance and Appropriations, who have introduced legislation here which has compelled much greater accuracy and responsibility. The average percentage of losses during this whole period on the disbursements is \$1.59 on the thousand. I do not believe that the aggregate of any class of corporate or private business, banking, commercial, or any other kind, can show so small a percentage of loss as this, and it is gratifying that the percentage of loss is continually decreasing, coming down from \$21.55 in the administration of Van Buren to an average of twenty-three cents on the thousand and dollars, or only about one-sixtieth as much under the present Administration. This is exclusive of the Post Office, which administers its own revenue. In the Post Office the loss has gone down from \$11.18 on the \$1,000 in Jackson's administration, and \$26.19 in Van Buren's, to \$1.59 for the first term of Grant and \$1.01 for the second, with an average of \$3.51 for the whole period. I move that this statement, which I think is creditable to the Government and to all parties, be printed; and that the adverse report of the Committee on Printing on the rest of the document lie over until the return of the Senator from West Virginia."

Here we have the results of an official investigation, called for by a Democratic Senator. From the figures given it will be seen that no Republican need blush for shame over the official integrity of his party. On the contrary, he has reasons to be proud over a record that has had no equal since the formation of the Government.

THE QUESTION.—Shall the Government be ruled in time of peace by men who tried to destroy it in time of war? This is the question to be settled in the Presidential canvass. All other issues are side ones, and amount to nothing compared with this one important question.

A REMARKABLE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

The celebration of the Fourth, which took place in the town of Virgil, Cortland county, N. Y., was in all probability the most remarkable that occurred in any section of the country on that day. It was remarkable, not from the manner of conducting the festivities which followed the programme usual on such occasions, but from the fact that the four principal actors of the day had not only been present but had actually assumed the same character on the same ground *fifty years ago*. They were the chief marshal, Colonel Wm. Squires; the chaplain, Deacon Nathan Bouton; the reader of the Declaration of Independence, Doctor F. Hyde; and the orator of the day, Colonel M. Frank.

The latter gentleman has for a number of years been a resident of Washington, having been called here to assume a position under Senator Boutwell, then Secretary of the Treasury. Colonel Frank is a thorough going, life-long Republican, and was for many years one of the leading members of that party in the State of Wisconsin, where he resided up to the time of his coming to Washington.

A copy of the *Cortland Standard and Journal*, of the 11th instant, has been received containing a full report the oration, a perusal of which shows that notwithstanding his years the Colonel still retains his mental faculties vigorous and unimpaired. It is a polished and masterly production, as the following extracts of general interest will show:

A half century ago to day I attempted to describe the progress that had been made during the preceding fifty years. I dwelt with enthusiasm on the advancement of our country in the direction of national greatness; the diffusion of education among the people; the rapid development of our agricultural resources; our progress in the arts, and in labor-saving machinery. A collection of agricultural implements, machinery, and household articles common fifty years ago would make an interesting exhibition for this centennial year. Improvements which were then regarded as triumphs of genius and skill have since passed into comparative insignificance. Among the new implements of husbandry then being introduced was the grain cradle, which rendered nearly obsolete the old classic sickle. The threshing-flail was the same in kind as employed

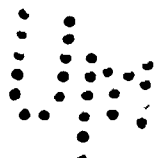
by the Romans two thousand years ago. The only instrument for mowing was the common scythe, which had undergone no material changes during many generations. Fifty years ago the popular thoroughfares between city and country were the turn-pikes. A drive on these privileged roads was deemed one of the luxuries of travel, except the exacting toll-gates sometimes ruffled the temper of pleasure riders.

During this period the New York and Erie canal, connecting the waters of the western lakes with the Hudson river, was regarded the wonder of the age—the greatest internal improvement achievement in America. This State enterprise was for a number of years the principle travel-route between the East and the almost illimitable West. The packet boat, moving four miles per hour, was as much the admiration of the then traveling public as the modern palace car, with a speed of forty miles per hour.

On our half century anniversary a compliment was paid to American genius and skill as having well nigh reached the limit of art, invention, and improvement, leaving only to the succeeding half century the finishing of what had already been outlined. But how finite is the human mind to unfold the future. Then we had not in all this land one foot of railroad, not a locomotive, nor a telegraph line. Since then a new era has dawned on every department of industry. The necessity for hand labor has been reduced five hundred per cent. by the introduction of machinery, while at the same time the conveniences, the comforts, and luxuries of life have been greatly multiplied. Science has brought into action many hitherto undiscovered forces; man now stands leisurely by and directs the machinery that performs the labor drudgery before required of human hands.

Had any one predicted fifty years ago that before this centennial year journeyings on land would be performed at the rate of sixty miles per hour, and that words would be conveyed to distant States with almost the rapidity of thought, such prediction would have been treated as coming from a disordered mind, and unworthy of notice. So of many other discoveries and inventions, the products of our day, the suggestion of their coming realization would have been deemed visionary.

In the progress of the world's improvements the United States have contributed a large share. The telegraph, by the aid of which news is transmitted on land and beyond the seas with the speed of electricity is the invention of an American. Steam as a propelling power in navigation is Ameri-



can. The cotton gin, without which the manufacture of cotton goods would necessarily be limited, or produced at much cost, is the product of American skill. The reaper and the mower, now indispensable to successful farming, are American. The sewing machine, a necessity in every household, is American. The rotary printing press, by which the newspaper is worked off with marvelous rapidity, to be scattered over the country as plentiful as autumn leaves is American. The planing mill and the grain elevator are American. The manufacture of ice, producing it under a tropical sun, is the product of American mind. A vast number of other improvements and inventions in manufactures and machinery, of but little less importance, are of American origin, mostly within the past fifty years.

Our progress, too, in governmental science, has been in correspondence with the advance of education and the growth of liberal ideas. Old limitations to political rights have been extended, and the people invested more fully with the privilege of self government. Laws incompatible with the genius of our free institutions have been abolished, and new ones enacted, more in consistency with the welfare of the people.

At this point the inquiry naturally arises, will a like progress mark the coming half century, as during the past? Discoveries and improvements are with rare exceptions the result of educated mind. If the education of the people continues to go increasingly on, it is reasonable to expect progress in art and invention during the next fifty years, as in the past. Science in its investigations is limitless in material things. It searches through the arena of nature, and brings into activity elements of power that have lain dormant through all the centuries of the past. It goes to the ocean depths; it scans the empyrean of the heavens, and pushes inquiry among the stars.

Although the unfoldings of the past may seem to have exhausted the power of man for further achievement, still there is a boundless field yet to be explored. Among the possibilities that may be reached at no distant period a few are suggested: Motive power, more simple and convenient than steam for driving machinery, and adapted to plowing on the farm; agencies for generating heat, which shall relieve the poor from the burdensome expenses of wood and coal; new facilities for safe travel, transcending the speed of railway locomotives; cheap light, surpassing a hundred street lamps; simple means for fertilizing the soil, increasing its productiveness an hundred fold; new and inexpensive building material, supplying the deficiency of our decreasing lumber forests; an enlarged sphere of activity and em-

ployment for women, which shall command respect and be consistent with female delicacy and refinement, thus making available a large industrial element now contributing but little to the general stock of wealth; an extension of her legal rights, giving her a voice in matters involving the taxation of her property; in the management of the public schools, in which her children are educated, and in the protection of her family from licensed demoralization; also a better understanding of the laws of health, leading to an avoidance of much sickness and suffering, and increasing the average longevity of human life; the discovery of effective remedies for the treatment of diseases now deemed incurable; more economical methods of living; cheapening expenses without abridging family luxuries, or interfering with the enjoyments, the culture, and the refinement of society.

If it be said, these suggested possibilities of the ensuing half century are chiefly chimerical, it may be answered, the same might have been said with equal force fifty years ago to-day, in respect to the discoveries, inventions, and improvements since then realized.

In the direction of civil progress the field is broad and capable of improvement: Laws for the government of the people, adapted to a higher condition of civilization and refinement, which no statesmanship has ever yet devised; the reorganization of law courts, making them tribunals of equity; abolishing useless forms and technicalities; setting aside the rigorous rulings of law and evidence to the end that the adjustment of differences between parties shall not be mere trials of professional skill as men play games at chess.

In the direction of moral and religious advancement, less adherence to denominational lines between those who hold in unity the essentials of the Christian faith; talent, time, and money expended for higher purposes than building up fragmentary religious sects and parties; more of right action; less of theologic theory; more of God, less of creed. Methods for the moral training of the young, which shall better fit coming generations for the true mission of life. Although all truth is eternal, without beginning and without end, still there is undeveloped truth yet to be applied to the education of children and youth which shall change the moral structure of society. If this be not so—if there be agencies yet unemployed, then this world will never be prepared for the promised millennial era. "All the space between man's mind and God's mind is filled with truth." What a vast domain yet to be occupied? What heights of moral grandeur yet to be reached? Is man

always to occupy so low a scale in the order of being? Are there no undeveloped possibilities yet to be brought into action which shall give the world the semblance of a new creation? Man was created "a little lower than the angels;" can it be that angels are but a little remove above the average man as now developed?

* * * * *

Legislators of the present day have a weighty responsibility; demands are made to remove some of the landmarks that guided our forefathers through the perils of our early history, and which have been recognized through later times. By the blessing of heaven we have grown from infancy to vigorous manhood. And now, since we have become a great nation, strong in national resources and defenses, men who have outgrown the moral teachings of the past assume we can stand alone, and have no further need to acknowledge the Divine Being in the way our fathers were accustomed to do. They would have our civil institutions divorced from the higher law, and they ask there shall be no recognition of God in governments, State or National. And now comes the request for the removal of the Bible from the public schools, where it has had an undisturbed place a hundred years. Every enlightened Christian nation on the globe acknowledges the Bible as its moral and religious standard. Then why exclude a book universally accepted by the Christian world from the schools of the land, where its influence is needed to shape the character of those to whom the destinies of this great commonwealth are to be committed? The law of the State very properly prohibits and confiscates immoral publications, but why single out the Bible and put it on the list of expurgated books? Of what has the Bible been guilty that there should come the demand at this late day to bar the doors of education against its admission? The Bible by the common respect of mankind, and by the right of long possession, is entitled to retain its place in the schools, to be read without note or comment, and allowed to be its own interpreter.

* * * * *

When we commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of our National Independence one-half of the States of this Union were slave and half nominally free. We were reproached by the enlightened nations of Europe with being false to our professions of freedom and of equal rights. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed to the world the inalienable right of all men to liberty; but this right was denied to the weak and defenseless. The Constitution guaranteed freedom of speech and liberty of the press; but these rights were refused to the people of

the South by statutory enactments, and to the North by a despotic public opinion. The pulpit and the press in the nominally free States dared give no utterances as to the wrong of chattel slavery. Proscription and sometimes personal violence were visited upon those who publicly expressed their convictions of the wickedness of selling men and women like cattle in the market.

The people of the Northern States were compelled to do the bidding of the South. A law of Congress made it an offense, punishable with fine and imprisonment, to obey the precepts of the Divine Law. To feed, clothe, and give a cup of cold water to a thirsty, famishing human being, guilty of no crime but that of loving liberty better than bondage, was held to be a misdemeanor. Whenever property claimed in a human being escaped to a free State, the free-State citizen was required to pursue the fleeing chattel, and aid in returning it to the alleged owner. The highest judicial officer, the Chief Justice of the United States, uttered the declaration, "the negro has no rights which white men are bound to respect."

But this unnatural condition of human affairs could not always last. After long and weary years the cry of crushed humanity reached the throne of Eternal Justice; the day of deliverance came, but not in the way man's wisdom had devised. By the blow of one man the shackles of the enslaved were broken, and more than three millions of people were invested with the rights to which they were entitled by God and nature. The name of Abraham Lincoln will be honored while time endures.

A REVERSIBLE TICKET.—Here we have a platform for the millions! Hard money or soft money; greenbacks or gold; resumption and anti-resumption; free schools as you like them; the whole world invited to our shores, and good-will expressed for everybody, except the Chinese. All in one platform, and that Democratic. Tilden the head and Hendricks the tail, the only reversible ticket that has been put in the field. Both ends are calculated to suit any and all tastes. Anything to beat the Republican party! If this reversible ticket fails, then, indeed, the star of Democracy goes down forever.

QUERY.—If Democracy has added sixty millions of dollars to the debt of New York city in ten years, how long would it take it to reduce the public debt \$600,000,000? As the Republican party has exceeded this sum in less than ten years, reform Democracy ought to do even better. Could it?

not prove to be and will never have the fame of another pass of Thermopylæ. Debates have been held on the Hawaiian treaty, on the state of the currency, on the silver bill, on internal improvements, on the public buildings in charge of the General Government, on the affairs of the District of Columbia, and on many other topics of the deepest interest. Some days since General Hendee, of Vermont, from the Committee on District Affairs, made a most effective speech, in which he set forth the condition of affairs in the District of Columbia under the management of the present commissioners. He showed the partisan character of the investigations and of the reports and speeches of the Democracy, especially that of Judge Buckner, of Missouri. He fully vindicated the commissioners in every particular, and showed how faithfully, wisely, and economically they had managed the affairs of this District, which had been put into their hands at a time of great confusion, distress, and clamor. The speech of Judge Hendee is well worth a perusal for the amount of information in regard to the affairs of the District. It was delivered in the House Saturday, July 1, 1876.

INVESTIGATIONS.

The investigations are dragging their slow length along. Some reports have been made and some yet remain to be prepared. But as a rule they have amounted to very little in giving to the country a fair interior view of the situation. Immense sums have been scrutinized, and at a large ratio of expense of time, money, strength, the derangement of business, and the delay of action, both private and public.

VISITORS TO THE CAPITAL.

During the past month large numbers of strangers, on their way to or from the Centennial Exposition, have thronged the capital and visited the public buildings and other points of interest. Every day witnesses in the halls of Congress a new tide of travelers who have come up from remote regions or from foreign lands to behold the legislative body of the Republic in Congress assembled. This circumstance gives a lively air to everything about the capital.

THE IMPEACHMENT.

The trial of General Belknap, after having been delayed over and over again by the dis-

cussion of preliminary questions, was fairly begun on Thursday, the 6th of July. It has been since daily prosecuted, the managers resting their case on the Fort Sill affair for conviction. At this present writing (Friday, July 14) the defense are examining witnesses to rebut the testimony of the prosecution. The extent of time is uncertain, and it cannot be known when the trial will be concluded. These matters, taken together with the deadlock on the appropriations, give promise of a very protracted session, notwithstanding the extreme heat of the weather and the progress of the Presidential canvass. Unless a sudden caprice shall seize upon Congress to get away and cut the gordian knot of legislative perplexity by a summary adjournment the session will be protracted even to the autumn.

CHEAP BUNCOMBE.—After the Democratic platform had been adopted some keensighted wire-puller discovered that not a plank had been devoted to the soldiers and sailors. This was an oversight, so the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Dorsheimer, got off the following bit of buncombe:

Mr. Dorsheimer—Your committee have also had referred to them and recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the protection and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

As this resolution is rather indefinite, not mentioning on which side the soldier fell, it met with general support. If the time should ever come when the heirs of ex-Confederates should apply for pension, Democracy can point with pride at this resolution as showing its early regard for the boys in gray. It is possible that Union soldiers were referred to, but this construction would hardly agree with the Democratic practice in the House of Representatives, where wounded Union soldiers were discharged to make room for those who had served in the Confederate army. With such treatment before them it is hardly possible that this piece of buncombe will capture a single vote in the loyal States.

CROW AND LEEK.—Roasted crow and boiled leek form the staple dish at Democratic boarding-houses just now.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...The subject first in chronological order, as well probably as first in importance in the current review, is the Democratic National Convention which assembled at St. Louis June 27, 1876. Only a moderate degree of interest in the action of this convention had been awakened throughout the country, and its session seemed to be more a matter of party custom, in which the forms of a Presidential nomination were observed, than an earnest choice of a ticket which stood a real chance of being elected. The nomination of Hayes and Wheeler at Cincinnati had completely handicapped the Democracy, and every feature of their convention betrayed their own lack of confidence and hope in the result of the November election.

The convention was permanently organized by electing General John A. McClelland, of Illinois, president.

The platform adopted urges immediate reform in national and local government; reaffirms the faith of Democracy in the permanence of the Federal Union; demands the supremacy of the civil over the military; separation of Church and State; opposes sumptuary laws and denounces corruption in the National and in Southern State Governments; demands the repeal of the resumption clause of the currency act of 1875, and seeks specie payment through a thorough system of government economies.

"Reform" is made the burden of the platform, and is to be the battle-cry of the Democratic campaign. A more glaring attempt to swindle the American people has never been attempted. The history of Democratic administrations attests that Democracy is incapable of reform of any kind whatever. Reform is contrary to every principle of its existence and practices. During the forty years before the war, when it held absolute sway in governmental affairs, and when incapacity, corruption, and robbery were its chief characteristics, a condition that was as the midnight of evil compared with the light of the present day, no measures of reform were ever thought of or

adopted. Public thieves of all grades were secure from publicity and punishment; and the bigger the thief the more certain his security and protection. The country was compelled to await the inauguration of the Republican party to attain an ascendancy of political forces that were self-governing, self-purifying, and self-protecting. The very principles of Republicanism have ever been a guarantee of wise, just, and upright government. If rascals have obtained positions by a betrayal of its confidence, the Republican party has been most vigilant in detecting them, most vigorous in punishing them. If unwise measures have been adopted, it has at all times been equal to a just estimate of their value, and ready to make any modification or change that the true interests of the people demand. In truth, the Republican party was born of the spirit of honest reform, and has ever been the guardian of this great trust since the first day of its ascendancy in the Government.

The convention nominated Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York, for President; and Thomas A. Hendricks, Governor of Indiana, for Vice President, and then adjourned.

INDIAN OUTRAGES.

...To the record of the month is to be added the ineffable sadness of an unparalleled Indian massacre. On the 25th of June General G. A. Custer, with companies C, E, F, I, and L, of the Seventh United States Cavalry, under his immediate command, and companies A, G, and M, under General Reno, made an attack upon 2,500 Sioux warriors, commanded by Sitting Bull, in camp on the Little Big Horn river, Montana Territory. It appears that the Indians were thoroughly prepared for the engagement, and when the fire was opened rushed to the front with such resistless force and ferocity that the troops were utterly powerless to resist. General Custer and every officer and man of his command were quickly cut down, and not a single one was allowed to live to tell the awful story of the disaster. General Reno also suffered heavily, losing half his men in killed and wounded, but was enabled to hold

his position until relieved by the approach of General Terry with a force of infantry and cavalry. The total loss in this desperate and unequal engagement was as follows :

Commissioned officers killed.....	14
Enlisted men killed	237
Civilians killed	5
Indian scouts	3

Total 259

Custer was a young and dashing officer, who had done the country valuable service during the late civil war, but in this instance, it appears, took entirely too great risk, and fell a victim of his daring courage.

CONGRESS.

...Comparatively little progress has been made by Congress since our last review. Although a session of seven months has already elapsed, and the fiscal year closed June 30th, the Government was left without a cent of money for its conduct during the current year. The general appropriation bills had been held back by the House until an unusually late date, when they were rushed through with provisions that would wreck the Government if permitted to be enforced. These bills have been in conference committees of the two houses for several weeks past, and are difficult of adjustment, owing to the persistence of the Democracy to cripple the public service by inadequate and ruinous appropriations; and this is called economy and reform! The surplus appropriations for the past year have been twice extended for a period of ten days to avoid a complete "dead lock" in Government business, and to give the conference committees time to agree.

...The Senate has passed a resolution to appoint a committee of three Senators to investigate the Chinese question and report at the next session.

HAYES' ACCEPTANCE.

Gov. R. B. Hayes, Republican nominee, is a discreet and able man. The Governor's opinion in favor of civil service is a good one. He would be a good man, and worth, and at of preferment.

He is decided in favor of specie payment; counsels peace and observance of law in the South, and intimates that this must be had at any cost; declares that he would not if elected consent to be a candidate for a second term; and pledges a frugal, impartial, and honest administration of the Government. In conclusion he says:

"With a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy, and a strict regard for the public welfare solely in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unflinching prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts, with a sound currency, with education unsectarian and free to all, with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs, and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the people of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessing of God, be pre-eminently an era of good feeling and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

"Very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,
"R. B. HAYES."

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTIONS.

...The Republicans of Louisiana assembled in State Convention in New Orleans on the 2d of July, and remained in session seven days. A heated contest existed between two wings of the party, each struggling for the ascendancy to control the nominations and the organization of the party thereafter. On the sixth day a nomination for Governor was reached, and on the second ballot Hon. S. B. Packard was chosen. Ex-Governor Henry C. Warmoth was his principal contestant.

The entire nominations are as follows:

Lieutenant Governor, C. C. Antoine.

Secretary of State, E. Honore.

Superintendent of Public Education, Wm. G. Brown.

Auditor of Public Accounts, George B. Johnson.

Attorney General, Wm. H. Hunt.

...The State Republican Convention of North Carolina was held at Raleigh on July 12th, and on the first ballot Hon. Thomas Settle, a judge of the Supreme Court of the State, was nominated for Governor, receiving 176 votes to 65 for Hon. O. H. Dockery. Hon. W. A. Smith was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, J. W. Albertson for Secretary of State, John Reilly for State Auditor, W. H. Wheeler for Treasurer, Tazewell Hargraves

for Attorney General, and Rev. J. C. Carson for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Judge Settle made a speech accepting the nomination, and immediately resigned his seat on the bench to enter the canvass.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

...A terrible slaughter of colored people by white ruffians occurred at Hamburg, S.C., on the 6th of July. It appears that on the Fourth a company of colored State militia were parading the streets of Hamburg, and were halted, when two white Democrats approached in a buggy and demanded that the ranks be broken to allow them to pass. This was not promptly done, and the whites grew furious at the delay and threatened revenge. The next day complaint was made before a justice of the peace, and on the following day a trial of the militia officers was to be had on the charge of obstructing the public highway. The town of Hamburg was filled with armed ruffians, who had assembled in fact to take the arms from the militia, peaceably if they could, but forcibly if they must. The colored men, seeing the danger, gathered in their armory and prepared to defend themselves and their rights by fighting if necessary. This aggravated the whites still more, and immediately they determined to assault the building, and opened fire with long-range rifles. A piece of artillery was brought from Augusta, Ga., and placed in

position, and several rounds of cannister fired into the building. At this assault the colored militia returned the fire, killing one white man and wounding another. At last the building was stormed, and the poor colored men within tried to make their escape by running away. A number were shot down while fleeing for their lives, and others were taken prisoners and then brutally murdered. The scene is said to have been indescribably horrible. On the night of the 6th an attack was made on the town of Hamburg, a colored village of about one thousand inhabitants, with only two or three white families, and the place literally sacked and destroyed. Men, women, and children were driven out of town in the midst of promiscuous firing; houses were entered and robbed, the furniture destroyed, and scarcely one of the inhabitants allowed to remain in their homes. The next morning the beautiful village was covered with desolation, and the poor residents scattered in the forests and country for refuge. The number of killed and wounded cannot be definitely ascertained, but together exceeds a hundred. A terrible state of affairs is said to exist in that vicinity on this account, and the State authorities seem to be unable to protect the people from the malignant incursions of the white line rebel Democracy, who delight in this auspicious opening of the campaign in the Palmetto State.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

EXECUTIVE.

NO WHISKY SECRETS.

The following letter will produce a healthy effect throughout the country. It will fall like a bombshell among those who believe that the President had a few secrets on the whisky business that he preferred to keep within the doors of the Cabinet. Grant is as honest as he is modest. He would not rob anyone of justly-earned laurels; but we are inclined to believe that when the story of the whisky frauds and their prosecutions is fully known the President will loom up as the man who planned the assault on the Whisky Ring and led the Government forces to crush it. The following explains itself:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 12, 1876.

Hon. B. H. Bristow:

DEAR SIR: Through the press I learn that the committee of Congress investigating whisky frauds have summoned you as witness, and that you, with great propriety as I think, have declined to testify, claiming that what occurs in Cabinet, or between a member of the Cabinet and the Executive officially, is privileged, and that a committee of Congress have no right to demand answer. I appreciate the position you have assumed on this question, but beg to relieve you from all obligation of secrecy on this subject, and desire, not only that you may answer all questions asked relating to it, but wish that all members of my Cabinet, and ex-members of my Cabinet since I have been President,

may also be called upon to testify in regard to the same matter.

With great respect, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.
CIRCULAR TO COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16, 1876.

The Department has recently had under consideration the question as to what descriptions of fish are the products of the inland lakes lying between the United States and Canada, and of the rivers flowing into them, as distinguished from fish which are the products of the sea fisheries of Canada, with the view of establishing some practical guide by which collectors of customs may determine, under certain circumstances, from the character of the fish themselves, without regard to other proofs, whether they are or are not entitled to free entry under the treaty of Washington.

The following extract from a communication addressed to the Department by Professor Spencer F. Baird, United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, under date of the 10th instant, embodies the desired information:

"So far as relates to the fishes of the inland lakes and of the rivers running into them, likely to be imported into the United States, there is but little difficulty—these consisting of brook trout, the salmon trout, the land-locked salmon, the white-fish, the lake herring, (a species of white-fish,) the muscalunge or large pike, the sturgeon, and the black bass; although the brook trout, the muscalunge, the sturgeon, and the black bass are frequently found elsewhere than within the limits mentioned.

"Possibly the simplest rule to apply would be that of excluding from free entry all fish from points west of Montreal, unless they can be shown to have been captured in the St. Lawrence river, east of Lake Ontario.

"Fish shipped from points east of Montreal and on the Atlantic seaboard would, in reasonable probability, be entitled to free entry, unless they embrace salmon-trout, white-fish, lake herring, or cisco, which are exclusively found in lakes or their inlets; and therefore, unless under very exceptional circumstances, would be necessarily dutiable.

"I am unaware whether the provisions of the treaty embrace fresh fish as well as those that are prepared for temporary preservation. If fresh fish come in free, then the subject is very much simplified, as, so far as my knowledge extends, it is only the white-fish and the lake trout that are ever offered in a salted condition, the other species command-

ing a much higher price as fresh fish. The fish which are strictly maritime, about which there would never be any question, are the mackerel, cod, haddock, hake, pollock, cusk, whiting, and ling, as also the sea-trout from Newfoundland and Labrador."

These views are not absolutely mandatory upon collectors of customs, but are published for their information, with the expectation that they will be applied as far as practicable.

B. H. BRISTOW,
Secretary.

EXECUTION OF BONDS BY FIRM.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others.

The following act of Congress, "relating to the execution of custom-house bonds," approved June 20, 1876, is published for the information and guidance of officers of the customs, and all other persons concerned:

"Be it enacted, &c., That when any bond is required by law to be executed by any firm or partnership for the payment of duties upon goods, wares, or merchandise imported into the United States by such firm or partnership, the execution of such bond by any member of such firm or partnership, in the name of said firm or partnership, shall bind the other members or partners thereof in like manner and to the same extent as if such other members or partners had personally executed the same. And any action or suit may be instituted on such bond against all the members or partners of such firm as if all of the members or partners had executed the same."

This statute is similar in its provisions to the 25th section of the act of March 1, 1823, under which, in article 787 of the Regulations of 1874, this Department instructed collectors of customs that a merchant belonging to a firm, entering as principal into a bond for duties, in the name of the firm, thereby binds his partner or partners in the trade.

The provision contained in the section cited having been omitted from the Revised Statutes, and other portions of the act having been reproduced therein, the Department in its letter to the collector of customs at Baltimore, dated May 22, 1875, (Printed Decisions 2261,) directed the discontinuance of the practice then authorized by the Regulations, and required that bonds should be signed by all resident partners.

Those instructions will no longer be regarded, and the practice formerly authorized as aforesaid will be revived and hereafter continued as provided for in the act quoted above, and in the Regulations cited.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

REDEMPTION AND EXCHANGE OF INTERNAL-REVENUE DOCUMENTARY AND PROPRIETARY STAMPS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF COMMISSIONER OF
INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1876.

The act approved July 12, entitled "An act relative to the redemption of unused stamps," provides "that the fourteenth section of the act passed February eighth, eighteen hundred and seventy five, entitled 'An act to amend existing customs and internal-revenue laws, and for other purposes,' be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and all unused stamps shall be redeemed when properly presented, as was done prior to the passage of the aforesaid act: *Provided*, That from and after the passage of this act no allowance shall be made for documentary stamps, except those of the denomination of two cents, which, when presented to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, are not found to be in the same condition as when issued by the Internal Revenue Department, or, if so required by the said Commissioner, when the person presenting the same cannot satisfactorily trace the history thereof from their issue to their presentation as aforesaid."

In accordance with the above provision of law, the public is hereby notified that the redemption of documentary stamps will be resumed, subject to all the limitations imposed by the act.

Stamps which are in the same condition as when issued by this Department may be forwarded to this office for redemption or exchange. If for redemption, they must in every case be accompanied by a claim, made out upon the form prescribed for that purpose, which will be furnished upon application.

If the evidence is satisfactory, the amount or value, after deducting the sum of five per cent., as required by section 3426, Revised Statutes of the United States, will be refunded.

Stamps which the owner desires exchanged need not be accompanied by a claim, but a letter stating such desire should invariably accompany the stamps.

The stamps will be transmitted at the risk and expense of the owner.

It should be distinctly understood that the limitations imposed by the act above quoted will, under no circumstances, be departed from, and it will be useless to forward stamps which have been canceled, or which are not, in every respect, in the same condition as when issued by this office. The abrasion of the gum upon the backs of stamps will be deemed such a change from the original condition as to necessitate their rejection by

this office, as required by the terms of the act.

In all cases where stamps of larger denominations than twenty dollars are presented, their history from their issue by the Government to their presentation should be traced by means of sworn statements from each owner through whose hands they have passed.

Claims should invariably be sworn to, and the blanks therein should be carefully filled out, so far as the affiant is able to do so, but the date of purchase and name of person from whom purchased will not be insisted upon.

Claims will be acted upon by this office in the order in which they are received, and in all cases as early after their receipt as the condition of the public business will permit.

H. C. ROCKES,
Acting Commissioner.

THE PUBLIC DEBT STATEMENT.

The following is a recapitulation of the public debt statement, issued July 1:

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN.	
Bonds at 6 per cent.	\$984,999,600 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.	711,846,800 00
Total principal.....	1,696,846,400 00
Total interest.....	38,068,587 39

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.	
Navy pension fund at three per cent.	14,000,000 00
Interest.....	210,000 00

DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED SINCE MATURITY.	
Principal.....	3,902,402 25
Interest.....	214,973 31

DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.	
Old demand and legal-tender notes.....	\$69,839,201 60
Certificates of deposit	3,840,000 00
Fractional currency.....	34,446,606 59
Coin certificates.....	24,681,400 00

Total principal.....	465,807,196 29
Total unclaimed interest.....	20,444 84

TOTAL DEBT.	
Principal.....	2,180,396,067 15
Interest.....	38,514,004 54
Total.....	2,218,909,071 69

CASH IN THE TREASURY.	
Coin.....	73,625,584 97
Currency.....	13,004,141 73
Special deposit held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law.....	32,840,000 00
Total.....	119,469,726 70

Debt, less cash in the Treasury	
June 1, 1876.....	
July 1, 1876.....	

Decrease of debt during the month	
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Decrease of debt since June 1, 1876.....	
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RECEIPTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF LOSS PER \$1,000 TO AGGREGATE OF RECEIPTS—CONTINUED.

PERIOD.	MISCELLANEOUS— Continued.		NET TOTAL.			GROSS TOTAL.		
	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Receipts.*	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.
January 1, 1834, to December 31, 1837.....	\$172,259 16	\$2 74	\$133,002,971 77	\$1,383,825 41	\$10 40	\$135,985,960 92	\$1,383,825 41	\$10 17
January 1, 1838, to December 31, 1841.....	127,625 40	4 76	94,125,596 95	392,328 24	4 16	129,948,548 91	392,328 24	3 01
January 1, 1842, to June 30, 1845.....	175,043 85	20 43	87,498,012 09	429,981 39	4 91	116,736,004 87	429,981 39	3 68
July 1, 1845, to June 30, 1848.....	10,390 87	86	122,537,147 61	18,109 98	14	201,807,506 45	18,109 98	08
July 1, 1849, to June 30, 1853.....	60,521 50	4 79	207,581,775 49	276,270 58	1 38	211,908,612 91	276,270 58	1 30
July 1, 1853, to June 30, 1857.....	81,724 73	2 20	282,172,927 80	213,001 78	1 75	282,179,829 58	213,001 78	1 75
July 1, 1857, to June 30, 1861.....	155,227 50	13 09	196,863,373 20	194,003 83	98	312,359,679 56	194,003 83	62
July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1865.....	53,943 01	80	729,458,335 99	508,498 60	69	4,670,460,137 61	508,498 60	10
July 1, 1865, to June 30, 1869.....	181,621 19	1 97	1,716,418,954 31	2,562,721 90	1 49	4,042,316,438 46	2,562,721 90	63
July 1, 1869, to June 30, 1873.....	107,497 85	1 95	1,457,382,842 50	954,698 68	65	2,576,045,585 22	954,698 68	57
July 1, 1873, to June 30, 1876.....	35,591 01	69	583,261,862 25	322,183 92	55	1,420,222,898 62	322,183 92	22
Total.....	1,161,634 89	2 51	5,611,033,789 95	7,255,619 41	1 29	14,100,631,205 09	7,255,619 41	51
January 1, 1834, to June 30, 1861.....	\$782,901 82	\$4 53	\$1,123,931,795 00	\$2,907,521 31	\$2 58	\$1,390,936,145 18	\$2,907,521 31	\$2 06
July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1876.....	378,643 07	1 80	4,437,101,994 95	4,348,098 10	96	12,708,645,059 91	4,348,098 10	94

* Includes receipts for loans.

DISBURSEMENTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF LOSS PER \$1,000 TO AGGREGATE DISBURSEMENTS.

PERIOD.	WAR.		NAVY.		INDIANS.		PENSIONS.	
	Disburse- ments.	Losses, on \$1,000	Disburse- ments.	Losses.	Disburse- ments.	Losses, on \$1,000	Disburse- ments.	Losses, on \$1,000
1901-1902	24,429,848 64	101,239 23	24,275,852 24	6212,405 91	12,085,456 75	4130,251 56	10,872,957 03	17,906 63
1902-1903	24,920,331 48	144,291 93	24,920,331 48	101,239 23	12,870,740 60	4,215 61	10,230,404 48	101,951 64
1903-1904	28,550,831 62	115,646 69	28,550,831 62	115,646 69	4,572,354 42	10,585 29	6,630,769 55	11,553 34
1904-1905	30,771,937 67	141,483 87	30,771,937 67	141,483 87	5,044,583 30	11,728 92	8,112,345 31	71,196 44
1905-1906	50,843,720 68	377,505 69	50,843,720 68	377,505 69	11,417,403 40	60,497 61	8,318,428 22	1,257 41
1906-1907	52,645,968 19	183,310 62	52,645,968 19	183,310 62	11,922,013 17	38,049 97	5,316,877 56	18,840 51
1907-1908	814,253,968 21	1,079,039 44	814,253,968 21	1,079,039 44	14,325,403 42	982,417 05	4,577,353 08	4,649 51
1908-1909	120,173,925 90	98,422 02	120,173,925 90	98,422 02	13,169,317 75	130,542 02	23,923,779 07	23,000 45
1909-1910	85,967,323 16	140,954 06	85,967,323 16	140,954 06	13,135,153 04	73,973 97	84,810,848 02	94,540 67
1910-1911	62,430,212 00	20,670 77	62,430,212 00	20,670 77	25,643,359 29	23,537 44	120,676,926 67	230,828 93
1911-1912	816,252,950 98	2,572,627 77	816,252,950 98	2,572,627 77	15,077,118 91	2,676 34	54,484,630 88	542,373 57
1912-1913	243,437,501 22	1,147,130 86	243,437,501 22	1,147,130 86	144,927,354 09	1,493,020 42	343,346,708 13	227,335 52
1913-1914	572,816,449 66	1,385,486 91	572,816,449 66	1,385,486 91	71,087,005 00	1,240,830 01	82,140,565 21	255,018 03
1914-1915					73,229,959 03	23,790 41	231,244,184 64	1 21

DISBURSEMENTS, LOSSES, AND RATIO OF LOSS PER \$1,000 TO AGGREGATE DISBURSEMENTS—CONTINUED.

NOTES.—1. In cases where the accounts of defaulting officers, embraced more than one period, the losses, unless known to have occurred in other periods, have been charged to the periods in which the accounts were opened in this statement. In cases of defaulting officers, however, for want of other information, the losses have been charged to the periods in which they are reported on the books, though doubtless in several instances they actually occurred in previous periods. No losses of the latter kind, however, have been included unless known to have occurred within the period covered by this statement. 2. No deductions have been made for amounts which may be collected hereafter, though a large percentage of the recent losses will doubtless be yet recovered. 3. In preparing this statement, the receipts and disbursements since June 30, 1848, have been obtained by fiscal years, as in the published official reports, the losses have in all cases been classified by calendar years, it not being practicable to separate the losses occurring in the fractional years of each period, but the periods compared being of the same length, the result is substantially correct.

REGULATIONS EXEMPTING DISTILLERS OF BRANDY FROM APPLES, PEACHES, OR GRAPES EXCLUSIVELY, FROM A PORTION OF THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 3264 OF THE REVISED STATUTES.

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 8, 1876.**

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 3255 of the Revised Statutes of the United States I do hereby, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, exempt distillers of brandy made exclusively from apples, peaches, or grapes, from so much of the provisions of section 3264 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as requires that the assistant to be designated to assist the collector in the making of surveys of distilleries shall be specially designated in each instance for the purpose of making each survey.

Hereafter surveys of distilleries of apples, peaches, or grapes exclusively, may be made by the collector, with the aid of an assistant designated generally for the purpose of making any and all surveys of such distilleries.

Surveys of grain and molasses distilleries will continue to be made as heretofore, with the aid of a specially-designated assistant.

Collectors of districts in which the distillation of fruit prevails are requested to forward immediately to this office the names of a sufficient number of suitable persons for designation as assistants under the terms of this circular.

In all instances, when practicable, deputy collectors should be nominated for this purpose.

D. D. PRATT,
Commissioner.

Approved—
LOT M. MORRILL,
Secretary of the Treasury.

LOCKS FOR WAREHOUSES.

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 24, 1876.**

To Collectors of Customs:

The Department is informed that, as a general rule, customs bonded warehouses having more than one entrance are secured by the use of Government locks for each entrance, the number of locks thus required ranging from two to thirty or upwards.

This practice will be discontinued forthwith, and for the sake of economy in the use of locks, and the better security of merchandise in warehouses, collectors are hereby instructed to cause secure inside fastenings to be placed on all the entrances *except one*, or at most *two*, in each of the warehouses in their several districts, thereby rendering unnecessary the use, in any case, of more than two locks for each warehouse, and to report the number of locks thereby becoming unnecessary, (which locks they will retain subject to the further order of the Department,) and also the number of locks

necessary for use in their respective districts under the foregoing instructions, designating in such report each warehouse and the number required therefor.

The use of the locks now on hand will, subject to the foregoing restrictions, be continued until further orders; provided, however, that when the same are in the collector's opinion defective or unsafe, immediate report of that fact shall be made to the Department.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

**IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR
ENDED JUNE 30, 1876.**

The chief of the Bureau of Statistics furnishes the following statement of our imports and exports for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1876. (The returns for June not being all in the figures for that month are partly estimated.)

Domestic exports of merchandise, (specie value).....	\$522,000,000
Foreign exports of merchandise, (specie value).....	14,000,000
Total.....	536,000,000
Imports of merchandise.....	460,000,000

Excess of exports over imports.... 76,000,000

In the previous year the imports of merchandise exceeded the exports by over \$19,000,000—a favorable showing in 1876, as compared with 1875, of about \$95,000,000. Our exports of specie and bullion in 1876 exceeded the imports by \$53,000,000.

TRIPPLICATE INVOICES.

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1876.**

To Collectors of Customs and Naval Officers:

Naval officers will hereafter compare each triplicate invoice, transmitted by a consular officer in accordance with the provisions of sections 2855 and 2857 of the Revised Statutes, with the original invoice presented by the importer on entry.

Collectors of customs will furnish naval officers with triplicate invoices immediately on their receipt, to be returned without unnecessary delay by the naval officer for file in the collector's office, according to the usual practice, after the completion of the comparison above prescribed.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

**POSTAGE RATES TO BRITISH INDIA AND THE
FRENCH COLONIES.**

**POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF FOREIGN MAILS,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 21, 1876.**

On and after July 1, 1876, British India (comprising Hindostan, British Burmah, and Aden) and the French colonies in America, Africa, Asia, and Oceanica, become a part of

the general postal union formed by the treaty of Berne, subject to all the provisions of said treaty, and to an additional postage charge to cover the expenses of sea transportation beyond the limits of the general postal union as originally formed by the Berne treaty.

The rates of postage to be levied and collected in the United States on and after the 1st of July, 1876, on the prepaid correspondence sent to, and on the unpaid correspondence received from British India and the French colonies are as follows: For prepaid letters, 10 cents per 15 grammes, ($\frac{1}{2}$ ounce.) For unpaid letters received, 20 cents per 15 grammes, ($\frac{1}{2}$ ounce.) For postal cards 4 cents each. For newspapers, if not over four ounces in weight, 4 cents each. For books, other printed matter, patterns of merchandise, local and commercial documents, pamphlets, music, visiting cards, photographs, catalogues, prospectuses, announcements, and notices of various kinds, whether printed, engraved, or lithographed, 4 cents per each weight of two ounces or fraction of two ounces. For the registration fee on all correspondence, 10 cents.

All provisions and restrictions of the general postal union treaty, concluded at Berne October 9, 1874, apply as well to the correspondence exchanged with British India and the French colonies as to the correspondence exchanged with the original postal union countries. British India comprises Hindostan, British Burmah, and Aden. The French colonies are as follows: America—Martinique, Guadeloupe and dependencies, French Guiana, St. Pierre, and Miquelon. Africa—Senegal and dependencies, Gaboon, Reunion, Mayotte and dependencies, Ste. Marie de Madagascar. Asia—French establishments in India (Pondicherry, Chandernagor, Karikal Mahe and Yanaon) and in Cochin China. Oceanica—New Caledonia and dependencies, Marquesas Islands, Tahiti, and the Archipelago subject to the protectorate of France.

Correspondence for British India should be forwarded to the exchange offices of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, or Chicago.

Correspondence for the French colonies should be forwarded to the exchange offices of New York or Boston.

By order of the Postmaster General:

JOSEPH H. BLACKFAN,
Superintendent of Foreign Mails.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIAN TRUST FUND.

The discovery of frauds and deficiencies in the Indian trust fund appears to have been left for the argus eye of Mr. Chandler to unearth, with clear wisdom and thorough research, frauds as plain as the light of day. An act of the present session of Congress di-

rects the transfer of the Indian trust funds, heretofore held by the Secretary of the Interior, to the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury. Before complying with this request Secretary Chandler caused an inventory to be made of the various stocks, bonds, and other securities constituting the funds. It was then found that in addition to the \$870,000 alleged to have been taken while Jacob Thompson was Secretary of the Interior under President Buchanan's administration, \$1,506,466.66 was invested by Secretaries of the Interior under Democratic Administrations prior to 1861 in bonds of the Southern States, bearing from five to six per cent. interest. The bonds were almost, if not entirely valueless, while the transaction itself was wholly illegal, as the law, which was enacted in 1841, says: "All funds held in trust by the United States, and the annual interest accruing thereon, when not otherwise required by treaty, shall be invested in stocks of the United States bearing a rate of interest not less than five per centum per annum." This law has been in force ever since. In some cases the interest which has been accruing on these worthless bonds amounts to more than the principal itself, while in all cases the interest is very large. Congress has annually been making appropriations to meet the accruing interest on these worthless bonds, which were held in trust for the various Indian tribes. The interest on the bonds abstracted under Thompson's secretaryship amounts to \$456,946.76. Thus the Government has been defrauded up to July 1, 1876, of between four and five million dollars. The whole amount of the defalcation is \$2,376,466, and the interest actually paid by the Government upon these worthless bonds is \$200,800. Nearly a million of the investment was made by Jake Thompson, in addition to the \$870,000 previously reported as taken by him.

THE Democratic platform is not a declaration of principles, but a stump speech; not the clear enunciation of a definite policy, but a string of false and reckless assertions, garnished with all the verbose rhetoric and glittering utterances of a campaign ranter.—*Albany Journal.*

THE UTOPIAN SYSTEM.

For glittering generalities Democracy is entitled to bear off the palm. To the average Democrat the following plank in the St. Louis platform must be quite as easily understood as if it was printed in Greek. Listen to the Bourbon wire-pullers:

"We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments and by wise finance which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system well devised, and above all intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which 95 per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open to the public and inspiring general confidence, which would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people."

Stopping Indian appropriations, and thus exciting an Indian war, may be part of this "judicious system of preparation by public economies," but the people will be at loss to discover when all the expenses are paid just where the economy comes in.

It is hardly possible that the average reader will fully comprehend just what kind of a system Democracy proposes to bring about "wise finance." However, it matters little, for it depends upon its being "well devised," and even then would amount to nothing unless "intrusted to competent hands for execution." Of course the modest allusion is intended that none but Democratic hands are competent to run this carefully-concealed system that the platform hints at.

Here is a chance for the Democrats of the House of Representatives to cover up their short-comings and reinstate themselves in public favor. If they will only impart to the American people the details of this Utopian system that is "open to the public," that is "inspiring general confidence," and which would, if only adopted by the nation, "bring

healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people."

This is a most pleasing picture; but it looks very like the one held up by Tilden to the idle men of New York in the election of 1874. He told them all that was needed to make work plenty and money easy in New York was to elect him Governor. "Out of Democracy will come the power that will remove the paralysis from labor and set in motion the wheels of industry."

The paralysis still continues. In fact, instead of growing better times have grown worse. Thousands of men are idle, and wages have sunk lower than ever. Democracy deceived the people, and now seeks to carry out the deception on a larger scale. It hopes to play the same card on the nation that won in New York.

The platform of the party is in keeping with its true character. It is all things to everybody; devoid of principle; seeking by wordy statements to hide from the people its designs. It is a sham from first to last, and, like the man who stands upon it, unworthy the support of the American people.

THE *Albany Journal*, speaking of the much that is said of Mr. Tilden's success and power in accomplishing his objects, declares that the simple truth is that he is successful when he is not seriously opposed and never successful when he is.

THE kid-glove Democracy, of which Tilden is the chief, have not the confidence and cannot obtain the votes of the masses. His nomination will disrupt and disorganize the Democratic party. It means defeat.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

THE only man who refused to pay his hotel bill at St. Louis last week was W. T. Pelton, nephew of Governor Tilden. The proprietors of the Planters' House sue him for \$325.

UNION REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL Executive Committee

1006 F Street, Northwest,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Hon. SIMON CAMERON, Chairman; Hon. A. H. CRAGIN, Hon. JOHN A. LOGAN, Hon. J. R. WEST, Hon. S. W. DORSEY, Hon. T. C. PLATT, Hon. JAY A. HUBBELL, Hon. J. M. RUSK, Hon. C. H. SINICKSON.
Hon. J. M. EDMUNDS, Secretary.
Hon. JACOB TOME, Treasurer.

The Union Republican Congressional Executive Committee desire to call attention to the following list of Campaign Documents issued by the Committee, and now on hand. The Committee ask a careful examination of the list, and are prepared to receive and fill orders for such as may be required.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

- No. 1. Growth of the Nation Under Republican Rule. 8 pp.
- No. 2. Vaticanism in Germany and in the United States. 8 pp.
- No. 3. Can the Nation Trust the Democratic Party? 16 pp.
- No. 4. Record and Platform of the Democratic Party. Speech by Senator Morton at Urbana, Ohio, August 7, 1875. 8 pp.
- No. 5. The National Finances and the Currency, 1875. 8 pp.
- No. 6. High and Low Tariffs and their Effects. 4 pp.
- No. 7. Our Currency: Its Volume and Character. Also, Taxes: Who Pays Them? 4 pp.
- No. 8. Vaticanism in Germany and in the United States. (In German.) 8 pp.
- No. 9. The People a Nation. 8 pp.
- No. 10. The Southern Question: The Conspiracy to Rule or Destroy the Nation. 12 pp.
- No. 11. Growth of the Nation Under Republican Rule. (In German.) 8 pp.
- † No. 12. Labor and Wages. 4 pp.
- * Amnesty Debate. (Blaine, Garfield, and Hill.) 32 pp.
- * Senator Morton's Speech on Mississippi. 24 pp.
- Record of the Democratic Speaker. 8 pp.
- † "The Bible the Security of American Institutions." Sermon by Rev. Dr. Rankin. 8 pp.
- † "Religious Liberty." Sermon by Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman. 32 pp.
- *† "An Irredeemable Paper Currency." Speech by Hon. J. G. Blaine. 8 pp.
- * "Centennial Celebration of American Independence." Speech by Hon. M. L. Townsend. 8 pp.
- * Senator Gordon's Civil-Service Reform. (Debate in the Senate.) 16 pp.
- * Belknap's Impeachment. Escape of Witness Marsh. (Mr. Bass' speech in the House.) 8 pp.

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Vol. VII.—No. 1.

JULY, 1876.

Whole No. 41.

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July, 1876.

PROSPECTUS. Vol. 7.

THE REPUBLIC,

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THE REPUBLIC begins its seventh volume with the July number.

Its publishers are pleased to announce that it has grown steadily in public favor and that it is regarded by all good citizens who have consulted its pages as a power for good throughout the land.

Its past course—consistent, fearless, patriotic—is the index of its future. It will defend the right, denounce the wrong, and endeavor to point out, at all times, the true path for all who love their country to follow.

A sentinel upon the watch-tower of freedom, it will be found at its post of duty to give the word of warning, and sound the alarm should any danger threaten the peace of the Nation.

It will favor the maintenance, by all legitimate means, of free schools, devoid of sectarian influences, and will oppose any attempt to divide the school funds, believing that such division, whether made in the interest of the Catholic Church or its opponents, will ultimately destroy the system of free education, and that civil and religious toleration on which our institutions rest.

It will do all within its power to develop true friendship between the citizens of the North and the South, and for this purpose will advocate the recognition of justice and equality before the law as the only means to secure lasting friendship and its two allies, peace and security.

The Presidential contest of 1876 will be one of the most important in our history. On its issue depends the future policy of the Government. The vital question to be answered by the people is, "Shall the party that proved faithless in war be trusted in peace, and those who saved the country be set aside for those who endeavored to destroy it?"

On this question THE REPUBLIC will take its position at the head of the loyal column, and will do its best to keep the old flag flying until the voice of the people shall announce that Republicanism—the synonym of justice and liberty—has again triumphed over the enemies of good government.

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To the Republican press of the country the magazine sends greeting and cheer. The signs of the times indicate a glorious victory in November. Let no effort be relaxed to make it complete and effective. Insist upon thorough organization, a personal canvass of all doubtful or close districts, the distribution of well-considered documents, and the practice of that vigilance which alone can secure success. If our brethren of the press will but do their duty as faithfully as in the past, victory will be certain.

For their generous confidence and warm support the publishers of THE REPUBLIC return thanks, and hope in the future, as in the past, to deserve by well-doing the good-will so often expressed.

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Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VII.

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No. 1.

OUR SEVENTH VOLUME.

With this number **THE REPUBLIC** enters upon its seventh volume. On the threshold of the most important political campaign in our history the publishers of the magazine feel the weight of the responsibilities which the new volume imposes upon them. Yet strong in the consciousness of being engaged in the cause of justice and good government, animated by a just pride in the work of the Republican party, impressed with the belief that no other organization can replace it, or secure to the people so much of personal liberty and respect at home and abroad, and encouraged by the liberal support which has been given to the magazine by the leading citizens of every State and Territory, the publishers of **THE REPUBLIC** are determined to take no steps backward, but to make the seventh volume even better than the ones preceding it.

The work is an unselfish one. Every dollar of profit goes toward improving the magazine and extending its field of usefulness. Its leading articles are the gratuitous contributions of able political writers, who have no selfish ends to serve, but who labor for the perpetuity of the Republican party because they see in it the only safety for the nation, the preservation of its liberties, the growth of intelligence, the protection and encouragement of free labor, and through these vital elements of national strength, the advancement of civilization throughout the world.

THE REPUBLIC calls upon loyal citizens everywhere for their support. By contributing to its subscription list they aid in the

great work in which it is engaged. In return they receive a fund of information necessary to an enlightened knowledge of public affairs to be found in no other periodical.

The information imparted through **THE REPUBLIC**, will be of especial value to those citizens who expect to take an active part in the pending campaign. To such its value cannot be overestimated. Its facts will be reliable; its advice the result of experience and wisdom; and its conclusions as safe as human sagacity can make them.

To its exchanges throughout the country **THE REPUBLIC** sends greeting. Their friendly notices and words of confidence have inspired it to greater efforts to increase its usefulness. From their columns it has gained a knowledge of the strength of the loyal sentiment throughout the country, and on this knowledge it bases the belief that the victory this fall will be even more decisive than that of 1872.

Hard work is to be done everywhere. Organization must be complete to be effective. There must be no drones in the hive. Men, women, and children who love their country and who desire to see it prosper must do all they can to contribute to the general work. They may not, as individuals, do much, but as organizations they can mould public opinion, and keep burning brightly the camp fires of patriotism throughout the land. **THE REPUBLIC** will labor to this end, and it calls upon its friends to extend to it the support which its labors require, and which it hopes by well-doing to deserve.

THE WORK OF THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

A good beginning is a safe guarantee of successful results. The delegated representatives of the Republican party have done their work well. The country, from Maine to Oregon, gives a hearty indorsement to the nominees for President and Vice President. The great majority of the body-politic, whose highest aspirations are to see the cardinal principles of Republicanism sustained in their purity and strength, are inspired with new life and a nobler patriotism. This first important political work of the Centennial year is the harbinger of a new era in the life of the nation. Men have been selected whose social and political records are without a stain or a blemish. The impress of their lives will become a mark of distinction upon the national policy. Men in and out of office will be made to feel that honest purposes and acts are the safest avenues to public confidence and high respect. Character rather than wealth will be made the standard of worth, and its attainment will become more the ruling principle in the future than it has been during the period that has elapsed since the close of the demoralizing war, from the effects of which the country is still so sadly suffering. The people accept the nominations under an inspiring conviction that wiser ways and better days are coming.

THE CONVENTION.

First Day's Proceedings.

At six minutes before noon, Wednesday, June 14th, Governor Morgan called the convention to order, and introduced Rev. Dr. Mullin, of Covington, Ky., who opened the proceedings with prayer. Exposition Hall was filled to its utmost capacity, there being about 7,000 persons present, and about as many more were refused tickets of admission. The arrangements for the delegates and the press were good. The platform was placed near the center of the hall, and elevated about six feet above the floor.

THE OPENING ADDRESS, BY GOVERNOR MORGAN.

Mr. Morgan followed the prayer with an address, saying: The day and hour had arrived when the representatives of the Republican party were invited to assemble to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. The

tion are the most many years. In the midst of a war the Union. He pro-ling political events owing out of that suggested by the national committee

that the party would not fulfill its whole duty unless it specifically declared for a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. This was received with great satisfaction. The amendment was ratified by twenty-nine States. Lincoln proclaimed it, and from that hour the sun has not risen upon a slave. [Applause.] The chairman urged an adherence to honest money, and suggested a constitutional amendment making the Presidential term six years, and the incumbent ineligible for re-election. [Applause.] He referred to General Grant as the splendid soldier and patriot. [Partial applause.] The chairman also favored the elevation of the civil service by instituting all needful and proper reforms, and said the candidates now nominated should be men whose lives give assurance of their sympathy.

POMEROY TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

At the conclusion Governor Morgan, in the name of the National Committee, nominated Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, for temporary chairman. The nomination was unanimously adopted, and Messrs. Baldwin, of Michigan, and Van Zandt, of Rhode Island, were appointed to conduct the temporary chairman to the platform. Mr. Pomeroy came forward amid great applause, and after saying "I thank you most heartily for the compliment conferred by calling me to preside over the temporary organization of this convention," he addressed the convention as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. POMEROY.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I thank you most heartily for the compliment conferred by calling me to preside over the temporary organization of this Convention. I have been so long withdrawn from practical participation in political affairs that it is in obedience to custom rather than my own inclination that I occupy even a few moments of your time in the consideration of the political situation and of the principles so long and so successfully intrusted to the keeping of the Republican party. Events have chased each other so rapidly from the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln to the closing year of the administration of General Grant, fraught with such fundamental changes in the whole theory and practice of government, that the consideration of them in the briefest manner is precluded upon an occasion such as this. Brief as may be considered the existence of the Republican party none other in the history of the nation has for so long a consecutive period controlled its government without encountering popular defeat and still withstanding popu-

lar jealousy of political ascendancy long continued by any party, it is within the power of this convention to designate the coming President of the United States. Our folly may concede what the wisdom of the opposition cannot achieve—our defeat at the polls in November. But such defeat can come from no other source. We are not met here as contending factions within the party to test, under various leaderships, our relative strength, but as representatives accepting a high responsibility, to extract from the crucible of conflicting opinions that type of American statesmanship which shall be accepted as a worthy embodiment of the principles of the party. Men as well as measures are to be weighed in the balance during the coming canvass, and neither must be found wanting to insure success. The Republican party cannot continue to live by reason of its splendid achievements of the past, nor the Democratic party expect to be returned to power upon its glittering promises of reform in the future. The former has but to present men—representatives of its principles; the latter must discover both men and principles. In former days, when party ties were firmer, when the immediate pressure of impending national calamities hedged us about and compelled party fidelity, the platform carried along the man, whoever he might be. Party ties are looser now, and no platform is buoyant enough to float an unworthy candidate.

The necessity of the continuance of the administrative policy of the Republican party, while not so apparent in immediate results, is as commanding, respecting future consequences, as at any time in its history. We are told that it has accomplished its mission, and therefore has no longer a claim to live. Well, if it has, and the time for its dissolution has come, it can die triumphantly, exclaiming with the apostle of old, "I have fought a good fight, and have kept the faith." It has fulfilled many missions; it fulfilled the mission of its birth in neutralizing the disastrous effects of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in saving to freedom the great Territories of the Northwest and bringing California into the sisterhood of States, undefiled by slavery and adorned like a bride in the glitter of her golden promise. It fulfilled the mission of its youth in accepting the irrepressible conflict, and it was a mission worth living for, to have saved a nationality like ours, to have found 4,000,000 slaves and to have raised them to the dignity of American citizenship, and to have reconstructed the Federal Constitution so as to place the liberties of the citizen and the credit of the nation upon foundations strong enough to endure anything except the infelicity of a Democratic administration.

The mission of the manhood of the Repub-

lican party, our mission of to-day, is to establish on sure foundations, and make secure for the coming ages, the fruits of the war debt and of taxation through which the present has been achieved. The benefits to be derived by the individual citizen from the fourteenth and fifteenth constitutional amendments are to be secured through such appropriate legislation as Congress may devise. I ask the freedmen of the South if they are ready to accept the Democratic party as the source of power from which is to flow the appropriate legislation to give effect to those amendments. I ask a candid public if the only anarchy that exists in the South to-day is not the anarchy caused by the opposition of the Democratic party, as such, to the principles adopted in the work of reconstruction, and now a part of the fundamental law of the land?

The Democratic party claims to accept the situation respecting the sacredness of the national debt and the inviolability of the national credit, and yet twenty million dollars of taxation will not make good the annual loss to the American people from the undefined and undefinable attitude and intentions of that party in regard to the payment of the principal of the public debt. In the prosecution of the war to overthrow the rebellion, for the purpose of procuring the ready money to pay the army and navy and to provide the immense material of war, it became necessary to suspend specie payments, to make a forced loan from the people by declaring the greenback a legal tender in payment of public and private indebtedness, and yet, while claiming to be in favor of resumption of specie payments at some indefinite time and by means of some undefined process, although eleven years have passed since the close of the war, it bitterly opposes the payment of this forced loan or the taking of the first practical step toward resuming our position among the solvent nations of the civilized world.

No, gentlemen, the late war was not a mere prize-fight for national supremacy; it was the outgrowth of the conflict of irreconcilable moral, social, and political forces. Democracy had its lot with the moral, social, and political forces of the cause which was lost; the Republican party with those which triumphed and survived. The preservation of the results of that victory devolves upon us here and now. Democracy has no tradition of the past, no impulses of the present, no aspirations for the future fitting it for this task. The reaction of 1874 has already spent itself in a vain effort to realize the situation. It has simply demonstrated that no change in the machinery of the Government can be had outside of the Republican party without drawing with it a practical nullification of

the great work of reconstruction of the financial chaos and administrative revolution. The present House of Representatives has succeeded in nothing except the development of its own incapacity.

From the inception of the Republican party in 1855 it has kept pace with the progress of the times, accepting the early added responsibility of war, emancipation, taxation, and reconstruction, until the brightest pages of American history are but the lifestay of the Republican party. Of the whole mass of its constitutional amendments and legislative enactments it takes the responsibility, without apology. It has often erred, but it has never feared to act; and through its action the nation has lived. There has been corruption, but when it was discovered the order went forth, "Let no guilty man escape," and the order has been executed. There has been want of harmony, but a platform unwavering in its declaration of principles, with candidates worthy of it, will weld together, as of old, into an unconquerable army the great liberty-loving, law-abiding majority of the voters of the United States, and stamp with enduring success the results of the deliberations of this convention.

The speech was well received, as it deserved to be. It elicited earnest applause from every part of the building. The reference to the order, "Let no guilty man escape!" was received with especial fervor, which was renewed when he said that the order had been executed. In conclusion Mr. Pomeroy asked the further pleasure of the convention.

OTHER TEMPORARY OFFICERS.

On motion, Irving M. Bean, of Wisconsin, and H. H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, were appointed temporary secretaries, and E. W. Hicks appointed sergeant-at-arms.

NOMINATION OF COMMITTEES.

The roll of States and Territories was then called for the nomination of committees on resolutions, credentials, organization, and rules of order of business. On motion, it was agreed to pass in the roll-call the States and Territories in which there are contesting delegations.

RESOLUTION ON ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. McPherson, of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution that when the convention adjourns it be to 11 o'clock to-morrow, at which time it will proceed to the nomination, with two speeches of ten minutes each, or one of twenty minutes, for each nominee.

THE GERMAN REPUBLICAN SENTIMENT.

Mr. Vance, of New York, offered a series of resolutions from the Republican Germans, indicating the German sentiment on the

school, Sabbath, immigration, and other questions.

NEW YORK REFORMERS.

Mr. Curtis, of New York, presented the address of the Republican Reform Club of New York, which he asked to have read. Objection being made, the question was put to the convention, which was decided by an overwhelming vote to hear it. Mr. Curtis in response to calls to take the platform, proceeded to the stage amidst loud applause from both the floor and the galleries, and read the address of June 6 as heretofore published. The reference of the address to return to specie payments and thorough civil service reform elicited cheers. Reference to oligarchy of Federal office-holders in connection with a New York Senator called forth applause from the galleries and partial applause from the floor.

The conclusion of the reading was followed by prolonged and tumultuous applause and cries of "speech," "speech." Amid which Mr. Curtis returned to his seat.

The Reform Club's address was referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

RESOLUTIONS — WOMEN'S RIGHTS — REFERENCE WITHOUT DEBATE.

Mr. Mason, of New York, offered the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas we remember with gratitude the services of the loyal women of the country—

Resolved, We favor bestowal of political rights on all loyal citizens regardless of sex. [Laughter and applause.]

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

On motion of Mr. Pierce, of Mass., it was resolved that all addresses, memorials, and resolutions be referred without reading or debate.

OTHER ADDRESSES.

Senator Logan, Governor Noyes, Rev. Mr. Garnett, (colored,) of New York, Fred. Douglas, (colored,) of Washington, and Wm. A. Howard, of Michigan, made short and appropriate addresses. Mr. Howard said the success of the Republican party depended on enlisting the sympathies of all classes in it. Two classes have been heard from, and now he came forward to represent the great party of cripples. He referred to his election in the early days of the party. Since then the party had been making a history with a rapidity never approached by any other. It is the party of liberty. The Democratic party claims the right of liberty, also the liberty to murder the negroes and assassinate white men's reputations. Mr. Howard, during part of his speech, occupied his seat rising frequently as he warmed up to his subject, and standing until his limbs were exhausted. Michigan, he said, had never trailed the Republican banner. She will

triumphantly cast her vote for the candidate of this convention. But he earnestly urged that while they stand by the sentiment, "Let no guilty man escape," to see to it also that no honest man shall have his reputation assassinated. [Great applause.]

THE GERMANS.

A. J. Dittenhoffer, of N. Y. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the National German Republican convention, recently assembled in this city, over which I had the honor to preside, and in which twenty States were represented, I desire to present the following resolutions, to three of which I desire to call particular attention: First, advocating, in view of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in declaring State legislation on the subject of the protection of immigrants unconstitutional, that the National Government legislate on the subject. Second, demanding a revision of treaties between the foreign governments affecting naturalization and expatriation. Third, demanding non-sectarian schools [cheers] and

TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY,

[applause,] as recommended by the President of the United States in his message. [Applause.] I ask the permission of this convention that a committee of three, of which the Hon. Simon Wolf is chairman, be allowed to attend the session of the Committee on Resolutions and discuss them.

The secretary then read the resolutions, they being referred to the committee. They are as follows:

The German Republican delegates of the United States in convention assembled, in the city of Cincinnati, June 12 and 13, 1876, have adopted the following declaration of principles for the coming campaign, and present the same to the National Republican convention for its favorable consideration.

First. We declare our unalterable adherence to the principles of the Republican party, recognizing in their perpetuation the only safeguard of the Republic.

Second. Free, non-sectarian schools; compulsory education, and taxation of church property, as expressed in the late message of the President of the United States.

Third. No recognition of any system of worship by the State or Federal Government, Sunday being recognized by the individual and not in the Constitution of the United States. All legislation seeking to abridge the personal rights of the citizen, with respect to its observance, is unconstitutional.

Fourth. The protection of immigrants by the Federal power is an indispensable necessity; legislation fostering and protecting this important factor in the prosperity of the Republic must be at once devised, in view of

the recent decision of the Supreme Court declaring State legislation unconstitutional.

Fifth. In a republic there can be but one class of citizens. The laws must give the same protection abroad as at home. Any discrimination between those adopted and those native-born are unjust, and such legislation

SAVORS OF KNOW-NOTHINGISM,

and is unworthy of American statesmanship. Therefore we demand a revision of existing treaties with foreign Governments, especially that of Germany, affecting naturalization and expatriation.

Sixth. The honor and integrity of the Republic lies primarily in a regulated system of civil service, based on moral character and capacity, and not solely on political service.

Seventh. Opposition to all inflation and repudiation heresies, and no step backward on the road to resumption.

Eighth. The maintenance of every amendment to the Constitution by the Federal power, and especially the rigid enforcement of every law affecting citizens South.

Ninth. The Nation is supreme, and not the State.

The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Credentials.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Loring, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported as follows:

PRESIDENT, EDWARD M'PHERSON, OF PENNSYLVANIA;

secretary, Irving M. Bean, of Wisconsin. Also a long list of vice presidents. (Mr. McPherson had been replaced on the Committee on Resolutions by Wm. B. Mann, of Philadelphia.) The name of Ben. Wade as one of the vice presidents elicited applause.

After some discussion of the motion to postpone the consideration of the report on permanent organization until after the contesting delegations had been settled, the motion was tabled and the report was adopted.

Mr. Pomeroy appointed Mr. Orton of New York, Mr. Donnan of Iowa, and Mr. McCormick of Arizona, a committee to conduct the permanent president to the chair.

M'PHERSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. McPherson on taking the chair said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention, no one of you knows better than myself how entirely unworthy I am of this high honor. It has come to me not only unsought, but with a feeling of absolute and uncontrollable surprise. But I have been reared in the school of duty, and in the politics of Pennsylvania it is a fundamental doctrine that every Republican shall do his whole duty. [Applause.] And therefore I

am here to accept this honor tendered by your committee and ratified by yourselves as an honor tendered to the great old Commonwealth which has sent me as one of its delegates to this convention since 1856. In no one of the great contests has she ever faltered, [applause,] and in this Centennial convention she has turned an inflexible, defiant face to the enemy. She says no truce with treason, malignity, hate, or anything that is not national. [Applause.] She has determined to roll up for the nominees of this convention a majority such as will entitle her to continue to be what she has long been—and I say it with all respect—foremost in the Republican caucus." [Cheers.]

The Committee on Rules reporting that they were not ready to report, the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock Thursday, June 15.

Second Day's Proceedings.

At 11:08 President McPherson called the convention to order, and presented Rev. Geo. Beecher, who opened the proceedings with prayer.

George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, presented a memorial of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. As this paper must go to the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Hoar moved that Mrs. Sara J. Spencer be heard by the convention for ten minutes. Agreed to. [Applause.]

Mrs. Spencer came forward. She proceeded to present in a concise form the claims of the women citizens to practical recognition, and criticised the failure of the speakers yesterday to plead for them. The conclusion of her brief speech was received with applause.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. Cessna, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, made the following report:

To the Honorable the President and Members of the Republican National Convention: Your committee to whom was referred the matter of rules and order of business beg leave to submit the following rules, including the order of business for the government of this convention, as follows, to wit:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, according to the late apportionment, and each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the committee on

credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the committee on platform and resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the committee on platform and resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President.

Rule 4. In making the nomination for President and Vice President in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with when it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of votes cast. The president of the convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidates be made unanimous?" but if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast, and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of a numerical error.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the secretary calling the roll of States and Territories in the order heretofore stated, and the District of Columbia.

Rule 6. In the record of the votes by States the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman, and in case the votes of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by the majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once on the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and District represented in this convention.

The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and District shall

name through their chairman a person to act as member of such committee.

JOHN CRESSNA, *Chairman*,
R. A. DAWSON, *Secretary*.

THE PLATFORM.

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following platform, which was read by General Hawley:

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the Government of the people, by the people, for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride, incited by their memories and high aims for the good of our country and mankind; and, looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in National Convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

First. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments under their respective Constitutions the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad and the common welfare promoted.

Second. The Republican party has preserved those governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or if needed be vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

Third. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. [Applause.] The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. [Applause.]

To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall. [Applause.]

Fourth. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of purpose to discharge all just obligations to public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for redemption of the United States notes in coin. [Cheers.] Commercial prosperity, public merits, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment. [Loud and long continued applause.]

Fifth. Under the Constitution the President and heads of Departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interests of the public service demand that this distinction be respected, that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with the sole reference to efficiency of public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

Sixth. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trust shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing. [Cheers.]

Seventh. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control. [Great cheering, continued several minutes. In response to repeated calls General Hawley read the plank a second time, and the delegates and audience repeated cheers.]

Eighth. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from the duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interest of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country. [Cheers.]

Ninth. We reaffirm our opposition to fur-

ther grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

Tenth. It is the imperative duty of the Government to modify existing treaties with European Governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to adopted American citizens that is given to native-born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the State for that purpose.

Eleventh. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the emigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

Twelfth. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advance recently made towards the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts; the honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights and privileges and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration. [Applause.]

Thirteenth. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate in the Territories that relic of

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nity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepented rebellion with sending Union soldiers to the rear with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government. We warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable. [Cheers.]

Seventeenth. The National Administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued and hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his immense service in war and in peace. [Cheers.]

NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT.

The following names were then presented of gentlemen as candidates for the Presidency. The record of each was presented in a brief address by the gentleman presenting the name, and occasionally by other friends:

Hon. Marshall Jewell, by Mr. Kelly, of Connecticut.

Hon. Oliver P. Morton, by R. W. Thompson, of Indiana.

Hon. B. H. Bristow, by General Harlan, of Kentucky.

Hon. J. G. Blaine, by Mr. Ingersoll, of Illinois.

Hon. Roscoe Conkling, by Mr. Woodford, of New York.

Hon. R. B. Hayes, by Governor Noyes, of Ohio.

Hon. J. F. Hartranft, by Mr. Bartholomew, of Pennsylvania.

The convention then adjourned until ten o'clock Friday.

Third Day's Proceedings.

The Republican National Convention completed its labors Friday by nominating Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for the Presidency, and Hon. William A. Wheeler, of New York, for the Vice Presidency. The balloting began as soon as the Convention met in the morning. Before the result of the first ballot was announced Mississippi wished to correct her vote, which raised a question whether this could be done under the rules adopted the day before on this subject. After a brief explanation, the correction was allowed, and the result of the ballot was announced by the Secretary. There was no choice, the highest number of votes being given for Mr. Blaine, which was

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THE WORK OF THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

A good beginning is a safe guarantee of successful results. The delegated representatives of the Republican party have done their work well. The country, from Maine to Oregon, gives a hearty indorsement to the nominees for President and Vice President. The great majority of the body-politic, whose highest aspirations are to see the cardinal principles of Republicanism sustained in their purity and strength, are inspired with new life and a nobler patriotism. This first important political work of the Centennial year is the harbinger of a new era in the life of the nation. Men have been selected whose social and political records are without a stain or a blemish. The impress of their lives will become a mark of distinction upon the national policy. Men in and out of office will be made to feel that honest purposes and acts are the safest avenues to public confidence and high respect. Character rather than wealth will be made the standard of worth, and its attainment will become more the ruling principle in the future than it has been during the period that has elapsed since the close of the demoralizing war, from the effects of which the country is still so sadly suffering. The people accept the nominations under an inspiring conviction that wiser ways and better days are coming.

THE CONVENTION.

First Day's Proceedings.

At six minutes before noon, Wednesday, June 14th, Governor Morgan called the convention to order, and introduced Rev. Dr. Mullin, of Covington, Ky., who opened the proceedings with prayer. Exposition Hall was filled to its utmost capacity, there being

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that the party would not fulfill its whole duty unless it specifically declared for a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. This was received with great satisfaction. The amendment was ratified by twenty-nine States. Lincoln proclaimed it, and from that hour the sun has not risen upon a slave. [Applause.] The chairman urged an adherence to honest money, and suggested a constitutional amendment making the Presidential term six years, and the incumbent ineligible for re-election. [Applause.] He referred to General Grant as the splendid soldier and patriot. [Partial applause.] The chairman also favored the elevation of the civil service by instituting all needful and proper reforms, and said the candidates now nominated should be men whose lives give assurance of their sympathy.

POMEROY TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

At the conclusion Governor Morgan, in the name of the National Committee, nominated Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, for temporary chairman. The nomination was unanimously adopted, and Messrs. Baldwin, of Michigan, and Van Zandt, of Rhode Island, were appointed to conduct the temporary chairman to the platform. Mr. Pomeroy came forward amid great applause, and after saying "I thank you most heartily for the compliment conferred by calling me to preside over the temporary organization of this convention," he addressed the convention as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. POMEROY.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I thank you most heartily for the compliment conferred by calling me to preside over the temporary organization of this Convention. I have been so long withdrawn from practical participation in political affairs that it is in obedience to custom rather than my own inclination that I occupy even a few moments of your time in the consideration of the political situation and of the principles so long and so successfully intrusted to the keeping of the Republican party. Events have chased each other so rapidly from the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln to the closing year of the administration of General Grant, fraught with such fundamental changes in the whole theory and practice of government, that the consideration of them in the briefest manner is precluded upon an occasion such as this. Brief as may be considered the existence of the Republican party none other in the history of the nation has for so long a consecutive period controlled its government without encountering popular defeat and still withstanding popu-

lar jealousy of political ascendancy long continued by any party, it is within the power of this convention to designate the coming President of the United States. Our folly may concede what the wisdom of the opposition cannot achieve—our defeat at the polls in November. But such defeat can come from no other source. We are not met here as contending factions within the party to test, under various leaderships, our relative strength, but as representatives accepting a high responsibility, to extract from the crucible of conflicting opinions that type of American statesmanship which shall be accepted as a worthy embodiment of the principles of the party. Men as well as measures are to be weighed in the balance during the coming canvass, and neither must be found wanting to insure success. The Republican party cannot continue to live by reason of its splendid achievements of the past, nor the Democratic party expect to be returned to power upon its glittering promises of reform in the future. The former has but to present men—representatives of its principles; the latter must discover both men and principles. In former days, when party ties were firmer, when the immediate pressure of impending national calamities hedged us about and compelled party fidelity, the platform carried along the man, whoever he might be. Party ties are looser now, and no platform is buoyant enough to float an unworthy candidate.

The necessity of the continuance of the administrative policy of the Republican party, while not so apparent in immediate results, is as commanding, respecting future consequences, as at any time in its history. We are told that it has accomplished its mission, and therefore has no longer a claim to live. Well, if it has, and the time for its dissolution has come, it can die triumphantly, exclaiming with the apostle of old, "I have fought a good fight, and have kept the faith." It has fulfilled many missions; it fulfilled the mission of its birth in neutralizing the disastrous effects of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in saving to freedom the great Territories of the Northwest and bringing California into the sisterhood of States, undefiled by slavery and adorned like a bride in the glitter of her golden promise. It fulfilled the mission of its youth in accepting the irrepressible conflict, and it was a mission worth living for, to have saved a nationality like ours, to have found 4,000,000 slaves and to have raised them to the dignity of American citizenship, and to have reconstructed the Federal Constitution so as to place the liberties of the citizen and the credit of the nation upon foundations strong enough to endure anything except the infelicity of a Democratic administration.

The mission of the manhood of the Repub-

lican party, our mission of to-day, is to establish on sure foundations, and make secure for the coming ages, the fruits of the war debt and of taxation through which the present has been achieved. The benefits to be derived by the individual citizen from the fourteenth and fifteenth constitutional amendments are to be secured through such appropriate legislation as Congress may devise. I ask the freedmen of the South if they are ready to accept the Democratic party as the source of power from which is to flow the appropriate legislation to give effect to those amendments. I ask a candid public if the only anarchy that exists in the South to-day is not the anarchy caused by the opposition of the Democratic party, as such, to the principles adopted in the work of reconstruction, and now a part of the fundamental law of the land?

The Democratic party claims to accept the situation respecting the sacredness of the national debt and the inviolability of the national credit, and yet twenty million dollars of taxation will not make good the annual loss to the American people from the undefined and undefinable attitude and intentions of that party in regard to the payment of the principal of the public debt. In the prosecution of the war to overthrow the rebellion, for the purpose of procuring the ready money to pay the army and navy and to provide the immense material of war, it became necessary to suspend specie payments, to make a forced loan from the people by declaring the greenback a legal tender in payment of public and private indebtedness, and yet, while claiming to be in favor of resumption of specie payments at some indefinite time and by means of some undefined process, although eleven years have passed since the close of the war, it bitterly opposes the payment of this forced loan or the taking of the first practical step toward resuming our position among the solvent nations of the civilized world.

No, gentlemen, the late war was not a mere prize-fight for national supremacy; it was the outgrowth of the conflict of irreconcilable moral, social, and political forces. Democracy had its lot with the moral, social, and political forces of the cause which was lost; the Republican party with those which triumphed and survived. The preservation of the results of that victory devolves upon us here and now. Democracy has no tradition of the past, no impulses of the present, no aspirations for the future fitting it for this task. The reaction of 1874 has already spent itself in a vain effort to realize the situation. It has simply demonstrated that no change in the machinery of the Government can be had outside of the Republican party without drawing with it a practical nullification of

the great work of reconstruction of the financial chaos and administrative revolution. The present House of Representatives has succeeded in nothing except the development of its own incapacity.

From the inception of the Republican party in 1855 it has kept pace with the progress of the times, accepting the early added responsibility of war, emancipation, taxation, and reconstruction, until the brightest pages of American history are but the lifestay of the Republican party. Of the whole mass of its constitutional amendments and legislative enactments it takes the responsibility, without apology. It has often erred, but it has never feared to act; and through its action the nation has lived. There has been corruption, but when it was discovered the order went forth, "Let no guilty man escape," and the order has been executed. There has been want of harmony, but a platform unwavering in its declaration of principles, with candidates worthy of it, will weld together, as of old, into an unconquerable army the great liberty-loving, law-abiding majority of the voters of the United States, and stamp with enduring success the results of the deliberations of this convention.

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A. J. Dittenhoffer, of N. Y. Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the National German Republican convention, recently assembled in this city, over which I had the honor to preside, and in which twenty States were represented, I desire to present the following resolutions, to three of which I desire to call particular attention: First, advocating, in view of the recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in declaring State legislation on the subject of the protection of immigrants unconstitutional, that the National Government legislate on the subject. Second, demanding a revision of treaties between the foreign governments affecting naturalization and expatriation. Third, demanding non-sectarian schools [cheers] and

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The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Credentials.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Loring, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported as follows:

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secretary, Irving M. Bean, of Wisconsin. Also a long list of vice presidents. (Mr. McPherson had been replaced on the Committee on Resolutions by Wm. B. Mann, of Philadelphia.) The name of Ben. Wade as one of the vice presidents elicited applause.

After some discussion of the motion to postpone the consideration of the report on permanent organization until after the contesting delegations had been settled, the motion was tabled and the report was adopted.

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Seventh. Opposition to all inflation and repudiation heresies, and no step backward on the road to resumption.

Eighth. The maintenance of every amendment to the Constitution by the Federal power, and especially the rigid enforcement of every law affecting citizens South.

Ninth. The Nation is supreme, and not the State.

The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Credentials.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Loring, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported as follows:

PRESIDENT, EDWARD M'PHERSON, OF PENNSYLVANIA;

secretary, Irving M. Bean, of Wisconsin. Also a long list of vice presidents. (Mr. McPherson had been replaced on the Committee on Resolutions by Wm. B. Mann, of Philadelphia.) The name of Ben. Wade as one of the vice presidents elicited applause.

After some discussion of the motion to postpone the consideration of the report on permanent organization until after the contesting delegations had been settled, the motion was tabled and the report was adopted.

Mr. Pomeroy appointed Mr. Orton of New York, Mr. Donnan of Iowa, and Mr. McCormick of Arizona, a committee to conduct the permanent president to the chair.

M'PHERSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. McPherson on taking the chair said: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention, no one of you knows better than myself how entirely unworthy I am of this high honor. It has come to me not only unsought, but with a feeling of absolute and uncontrollable surprise. But I have been reared in the school of duty, and in the politics of Pennsylvania it is a fundamental doctrine that every Republican shall do his whole duty. [Applause.] And therefore I

am here to accept this honor tendered by your committee and ratified by yourselves as an honor tendered to the great old Commonwealth which has sent me as one of its delegates to this convention since 1856. In no one of the great contests has she ever faltered, [applause,] and in this Centennial convention she has turned an inflexible, defiant face to the enemy. She says no truce with treason, malignity, hate, or anything that is not national. [Applause.] She has determined to roll up for the nominees of this convention a majority such as will entitle her to continue to be what she has long been—and I say it with all respect—foremost in the Republican caucus.” [Cheers.]

The Committee on Rules reporting that they were not ready to report, the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock Thursday, June 15.

Second Day's Proceedings.

At 11:08 President McPherson called the convention to order, and presented Rev. Geo. Beecher, who opened the proceedings with prayer.

George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, presented a memorial of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. As this paper must go to the Committee on Resolutions, Mr. Hoar moved that Mrs. Sara J. Spencer be heard by the convention for ten minutes. Agreed to. [Applause.]

Mrs. Spencer came forward. She proceeded to present in a concise form the claims of the women citizens to practical recognition, and criticised the failure of the speakers yesterday to plead for them. The conclusion of her brief speech was received with applause.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. Cessna, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, made the following report:

To the Honorable the President and Members of the Republican National Convention: Your committee to whom was referred the matter of rules and order of business beg leave to submit the following rules, including the order of business for the government of this convention, as follows, to wit:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, according to the late apportionment, and each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the committee on

credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the committee on platform and resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the committee on platform and resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President.

Rule 4. In making the nomination for President and Vice President in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with when it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of votes cast. The president of the convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidates be made unanimous?" but if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast, and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of a numerical error.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, the secretary calling the roll of States and Territories in the order heretofore stated, and the District of Columbia.

Rule 6. In the record of the votes by States the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman, and in case the votes of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by the majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once on the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and District represented in this convention.

The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and District shall

name through their chairman a person to act as member of such committee.

JOHN CRESSNA, *Chairman*,
R. A. DAWSON, *Secretary*.

THE PLATFORM.

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following platform, which was read by General Hawley:

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of the Government of the people, by the people, for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride, incited by their memories and high aims for the good of our country and mankind; and, looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in National Convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

First. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments under their respective Constitutions the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad and the common welfare promoted.

Second. The Republican party has preserved those governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or if needed be vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

Third. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. [Applause.] The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. [Applause.]

To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall. [Applause.]

Fourth. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of purpose to discharge all just obligations to public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for redemption of the United States notes in coin. [Cheers.] Commercial prosperity, public merits, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment. [Loud and long continued applause.]

Fifth. Under the Constitution the President and heads of Departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interests of the public service demand that this distinction be respected, that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with the sole reference to efficiency of public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

Sixth. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trust shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing. [Cheers.]

Seventh. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control. [Great cheering, continued several minutes. In response to repeated calls General Hawley read the plank a second time, and the delegates and audience repeated cheers.]

Eighth. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from the duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interest of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country. [Cheers.]

Ninth. We reaffirm our opposition to fur-

ther grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

Tenth. It is the imperative duty of the Government to modify existing treaties with European Governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to adopted American citizens that is given to native-born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the State for that purpose.

Eleventh. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the emigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

Twelfth. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advance recently made towards the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts; the honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights and privileges and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration. [Applause.]

Thirteenth. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate in the Territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories. [Applause.]

Fourteenth. The pledges which the nation has given to our soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled; a grateful people will always hold those who periled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

Fifteenth. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts as its chief hope of success upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation, and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success open sectional strife honor and human

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nity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepented rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government. We warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable. [Cheers.]

Seventeenth. The National Administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued and hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his immense service in war and in peace. [Cheers.]

NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT.

The following names were then presented of gentlemen as candidates for the Presidency. The record of each was presented in a brief address by the gentleman presenting the name, and occasionally by other friends:

Hon. Marshall Jewell, by Mr. Kelly, of Connecticut.

Hon. Oliver P. Morton, by E. W. Thompson, of Indiana.

Hon. B. H. Bristow, by General Harlan, of Kentucky.

Hon. J. G. Blaine, by Mr. Ingersoll, of Illinois.

Hon. Roscoe Conkling, by Mr. Woodford, of New York.

Hon. R. B. Hayes, by Governor Noyes, of Ohio.

Hon. J. F. Hartranft, by Mr. Bartholomew, of Pennsylvania.

The convention then adjourned until ten o'clock Friday.

Third Day's Proceedings.

The Republican National Convention completed its labors Friday by nominating Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for the Presidency, and Hon. William A. Wheeler, of New York, for the Vice Presidency. The balloting began as soon as the Convention met in the morning. Before the result of the first ballot was announced Mississippi wished to correct her vote, which raised a question whether this could be done under the rules adopted the day before on this subject. After a brief explanation, the correction was allowed, and the result of the ballot was announced by the Secretary. There was no choice, the highest number of votes being given for Mr. Blaine, which was

285. Governor Hayes had 61. The second ballot being taken, a protracted debate occurred on the right of four Pennsylvania delegates to vote independently, the rules under which the delegation acted requiring them to vote as a unit. In the end, the Convention sustained the decision of the Chair, allowing the delegates to vote as they pleased. The result of the ballot was then announced, which still showed no choice. The balloting still went on, until, on the sixth ballot, Blaine had 308 votes. The names of Morton and Bristow were then withdrawn, and the seventh and decisive ballot gave Governor Hayes 384 and Mr. Blaine 351. Governor Hayes was then declared the nominee of the Convention amid the wildest enthusiasm. For Vice President Hon. William A. Wheeler, of New York; Stewart L. Woodford, of New York; Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, were successively nominated. The roll was called, and about half the States had responded, giving Mr. Wheeler 366 votes, when, on motion, his nomination was made unanimous. This completed its work, and the Sixth National Republican Convention adjourned with cheers for the ticket.

SUMMARY OF THE BALLOTS.

	7th ballot.
38	351
31	21
11	21
95	21
13	384
50	21
4	21
2	21

THE CANDIDATES.

Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio.

Rutherford B. Hayes, nominated at Cincinnati by the Republican National Convention for President of the United States, has had an active and important career. He was born in Delaware county, Ohio, October 4, 1822. After receiving a collegiate education at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, he studied law in Columbus. With the preparation he thus received he entered the law school of Harvard College, where he graduated with credit. He began the practice of his profession in Cincinnati, and met with so much success that he was appointed solicitor of that city. His genial manners and abilities made him exceedingly popular in his profession, and his practice was rapidly growing

when the war of the rebellion broke out. He was then just thirty-nine years old, in the prime of his life, and engaged in many important cases, but the call for troops was the signal for him to throw aside the advocate's gown and don the equipments of the soldier. He proffered his services at once, and on the 7th of June, 1861, was appointed major of the 21st Ohio Infantry Regiment. His first services were with Rosecrans in West Virginia, and for a time was judge advocate on that General's staff. In November, 1862, he was promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy, and took command of the 23d Ohio, and continued to command it during the spring campaign in West Virginia and the autumn campaign under General McClellan, until he was wounded at the battle of South Mountain. He was appointed colonel of the 79th Ohio in the same year, but was prevented by his wound from assuming command, and afterward was transferred back to his former regiment, the 23d. December 25, 1862, he was placed in command of the 1st Brigade, Kanawha division, and held it until Sheridan's victory at Winchester in September, 1864, when he took command of the division, leading it through the battles of the year. Whitelaw Reid, now editor of the New York Tribune, relates this anecdote of Col. Hayes at the battle of Winchester: He was leading his men when suddenly they came upon a morass some sixty yards wide; the water was waist deep, and in some places overgrown with heavy moss almost strong enough to bear the weight of a man, while the bottom was soft and miry. This seemed an impassable obstacle, and the whole line hesitated. Not so Colonel Hayes. He immediately spurred his horse into the slough under a thick fire of artillery and musketry. When about half-way across the animal mired hopelessly, and then the Colonel dismounted and waded out, being the first man to cross. All through the action he was exposed continually; men fell all around him, and his adjutant fell by his side.

In October, 1864, Colonel Hayes was appointed brigadier general for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. In the spring of 1865 he commanded an expedition against West Virginia, and was engaged in it when the war terminated. Afterward he was promoted to be major general for gallant and distinguished services. He was engaged in much severe service and participated in many battles, but always bore himself bravely. Before the close of the war he had been elected a member of Congress, and in 1866 was re-elected by a handsome majority. Although he was a good lawyer, and had often pleaded before the courts, General Hayes sat in Congress

three sessions without making a single elaborate speech. He was noted, however, for his fidelity to Republican convictions and soundness of judgment. In 1867 he was unanimously nominated by his party for Governor of Ohio, and after a spirited contest, in which he took an active part, and which was complicated by the negro-suffrage question, he was elected over Allen G. Thurman by a majority of 2,983 in a total poll of 483,000, thus narrowly escaping defeat. He was renominated at the close of his term in 1869, and again elected by a majority of 7,518 over George H. Pendleton. In 1872 he was beaten for Congress by Banning, Liberal Republican. The next appearance of Mr. Hayes as a candidate was last fall, when he was nominated on the public-school platform after a sharp contest with Judge Taft, whose candidacy in opposition to Mr. Hayes was no fault of his own, but was due entirely to a letter Mr. Hayes wrote the night before the convention, of which the following is an extract: "I cannot allow my name to be used against Judge Taft. He became a candidate after I declined. He is a pure man and a sound Republican. I will not accept a nomination obtained with contest against him." The pith and point of the voluntary indorsement which Mr. Hayes gives to Judge Taft lies in the fact that the contest of the convention turned on an energetic effort to placate the Liberal Republican party by his nomination. The attempt failed, and Mr. Hayes became a candidate, accepting the nomination by telegraph the same day. In the bitter and hard-fought canvass which followed Mr. Hayes was successful, receiving a majority of 5,544 over Mr. Allen. Governor Hayes is not a brilliant man, but an able one, and will make an excellent President. He is no orator, but an efficient administrative officer. The last public office he held was that of Centennial commissioner, which he resigned when he became Governor.

William A. Wheeler, of New York.

Hon. William A. Wheeler, unanimously nominated for Vice President, is one of the best men who could have been chosen for the place, and one who will give satisfaction to the party throughout the nation. Like Gen. Hayes, who heads the ticket, his character is negative rather than positive. He has long been in public life, but until recently has achieved but slight distinction. Mr. Wheeler was born at Malone, Franklin county, New York, June 3, 1819. He had a common-school education, and spent a year in study at the University of Vermont, and, after passing seven years in a lawyer's office in his native county, was in 1849 admitted to practice. After a few years' practice he was elected district attorney as a Democrat, and when his term expired (he had changed

his politics in the mean time) he was elected to the New York Assembly as a Whig. He was re-elected, but at the close of his second term retired to the practice of his profession. A short time afterward he became first the cashier of his local bank, a position he held for fourteen years, and at a later date became president of the Ogdensburg and Rouse's Point railroad, continuing in the supervision of the road for eleven years. At the death of the Whig party he became a Republican, and entered the State Senate in January, 1858, to take his seat in the first legislature fully controlled by the Republican party. Robert Campbell, a Republican, was at the time Lieutenant Governor, and the position of president *pro tem.*, to which Mr. Wheeler was elected, was, in consequence, a purely honorary position. Through the sessions of 1858 and 1859 Mr. Wheeler served in the Senate, and in the fall of the last-named year he was elected to a seat in the Thirty-seventh Congress, carrying all three of the strong Republican counties—Clinton, Essex, and Franklin—of which the Sixteenth district was then composed. In all the debates and votes of that exciting war session he was uniformly on the side of the Union and liberty. After the close of the Thirty-seventh Congress Mr. Wheeler did not enter public service until 1867, when he was elected a member of the New York State Constitutional Convention, of which he was subsequently chairman. His only speech was made upon taking the chair, and it was radical to the core, and strongly pronounced in favor of negro suffrage. In 1868 he was re-elected a member of Congress, and has served continuously down to this day. He has been either chairman or a member of many important committees, and it was he who arranged the famous Louisiana compromise. He is a friend of public improvements and a good protectionist, whose nomination will be heartily seconded in Pennsylvania.

CONGRATULATORY DISPATCHES.

Immediately upon hearing of Governor Hayes' nomination the following dispatches passed over the wires:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 16, 1876.

To Gov. R. B. Hayes, Columbus, Ohio:

I offer you my sincerest congratulations on your nomination. It will be alike my highest pleasure, as well as my first political duty, to do the utmost in my power to promote your election. The earliest moments of my returning and confirmed health will be devoted to securing you as large a vote in Maine as she would have given for myself.

J. G. BLAINE.

To which Mr. Hayes replied:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 16.

To Hon. J. G. Blaine, Washington:

Your kind dispatch has touched me most

deeply, and I hardly know how to respond in fitting terms. The assurance of your sympathy and support nerves me for the contest in which we are about to enter. With your returning health and strength, I see an omen of Republican success. I trust that all trace of your recent illness will speedily disappear; that you may speedily be restored to your family and country. I send you my first dispatch since the nomination.

R. B. HAYES.

Senator Morton sent the following dispatch to Governor Hayes:

I congratulate you upon your nomination for the Presidency, and shall labor earnestly for your success.

O. P. MORTON.

Secretary Bristow also telegraphed Governor Hayes as follows:

Governor R. B. Hayes, Columbus, Ohio:

I beg you to accept my earnest and hearty congratulations. Your nomination secures victory in November.

B. H. BRISTOW.

Immediately upon the receipt of the news in Harrisburg of the nomination of General Hayes the following dispatch was sent:

HARRISBURG, PA., June 16, 1876.

General R. B. Hayes, Columbus, Ohio:

I most sincerely congratulate you on your nomination. Pennsylvania will surely give you her vote in November.

J. F. HARTRANFT.

The following dispatch from Senator Conkling to Governor Hayes was sent immediately after the nomination of the latter was announced:

JUNE 16, 1876.

Governor Hayes, Columbus, Ohio:

I heartily congratulate the country, the Republican party, and you on your nomination. You need no assurance of the cordiality of my support.

Sincerely yours,

ROSCOE CONKLING.

Shortly after the nomination of Governor Hayes, the Kentucky delegation received the following telegram from Colonel Bristow:

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1876.

Hon. James M. Harlan:

I congratulate the Convention on its good work in nominating Governor Hayes, and I rejoice that my friends have helped to do it. You have secured a victory for us in November by giving us a true man for whom every Republican can vote.

B. H. BRISTOW.

HON. RICHARD SMITH TO MR. BRISTOW.

CINCINNATI, June 16, 1876.

Hon. B. H. Bristow, Washington, D. C.:

You were not nominated, but your honored name, your grand achievements, and the patriotism of your friends saved the party and the country.

RICHARD SMITH.

ONWARD.

The march of the Republican party is to be onward! The critical period in its career has been passed. Political sagacity and unselfish patriotism have triumphed in the abandonment at Cincinnati of all personal considerations and factional interests, in the all-absorbing desire to secure a ticket that would command universal confidence and assure the nation that the great party of freedom was still to move onward in the path of progress, united in all needed reforms, inspired by a common loyalty, and presenting an unbroken front to the enemies of good government.

For this self abnegation, the surrendering of personal favorites, and the unanimity displayed by all when the choice of the convention was made known, the delegates of the several States deserve and will receive the thanks and gratitude of the country. They bridged over our only danger, and made certain a victory which to many good

citizens had hitherto been regarded as doubtful.

The House of Representatives was lost by a defensive campaign. It will be recovered by the aggressive one now made possible. Under Hayes and Wheeler there will be no retreats sounded, no forced entrenchment of position, but a steady and irresistible forward movement that will not cease until every State lost is recovered, and every position captured by Democracy is again under the Republican flag.

To believe otherwise would be to insult the intelligence and patriotism of the nation. Even those who have acted in good faith against the party, believing that Democracy had reformed and was capable of administering the Government, must have become convinced of their error by the repetition of follies on the part of the House of Representatives equal, if not surpassing, those which drove the Democracy from power in 1860.

If it has done nothing more, the Democratic party has at least opened the eyes of tens of thousands to its utter incapacity to even legislate for the interest of the nation. Under its control needed legislation has been denied; the appropriation bills necessary to carry on the Government have been suspended; absolutely nothing has been done except to waste millions of the people's money in investigations conceived in partisan malice and carried on for the sole purpose of securing for the Democratic party cheap political capital for the Presidential campaign.

Good citizens everywhere have watched these proceedings with anxiety and disgust, and will hail with rejoicing the prospect, now offered, of a deliverance from the misrule which if long continued would bankrupt the nation and cover its name with disgrace and reproach.

All hail to the awakened patriotism of the people, and to the standard bearers chosen to lead them out of darkness into light! Let every banner have inscribed upon it, "union of good men for the preservation of good government." Let every honest citizen lay aside petty jealousies and local disputes, and join with his neighbors in making the work

thorough and effective. Let organization be effected in every town, county, and State throughout the land. Induce, through personal canvass, every citizen to join in the work who believes that loyalty is better than disloyalty, and good government more to be desired than bad government. The enemy is desperate and well organized, and will not hesitate to take every advantage that can be obtained through fraud, violence, and deception. To defeat their schemes, to repel every attack, to beat them on the skirmish line and in open battle, requires courage, unity of action, and a patriotism such as saved the nation when the rebel allies of Democracy tried for four years to destroy it.

These elements of strength exist in our party. If they are dormant the promise which comes from the names of Hayes and Wheeler should excite them to activity. If they have been withheld since the close of the war, the common danger which threatens the Republic from the ascendancy of Democracy should arouse them to again volunteer for the general defense. The Republican party has chosen a man to lead it worthy of its principles. We call upon the friends of law and order to make the victory under him as glorious as any in our history.

AN ENCOURAGING OUTLOOK.

The old army is again united. From the highest officer to the soldier in the ranks the determination is general to join hands in the work to be done in the Presidential campaign and to follow the banner of Hayes and Wheeler to a glorious victory in November next.

Encouragement comes from all quarters. North, South, East, and West send cheering assurances of a spirit of unity in the Republican party such as has not been known since the fiery trials of the war period. The names of Hayes and Wheeler have been accepted everywhere as the promise of reform wherever needed, and as the pledge that loyalty and ability are to guard in the future, as in the past, the interests of the Government.

The Convention has done its duty well. Its delegates will receive from their constituents heartfelt thanks, and be long remembered as patriots who laid aside personal likes and dislikes for the public welfare. The platform has the true ring, the men placed upon it are of the right stamp, and, if we mistake not the necessities of the hour, the work performed will take its place in history as second, at least, if not equal, to the patriotic labors that gave Lincoln to the nation in 1860.

The work of the Convention ended with the selection of the ticket. The work of the people has just commenced. Will it be performed wisely and well? We believe it will, for never before in our history were the people—the loyal people—more in earnest to

protect the Government from the fatal effects of Democratic control than at the present time.

Among intelligent men the conclusion is almost universal that the Democratic party, as shown by its transactions in the House of Representatives, is totally unfit to govern the nation, and that to continue its present power over legislation, or to extend it over the functions of the Executive branch, would be little short of national suicide. The popular feeling that carried Democracy into power in 1874 no longer exists. Those who believed it true to the Government and able to legislate for its best interests have opened their eyes to the fatal error into which they were led. They see the Democratic party holding one branch of the National Legislature, and using its power therein, not for the purpose of advancing the country, but for the sole purpose of advancing its selfish and partisan interests. They are forced to the conclusion that Democracy is as corrupt to-day as when it was driven from power, and as disloyal in its affiliation as when the guns of the rebel army were turned against the authority of the nation.

We may therefore reasonably expect large accessions from the disaffected element which left our party a few years since, and positive activity from thousands throughout the land, who, under the false belief that the two parties were about the same, grew apathetic in the support of Republicanism.

The opposition will be composed of the ex-Confederate element in the South, the ignorant and bigoted voters of the North, and that large class of unprincipled men found with Democracy at all times, urging its claims, directing its movements, and sharing in its plunder whenever successful. The power of this opposition should not be underrated. It would be folly to accept the superiority of our party as proof positive that it will be victorious in the pending campaign. Throughout the land every safeguard must be adopted, every weak point must be strengthened, every movement of the enemy watched. Vigilance must be practiced everywhere. Those who believe that law and order are better than misrule and anarchy should band together for the common de-

fense. Organization should be commenced at once. Through it, the true state of affairs, wherever Democracy has obtained control, should be made known to the people. Documents—giving facts and figures that cannot be denied—should be circulated. Weekly meetings should be held by Republicans in every town, city, and county in the land, so that when the great battle is fought in November it will be, what it must be in reality, simply a struggle between the forces of enlightenment and public virtue and the forces of ignorance and vice. There is victory in the air! Let the loyal people prove by their labors that they deserve to achieve it.

THE TWO PARTIES.—The Republican party has been upon trial for the past fifteen years, and what has it shown? The grandest record of good deeds, substantial reforms, and official integrity ever presented in history. Its responsibilities have been greater than any party was ever before called upon to bear. Its trusts have been sacred in their character. It has held in its keeping personal liberty, the rights and privileges of individuals, and the very existence of the nation. It has expended and collected thousands of millions for the common defense and general welfare, and has shown in all of its transactions a regard for the people who trusted it, and for whose protection it was organized. Surely if noble deeds and great achievements entitle a party to consideration, the Republican party has earned by its splendid career the thanks and gratitude of the civilized world. Look now at the record of Democracy! Its repeated betrayal of public confidence; its treasonable sympathies and open aid to rebellion; its oppression of the blacks in the Southern States; its affiliation with such plunderers as Tweed; its illy concealed sympathy for the lost cause; and its total want of appreciation of the public wants as shown in its stupid transactions in the present House of Representatives, stamp it as the worst possible organization that ever courted public favor.

Is it a difficult thing for the loyal citizen to choose between the two parties? Can any man who wishes well for his country hesitate to support the one and oppose the other? No! With the history of the two parties so clearly written, and so well understood, every citizen can draw the line for himself. If he favors good government, the peace and security of all, the development of our national resources, and the growth of our free institutions, he must of necessity advocate and support the Republican party. If these have no charms for him, and he seeks evil rather than good, then he belongs to Democracy, and should be found with it.

EXTRADITION—MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT.

The following is the message of the President, submitted to Congress June 20, in relation to the Winslow extradition:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

By the tenth article of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed in Washington on the 9th day of August, 1842, it was agreed that the two Governments should, upon mutual requisitions respectively made, deliver up to justice all persons, who, being charged with certain crimes there in enumerated, committed within the jurisdiction of either, should seek an asylum or be found within the territory of the other.

The only condition or limitation contained in the treaty, to the reciprocal obligations thus to deliver up the fugitive, was that it should be done only upon such evidence of criminality as according to the laws of the fugitive place, where the fugitive or person so charged should be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crime or offense had there been committed.

In the month of February last a requisition was duly made, in pursuance of the provisions of the treaty, by this Government upon that of Great Britain for the surrender of one Ezra D. Winslow, charged with extensive forgery and the utterance of forged paper, committed within the jurisdiction of the United States, who had sought asylum and was found within the territory of her Britannic Majesty, and was apprehended in London. The evidence of the criminality of the fugitive was duly furnished and heard, and being found sufficient to justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the crimes had been committed in Great Britain, he was held and committed for extradition.

Her Majesty's Government, however, did not deliver up the fugitive in accordance with the terms of the treaty, notwithstanding every requirement thereof had been met on the part of the United States; but instead of surrendering the fugitive demanded certain assurances or stipulations not mentioned

to its provisions, or compliance by Great Britain under the treaty. I have now to lay before the House my answer to a call upon me on this case, and the evidence which has been furnished by the two Governments with reference to the facts of the case, as presented to the House of Representatives at its last session, and for more detailed consideration of the question.

It appears from the correspondence that the British Government bases its refusal to surrender the fugitive, and its demand for stipulations or assurances from this Government, on the requirement of a purely domestic enactment of the British Parliament passed in the year 1870.

This act was brought to the notice of this Government shortly after its enactment, and her Majesty's Government was advised that the United States understood it as giving continued effect to the existing engagements under the treaty of 1842, for the extradition of criminals, and with this knowledge on its part and without dissent from the declared views of the United States as to the unchanged nature of the reciprocal rights and obligations of the two powers under the treaty Great Britain has continued to make requisitions and to grant surrenders in numerous instances, without suggestion that it was contemplated to depart from the practice under this treaty, which has obtained for more than thirty years until now, for the first time in this case of Winslow, it is assumed that under this act of Parliament, her Majesty may require a stipulation or agreement not provided for in the treaty as a condition of the observance by her Government of its treaty obligations toward this country.

This I have felt it my duty emphatically to repel.

In addition to the case of Winslow, requisition was also made by this Government on that of Great Britain for the surrender of Charles J. Brent, also charged with forgery committed in the United States, and found in Great Britain. The evidence of the criminality was duly heard, and the fugitive committed for extradition.

A similar stipulation to that demanded in Winslow's case was also asked in Brent's, and was likewise refused.

It is with extreme regret that I am now called upon to announce to you that her Majesty's Government has finally released both of these fugitives, Winslow and Brent, and set them at liberty, thus omitting to comply with the provisions and requirements of the treaty under which the extradition of fugitive criminals is made between the two Governments.

The position thus taken by the British Government, if adhered to, cannot but be regarded as the abrogation and annulment of the article of the treaty on extradition.

Under these circumstances, it will not, in my judgment, comport with the dignity of self-respect of this Government to make demands upon that Government for the sur-

render of fugitive criminals, nor to entertain any requisition of that character from that Government under the treaty.

It will be a cause of deep regret if a treaty which has been thus beneficial in its practical operations, which has worked so well and so efficiently, and which, notwithstanding the exciting and at times violent political disturbances of which both countries have been the scene during its existence, has given rise to no complaints on the part of either Government against either its spirit or its provisions, should be abruptly terminated.

It has tended to the protection of society and to the general interests of both countries, and its violation or annulment would be a retrograde step in international intercourse. I have been anxious and have made the effort to enlarge its scope and to make a new treaty which would be a still more efficient agent for the punishment and prevention of crime. At the same time I have felt it my duty to decline to entertain a proposition made by Great Britain, pending its refusal to execute the existing treaty, to amend it by practically conceding by treaty the identical conditions which that

Government demands under its act of Parliament.

In addition to the impossibility of the United States entering upon negotiations under the menace of an intended violation or a refusal to execute the terms of an existing treaty, I deemed it unadvisable to treat of only the one amendment proposed by Great Britain, while the United States desires an enlargement of the list of crimes for which extradition may be asked, and other improvements which experience has shown might be embodied in a new treaty.

It is for the wisdom of Congress to determine whether the article of the treaty relating to extradition is to be any longer regarded as obligatory upon the Government of the United States, or as forming part of the supreme law of the land. Should the attitude of the British Government remain unchanged I shall not, without an expression of the wish of Congress that I should do so, take any action either in making or granting requisitions for the surrender of fugitive criminals under the treaty of 1842.

Respectfully submitted.

U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1876.

REBELS ON INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES.

Since the Union was preserved by the Republican party, and the national credit has advanced under Republican influence until it has become as stable as the Great Republic itself, the country is confronted with a House of Representatives a majority of which is composed of ex-Confederates and sympathizing Democrats. Who do the ex-Confederates represent? They appear in the light of National Representatives, and claim to be such; but, judging from the action of the Democratic leaders and their rebel colleagues, the representation in the lower House of Congress is confined to admiration of little else than what sprang out of the rebellion, and to heaping favors of support on the men who did their best to destroy the Union and carry dismay and death into the households of American citizens.

One of the first events announced on the assembly of the Confederate Congress of 1875-'6 was the proud intention to investigate the Republican party. On the investigating committees every rebel was to find a place; and on some of the committees the

rebels were so prominent that they quite outshone their Democratic colleagues. But what a sight! Have the people duly considered what is passing at the Capitol at this very hour in this connection! The leaders of the Democracy were in close association with the leaders of the rebellion, and had not patriotism enough to sound the note of warning that the country was in danger. The Republican party met the armed hosts of treason and hurled them back until the people rallied from every quarter of the land, save the South, and boldly stood in the front determined to conquer or to die. Multitudes fell; but their ranks were speedily filled up again; and with the destruction of slavery, the cause of the war, the Confederacy collapsed; but unfortunately treason was not made odious as it should have been by making an example of some who had turned their arms against the nation.

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In a recent communication to the House of Representatives, and in answer to a call from that body for information on this case, I submitted the correspondence which has passed between the two Governments with reference thereto. It will be found in Executive Document No. 173 of the House of Representatives of the present session, and I respectfully refer thereto for more detailed information bearing on the question.

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men red handed with a brother's blood, who had confederated and conspired together to destroy it. Never in the history of humanity was such an anomaly known. Never were the spared foes of a people elevated to the judgment seat to pass upon the quality of the service of the men who spared their lives and let them go free! But to-day Confederates are sitting on Congressional committees investigating all sorts of trumped-up charges against Republicans. If Republicans had failed to do their duty when the Union was imperiled by Southern rebels and their Democratic allies there would be no country which the Confederates could be said to represent, except a kind of Southern colony, perhaps under the presidency of Mr. Ben. Hill as the successor of Mr. Jeff. Davis, and Mr. Robert Toombs, the fiery Vice President, in the place of Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, with every man, woman, and child in whose veins was African blood rolled together for a corner-stone of slavery, and all this in spite of their paternity and of their bearing the names of some of the bluest blooded people of the South—from the hue of ebony to that of the octoroon—the very cream of the F. F. V.'s or of any other Southern State in the group, which the world would laugh at as a Power.

What can be expected of Confederate committee men when possessing the power to express their opinion upon the worth and patriotism of Republicans. Persons guilty of rebellion, especially when causeless and unsuccessful, can have no delicacy of feeling, no manliness of sentiment. They have not therefore shown any. Almost all the committees have been conducted in one way. Evidence has been taken to the discredit of Republicans, and published without giving an opportunity to the parties affected to be heard. Explanatory evidence may be taken afterward, but the delay in publication has often been so tardy that the evil still remains uncorrected. Then again, the Committee on Naval Affairs has sat with closed doors. What is the evidence worth if no one is present to cross-examine or direct the investigation? The Confederates and Democrats on a committee sit with the purpose of convicting Republicans. If they sat with the

simple object to ascertain the truth they would be willing to allow the parties charged to be heard before sending out one particle of testimony to their injury. Hon. W. C. Whitthorne, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, has been asked more than once by Mr. Robeson, the Secretary of the Navy, to have the committee open its doors to the public. There is always danger and injustice in secret sessions. This is made clear in one of the letters of the Secretary to Mr. Whitthorne. He says:

“The publication of portions of the unfinished testimony in detached parts has, as was to be expected, afforded the opportunity for charges and insinuations made in the public newspapers utterly false in fact and founded upon false inferences from the testimony as published, which will fall at once to the ground when the whole facts are known. Under these circumstances I demand, as a matter of public right, not only for myself, but for any officer of my Department against whom anything is supposed to appear, a full and speedy opportunity to be heard in justification of every matter charged and in refutation of every false inference that can possibly be made; and I also demand that this hearing be had in open session of the committee, to the end that public justification may follow as speedily as possibly the charges and insinuations made.”

This is a very proper demand. With a Confederate Congress, open sessions of its investigating committees are an absolute necessity. Without open sessions, the reports of such committees are untrustworthy, and full of scandal and assertion unsupported by proof; and as they can only be of use as campaign documents, the people are informed of what is being done in their name and at their expense, and warned to reject at once in the name of justice every calumny against upright public servants belonging to the Republican party, who have in doing their duty shamed the members of the late Confederacy and the Democrats consorting with them.

SIGNIFICANT.—The nomination of two such men as Hayes and Wheeler to the two highest offices in the nation is a clear indication that the Republican party is determined to deserve the confidence and support of the intelligence and patriotism of the country; and the popular verdict is that they will not be disappointed.

THE CHINESE IN AMERICA.

An issue has been made in the Senate which must command the respectful consideration of the American people. Senator A. A. Sargent, of California, has presented the case of his constituents as against the unrestrained migration to our shores of a Chinese population in a form and with a seriousness of aspect that compels careful attention to the burden of his complaint.

The issues involved are of transcendent importance—to the present and future both—at least of our Pacific States, and probably of the entire country. Embraced within the question of Mongolian participation in our life and nationality will be found to be a reconsideration of the relations of races to each other; and of what is really of far more consequence than the ethnological aspect, the effect of antedating conditions of climate, government, labor, ethics, and social life; in fact, of differing civilizations and circumstances. This is the primal fact to be considered in the matter of Chinese emigration and settlement, whether on the Pacific coast or elsewhere. There is also another and very important series of questions involved in the issue, which must be carefully considered. They are economic and self-protective in character—facts which every community is bound to regard in dealing with others.

On the question of race assimilation the best instincts of the American people are in antagonism to the theory that there is any danger to our national progress or ethnic quality by the free admission to our shores of *all* men, of whatever race or clime, who may come to us under fair circumstances of self-dependence, and with reasonable prospects of industrial and social well-doing. No student of modern history will or can ignore the marvelous influence that has been exercised on the political and social life of older countries and nationalities through the remarkable immigration movement which from 1820 to 1860, in especial, has almost landed the population of an empire upon our shores. Setting aside all considerations affecting personal fortunes, and looking only at emigration as one of the great historical and political forces known to our era, it

must be conceded that it has probably been as potential in remoulding and reanimating the countries from whence the emigrants came as it has been, industrially regarded, in making the wilderness "bloom and blossom as the rose," aiding to transform the once primeval forests and trackless prairies into harvest-waving fields, smiling with plenty, and made fit for the abode of a many million-handed nationhood.

As a political force, the doctrines set forth and maintained so steadfastly by the American Republic—such only as could be born of a free and federative nationality cradled as was this Union—the doctrines of a freely chosen expatriation and nationality, have crowned us as a people with the greatest of honor, while exercising a marvelous influence on the diplomacy and jurisprudence of governments differing in spirit and form from our own. It must, therefore, be for no light reason that American statesmen can approach even to the outer verge of considering whether or not the time may not have arrived for us as a nation to call a halt in this direction. It is to this point, both initial and conclusive, that the question of Chinese emigration to our shores is rapidly drawing public attention. The right of self-preservation belongs to a nation as equally as it does to the individual. It must be exercised, however, only after the most complete deliberation and when all minor and precautionary steps have been duly taken. Long before we debate the great issue, whether we can or not as a people declare our inability to admit the Asiatic alien and emigrant to citizenship with correlative public and social associations, we must have made full examination of the characteristics and circumstances attendant on such an emigration as that now coming from China to our shores. We must learn all that is possible as to its extent—past, present, and probable. It is our duty to examine into the conditions which surround the Chinese in his own country as well as those by which he is environed in our own midst. A fair knowledge of his habits and associations, personal and collective, are of the greatest value in making up that judgment upon which alone legislative action should be based. Such

are some of the necessary precedent conditions. Let us ascertain, then, if they have been or can be satisfied.

As to the number of Chinese residents in the United States? This is the first thing to be ascertained. The census of 1870 gave the following figures:

<i>Pacific and Mining States and Territories.</i>		South Carolina.	1
California.....	49,310	Texas.....	25
Oregon.....	3,330	Virginia.....	4
Nevada.....	3,152		220
Arizona.....	20	<i>All other States and Territories.</i>	
Idaho.....	4,274	Missouri.....	3
Montana.....	1,949	Connecticut....	2
Washington...	234	Illinois.....	1
Utah.....	445	Iowa.....	3
Colorado.....	7	Maine.....	1
	62,721	Massachusetts.	97
<i>Southern States.</i>		Michigan.....	2
Arkansas.....	98	New Jersey....	15
Florida.....	1	New York.....	25
Georgia.....	1	Ohio.....	1
Kentucky.....	1	Pennsylvania..	14
Louisiana.....	71	Dist.of Colum'a	3
Maryland.....	12	Wyoming.....	143
Mississippi.....	16		310

RECAPITULATION.

Pacific States, etc.....	62,721
Southern States.....	220
All others.....	310

Total63,251

Since 1870, however, there can be no doubt but that there has been a rapid increase of this class of alien immigrants. The following statement of the number of Chinese arriving from 1850 to 1875 is taken from the reports of the Bureau of Statistics. Premising that in 1821 there were three Chinese immigrants, in 1831 eight, and that ten years later thirty-five more had arrived, making in all forty-six, the annexed table gives the total arriving for the decade first named, and then by calendar years thereafter up to and including December 31, 1875:

Number of Chinese emigrants landed at all United States ports.

	Annually.	Every 10 yrs.
From 1851 to 1860, inclusive		41,397
1861	7,518	
1862	3,633	
1863	7,214	
1864	2,975	
1865	2,942	
1866	2,385	
1867	13,863	
1868	10,684	
1869	14,902	
1870	11,943	
		78,059
1871	6,030	
1872	10,642	
1873	18,154	
1874	16,651	
1875	19,033	
		70,510
Total emigration for 25 years		189,966

These figures are confirmed by the testimony now being taken before a committee of the State Senate of California, engaged in the investigation of what is there called the "Chinese Question." The "Six Companies"—bodies of Chinese merchants, traders, etc., residents of San Francisco, who keep control over their countrymen—report the number now in the United States as follows:

Sam Yup Company.....	10,100
Yung Wo Company.....	10,200
King Chow Company.....	5,000
Wing Yung Company.....	75,000
Hop Wu Company.....	34,000
Yan Wo Company.....	43,300
	187,600

This total is doubtless arrived at by counting *all* the Chinese who have landed on the Pacific coast since the immigration fairly begun in 1853, and does not accurately represent those *now* resident either in the whole country or on the Pacific coast alone. The excess of 2,666 over the Six Companies' figures, as shown by the official reports, doubtless indicates the Chinese who have landed at other than Pacific coast ports during the quarter of a century embraced.

Taking the Chinese population of the census, 63,251, and adding thereto the emigration for the following five years, 70,510, and the population would have been December 31, 1875, 133,761. The usual estimate made in California is 150,000. The smaller total is probably more correct. The larger portion of this emigration is composed of males. The proportion may be seen by the following figures:

	Females.
1869	974
1871	349
1873	889
1874	243
1875	382

Total arriving in five years.....2,837

During the same years the number of Chinese male emigrants was over 64,000. The importation of women is of comparatively recent date, and in all probability there have not been over 3,500 Chinese females landed in the United States. Comment is almost needless. It is this disparity between the sexes that affords a considerable proportion, and a justification, too, of the hostility with which this emigrant population is regarded, not alone, now-a-days, by those of our own people the price of whose labor has been, and is likely to be, seriously affected by the

cheapness for which the mass of Chinese work and live, but by all careful and prudent citizens who see the relations of cause and effect, and are justly alarmed at the herding and living together, in any one locality, State, or section, of a clanish people, alien in all their habits, taking no root in our midst, guarding sedulously, with the congenital capacity for such faith which comes of a forty-centuried stability of ideas and institutions, their own methods of living and believing; and certain, too, to have inherited a very large proportion of the strange and lecherous vices and peculiarities which all travel, observation, and study prove to be a terrible feature of old and closely-guarded civilizations, such only as have been nursed and preserved among Asiatic nations from almost prehistoric days.

Such, then, as to present numbers, are the relations of the Chinese population in the United States. A very small number are living in Massachusetts and New Jersey, chiefly, as to the former State, at North Adams, in the employ of a noted shoe manufacturer, and in the latter at a large laundry near New York city. There are also, both in Massachusetts and Connecticut, a number of Chinese pupils, sent by the Imperial Government to be educated in this country. A few of their countrymen live in the Empire City. It is stated by the police that they are numerous enough at this date to support a joss house, maintain an opium den, and indulge freely in gambling. There is a China in *petto*, known as Donaven's alley, in that city, but otherwise the few score Celestials there are industrious and inoffensive. They usually follow peddling cigars or similar employments, and preserve their pigtails, if nothing else, to indicate their origin. In nearly all of the larger American cities a few stray Chinese may be found, and within the past two years Chinese laundries have been established in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and probably elsewhere. But, as will be seen, the great bulk of the Chinese are residents of California. They are found all along the Pacific coast and throughout the mining States and Territories. These people, outside of California, are usually regarded as a

useful laboring population. They are patient, persistent, observing, imitative. Their ambition is limited, but what they do is thoroughly done, and when they have free opportunity their capacity, as drudges at least, makes them more serviceable in that sense than a population more progressive, pushing, and ambitious would or could be. They continually illustrate in this respect the fabled race between the tortoise and the hare. No one has denied to the earlier Chinese emigration serviceable industrial qualifications, and it is because of these that the present conditions, which are bringing a much inferior and less desirable class, has been allowed to grow up heretofore unchecked and largely unnoticed.

That at the present time there are nearly or quite 130,000 Chinese resident in California alone will not be questioned. That about 30,000 of these are now herded together in the city of San Francisco is without doubt. That a considerable proportion of the balance are crowded into the larger towns of the State, and that a very small proportion of the whole number are employed either in mining, agricultural, or other outdoor labor is beyond dispute. That in this entire population there are not 200 families; in San Francisco itself, not over one-half that number; that the greater number of the Chinese women resident there and in the Chinese quarters of other California towns are in fact brought as slaves from China, and used in America as courtezans of the worst type. It is not denied that the Chinese emigrant comes, as a rule, as an alien, remains as such, and returns to his native country, at the earliest opportunity, preserving unbroken his inherited associations and national characteristics. The exceptions are such as tend only to p

general rule. It will be observed that the major of the population under consideration migrated hither since the making a cation of the Burlingame treaty in 1868. The number of Chinese landing shores from 1868 to 1875, include 108,039. It will be noticed that the increase dates from 1867, and that it indicates that the migration had come, as it has since continued to

organized business, from which large profits must be derived. The continued increase, which dates from the outset of the Burlingame embassy, gives some force to the demand made by Senator Sargent for the nullification of certain articles in the treaty it negotiated. These articles are as follows:

ARTICLE V. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and the inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage and free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The high contracting parties therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizens of the United States to China or to any other foreign country, without their free and voluntary consent respectively.

ARTICLE VI. Citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation; and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions, in respect to travel or residence, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States.

The California Senator proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Senate recommends to the President that he cause negotiations to be entered upon with the Chinese government to effect such change in the existing treaty between the United States and China as will lawfully permit the application of restrictions upon the great influx of Chinese subjects to this country.

This demand is based upon the following considerations, as set forth by the Senator in the elaborate speech with which the foregoing resolution was supported. The argument can be thus summarized:

1. The presence of the Chinese in large numbers is a cause of serious discontent to the greater portion of our permanent population.

2. That the Chinese are not an assimilative people and do not come as other aliens, to make homes in our midst, or make this the land of their adoption. That the Chinese are not inclined to Republican ideas. There is no liberal party among them at home, and they bring no po-

litical discontent as open way for our own principles to march into their minds. They are imperialists and aliens, inheriting their opinions; and such the very great body of them must and will remain to their death.

3. The Chinese population expels all others. That to rent dwellings to them is to insure that such buildings will never be re-occupied by others. That they are filthy in their habits and surroundings beyond description; that they herd together in such squalor and indulge in such habits as make their presence in any city a sanitary offense, if not a positive danger to the balance of the community. They constantly provoke danger from conflagrations, while their clanishness and language render them outside of, rather than under, any efficient police regulations or restrictions.

4. That their habits of living and capacity for organization are such that they can destroy all competition, and thus they not only drive out the higher-priced and home-grown labor of our own race and people, but they gradually monopolize the manufacture of all light trades, as shoe and cigar making, &c., compelling the smaller capitalists and employers to surrender participation therein. Their presence, in fact, is the first veritable presentation to us of a genuine proletariat population.

Mr. Sargent, in granting that these people are in large degree an industrious class, adds, with considerable force: "But their very industries are a source of injury to the community, in that they undersell other labor and work for prices on which no white man can support a family. * * * If the community is built up by such industry, it is not as a New England or Western village is built up. It is Foo Chow, and not Cedar Rapids; it is Donovan alley, and not Broadway; it is the hovel, and not the home; the joss-house, and not the church; it is not republican; it is not civilization. * * * Five stalwart German or Scandinavian emigrants with their families would be better for the real interests of New York than the whole Chinese population of Donovan alley." He adds, in speaking of Iowa as a State which well illustrates the growth of homogeneous ideas and life, that "much besides

industry is needed to make a desirable community in this land."

5. That while the Chinese emigrant brings cheapness of labor as an inducement for his admission, he does not, and as a rule cannot, come to our shores as a voluntary emigrant, in the sense that the European does. The evidence of our consuls, merchants, missionaries, of the better class of the Chinese residents—in fact, all accessible proofs—go to incontestibly show that the great mass of the Chinese immigrants are coolies or peons, bound to service at exorbitant rates for a term of years. Such contracts are, of course, invalid under our laws. They are contrary to the regulations promulgated by the Chinese Government itself, but those who make them with the wretched laborers are able to enforce them. The families are left in debt bondage. The peon or coolie cannot speak our language. His only object is to get back to China to release those who are there left in pawn. Debt slavery is a recognized institution of the Empire, and it is by this fact, and the terribly wretched condition of the masses in and near the southern sea-ports of China, that the shrewd and unscrupulous Chinese dealers in the labor of their countrymen are able to successfully organize a traffic that is not only hideous in character, but illegal in both countries. The Chinese are the victims, and, as the Senator claims, we shall benefit, not injure, them by the exclusion he demands.

6. The coolie transportation business is often infamous in its inhumanity, and has been denounced by all persons having any knowledge. Our consul at Hong-Kong, Mr. Bailey, has, in very able dispatches, given startling facts to show its character. We are asking relief, then, says Mr. Sargent, "from a condition of things *degrading to free labor while peopling the nation with slaves.*"

7. Another reason for the general exclusion demanded grows out of the conditions under which the coolie laborer reaches here. Being in debt for his passage, his family is held in China as security for repayment. Hence he does not come to stay, and brings with him neither home life or family associations. This condition of affairs has pro-

duced another and more terrible traffic—that of Chinese females for the purposes of prostitution. The results of this traffic are simply horrible. It degrades the youth of our Pacific towns, sows the vilest diseases broadcast. All attempts to break it up have been thwarted by the organized perjury and intimidation which, it is charged, is so marked a feature of the lower Chinese life. Gambling is also an organized business, and the better class of this people acknowledge themselves as helpless as the authorities of San Francisco are to break up the frightful business.

8. Senator Sargent arraigns a Chinese population, where numerous, as one dangerous to peace. They are divided into clans, which fight savagely whenever they meet. The causes of all brawls are unknown to us, and belong to their national life and superstitions. Street brawls, with loss of life by the use of deadly weapons, are a common occurrence. They are also virtually uncontrollable by our laws. It is difficult to convict them, as perjury is a usual thing. It is estimated that at least ten per cent. of this population in San Francisco live by gambling, prostitution, and thieving, and that ninety-nine per cent. are persistent violators of the city ordinances.

Such then, is a brief recapitulation of the objections urged against a resident Chinese population. The indictment is a serious one. Careful study of the evidence fairly justifies the complaint. Space forbids the presentation of a more elaborate bill of particulars, but it could be furnished. The better class of Chinese residents, and there are men of capacity and probity among them, as well as the missionaries and teachers who have labored with them for years, have all testified recently to the increase of the dangerous and lawless class among the later arrivals, as well also to the in general pauperized and dependent condition of the great mass.

The remedies proposed by Mr. Sargent and those he represents are of the sterner character. They seem purely repressive in spirit. The resolution offered by the Senator embodies nearly the whole of his proposal. Senator Edmunds suggested that the subject was one for stringent Federal legislation in

the way of a general prevention of any pauper and criminal immigration—laws which shall reach to the prevention and prohibition of European as well as Asiatic outrages of such a character.

Mr. Sargent looks chiefly to positive prohibition, by striking out or nullifying, as far as the Chinese are concerned, the declarations by which the principles of a free choice of nationality to any and all people, are proclaimed to be a fundamental condition of republican government.* Mr. Edmunds' suggestion would conserve the principle, while seeking by stringent and precautionary legislation to prevent the formidable evils shown to exist in California, as a consequence of the unrestrained transportation to our Pacific shores of the debt-bound and poverty-stricken laborers of southern China. It will be long, it is to be hoped, before the American Congress will set itself seriously to consider the necessity of abandoning the principle embraced by the first clause in Article V. of the Burlingame Treaty. Mr. Sargent's remedy is fundamental; Mr. Edmunds' corrective and preventive. The issues are so far reaching that the heroic treatment cannot properly be in order until it is apparent beyond question that nothing less will reach and remove the evil.

At present, then, the subject divides itself into two parts. They are—how to correct the evils already existing, and next, how to prevent their being added to by continued and unrestrained accessions of a similar character. As is too often the case in governments liable to be suddenly influenced by popular feeling, the extreme view is the one most persistently urged upon legislators, State and Federal. Having failed in an attempt to restrain or rather exclude by State legislation which has recently been decided to be unconstitutional in character, California, as the community most seriously affected, finds no other way of meeting the grievance than that presented by Senator Sargent, or that embodied, it is to be regretted, in acts of violence such as have recently been wit-

nessed. Perhaps it may be necessary to meet the direct issue as the Senator presents it, but most certainly for all that California itself, or even the city of San Francisco at least, must first effectually exhaust all the powers of self protection and regulation which they possess.

To the most superficial student of the subject it must soon become evident that Chinese laborers will not immigrate to our Pacific States or elsewhere, in any large numbers, unless they find already existing, or are allowed to create for themselves, after securing a domicile, the conditions under which they can live most congenially. As they earn at home but a miserable pittance at best, live on the poorest of food, are surrounded by the most wretched of sanitary conditions, never having been accustomed to other circumstances, it follows that left to themselves they will in other countries seek the paths which produce therein similar results. The great mass of them arrive here, not paupers merely, but debt slaves, whose families are held as hostages for their obligations; it follows, to their honor be it said, that the laborer is anxious to economize to the utmost in order to return to China. As the wages paid, however large to them on arrival, are actually very small, the emigrant must be able to live, it may be said, "dirt cheap," and he does it. Again the Chinese are the shrewdest of speculators and traders, when the opportunity offers. The emigrant, so entirely a stranger in a strange land, is wholly dependent upon his countrymen who are on the spot. The latter sub-rent and sub-sell to the uttermost, making more or less of the minute profits that arise. Now, it happens, that the indifference of the municipalities and the early cupidity of property-holders, in California towns, as San Francisco for instance, is most largely to blame for the growth and pestilential character of their Chinese quarters. Loud complaints are made of their condition. Senator Sargent presented graphic pictures of the over-crowding, the squalor, and the filth. But the city authorities and the community have the perfect right to prevent over-crowding. It is quite within the province of a municipality to forbid (and enforce its prohi-

* Since this article was put in type Mr. Sargent has offered a bill in the Senate restricting all ships from carrying and landing more than ten Chinese passengers on any one voyage.

bition, too) the herding of a hundred persons in a space not large enough for fifteen, as is usually done in the buildings rented by and for Chinese tenants. It is quite within proper police and sanitary regulations to prevent the open streets from being made a common sewer, as is usually the case where the Chinese live. All these, and a score of other preventive and repressive regulations, are clearly within the legitimate powers of a municipality. So far as Mr. Sargent or others present the case it does not appear that there has really been any serious attempt to enforce any such ordinances. The Senator quotes the clerk of the city police court as stating that nearly all Chinese residents violate the city ordinances. The corollary to this is that the enforcement must have been very lax. But the chief point to consider is this, that unless the Chinese themselves were allowed the conditions of cheapness and wastiness under which alone it seems possible for them to thrive at present, there never would have been anything like the number now found on the coast, nor would they come in the future to anything like the extent now seen. Stringent police and sanitary regulations, properly and rigidly enforced, powers perfectly within the compass of local authority, must not only do very much to check the evils and vices now bred by this population, but have an almost immediate effect in scattering and lessening those already here, as well as in checking the arrival of others.

Again, it is within the power, as it must be part of its duty, for the State of California, as well as the cities of San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles, and others, to root out or restrain the vicious establishments so bitterly complained of. They can at least be put under surveillance and made to pay such heavy licenses and taxes, if they are not altogether prohibited, as will effectually blot them out. It is easy to assert that it is not possible to prove their existence, the Chinese being so bound together, and so ready to perjure themselves, as to prevent the obtaining of proper evidence. That this is not true the testimony now being given before a legislative committee proves conclusively. No serious attempt

has been made as yet to correct or repress these obnoxious facts or to destroy the conditions in which they thrive. It will be well, therefore, for California herself to take the steps indicated. It will be prudent for other States and Territories in which a Chinese population have appeared to take heed of their neighbors' omissions, and to remember that "an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure."

The authorities also owe it to themselves to see to it that every facility is afforded for the Chinese youth at least to acquire some portions of an English education. It is not possible, even were it desirable, to summarily or by any legal process or illegal violence expel those who are already in our midst. It may be that every effort can justly and properly be made to deter from coming in the future a population so undesirable, but equally so is the city, state, and nation bound to offer and enforce every fair opportunity for reasonable progress among those already here, as well as to protect them to the utmost from all unlawful violence, personal or collective. The anger should be directed at the conditions and not to the individual Chinese, themselves the victims of a many-centuried social and economic despotism, and guilty only of the crime, if such it be, of seeking to better their miserable fortunes.

As to the general remedies which may properly be applied by Congressional legislation as well as Executive action, the outlines are simple and readily stated.

It is well understood that the Chinese Government do not desire the migration of its subjects. It was only after long agitation and by outside pressure that it has been brought to accept the principle of voluntary allegiance. It is not denied by any one acquainted with the facts but that the Imperial Government has sincerely sought to break up the hideous coolie traffic which has been till recently carried on through the Portuguese colony of Macao, and by means of which Cuba and Peru have heretofore been supplied by such labor. To its honor, also, the Chinese Government are acknowledged to have promulgated and enforced restrictive regulations against involuntary

emigration and the traffickers in debt-labor, so that the severe penalties imposed have driven the business from Chinese soil, and transferred it in fact to a colony of Great Britain—Hong Kong. These evidences of Chinese good faith argue well for such a revision of treaty stipulations as will tend to the rapid disintegration of the present traffic.

It may not be possible for us to reach the subject by any treaty provisions, but the real point should be to induce China itself to abolish the atrocious system of debt-slavery or peonage, whereby the families of migrating laborers are held in pledge for his return and the repayment of extortionate advances. Certainly it is in the power of the Imperial Government to put in operation the forces which shall look toward such a beneficent reform. It can be done effectually as regards the laborers who come across the Pacific. Many instances are known of such laborers being enslaved on returning to China, upon the claim, real or assumed, that their advances had not been repaid. It would be a superb and splendid act of humanity—one worthy of the most enlightened statesmanship—for this young Republic to urge upon that venerable Empire, while seeking to prevent present and prospective evils to itself, the abolition of so great a wrong as the system under discussion. Practically, too, this abolition is the most effective means of suppressing the worst of the evils inflicted on our Pacific coast by Chinese emigration. There are, without doubt, other and important details to be sought in such a revision as Mr. Sargent desires, the naming of which belongs to those most familiar with Chinese character and surroundings. It ought not to be a difficult task to frame such provisions, then, as will meet some of the more serious evils. But, after all, the trouble will not cease. As Messrs Low and Brooks, one an ex-Minister to China and the other the Japanese consul at San Francisco, stated before the California committee of investigation, the emigration now complained of is nominally made from a British port and under the regulations of that Power. The emigrants mostly come from the province of Canton, through the colony of Hong Kong, where they reside a month, as required by

the colonial law, and are then sent to California, generally by way of Yokohama, on the Pacific mail steamships. The traffic as now managed is an evasion of the laws of all three countries—China, Great Britain, and the United States. It will be necessary, therefore, to enter into negotiations with Great Britain as well as China to accomplish our purpose. There should be no difficulty in this course. The conduct of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in refusing to take Chinese passengers back to China unless they exhibit a certain pass must be inquired into. We must not allow an American corporation to be a party to this infamous traffic.

As a matter of precaution and economy, the consulate at Hong Kong ought to be well sustained. The present consul is a very efficient officer, and ought to be allowed all the force necessary in the way of interpreters, etc., so as to enable him to learn all that is possible of this "heathen Chinese" way of enslavement and transportation.

Besides these measures, the Congress of the United States should consider and pass at an early day some comprehensive measure, such as that presented by Senator Harvey, of Kansas, looking to the regulation of immigration, the prevention of pauper and criminal migration, and the due protection of the immigrants themselves. It is a duty that cannot be shirked or evaded any longer. The Supreme Court have decided that the framing and enforcing of such regulations belongs only to the Federal Government and the legislative department thereof. In truth, it would be the part of statesmanship to not only adopt wise laws on this subject, but to open negotiations at once with all the leading Powers, European and Asiatic, for the framing of an international code for the protection of passengers in transit, and for the proper punishment of crimes and offenses against them while on the high seas.

Mr. Sargent, in presenting his remedies, referred to a subject of great importance—that of naturalization. He urged that no judge can legally naturalize an alien until he is satisfied, reasonably at least, of his *bona fide* acceptance of republican institutions. This, though applied to the naturalization of Chinese aliens, applies also with

equal force to the whole matter. It is one of the most germane of the questions at issue. As a part of the needed reform, naturalization should be effected only through the Federal and not the State courts and judges. The citizenship given is primarily national. The alien becomes an American, and not merely a Californian or Kentuckian. The latter qualification is an incidence of residence and not a necessary consequence of the citizenship he may have therein first assumed. There ought to be also a complete record preserved of all naturalizations, which should be accessible at the place of record, and by duplicates at the seat of government. American citizenship is the noblest of public attributes. It should not be lightly assumed, nor those applying be allowed to partake without due preparations. Once assumed, protection and duties must be made equally secure and sacred.

Such, then, are some of the questions in-

involved in the problem of Chinese residence in these United States. On the one side stand principles not to be lightly disregarded—our need of labor; our time-honored welcome to all industry; our heretofore unviolated assurance of asylum and liberty to all coming to us in good faith. On the other side stands an ancient race, patient, persistent, with a vast power of pacific resistance as well as movement, embracing nearly one-third of the world's population, which shows such a capacity for organizing migration and industry as we have heretofore hardly deemed possible, and which may well appal us as to the immediate consequences when the greed of gain on both sides shall co-operate effectually with the extreme wretchedness and poverty of the masses on those Asiatic shores to move them *en masse* across the Pacific, and so overwhelm our Western States and Territories with a population now so utterly and entirely alien to all our habits, life, and civilization.

WHY A SECTIONAL SOUTH CANNOT BE TRUSTED.

In and out of Congress, on the forum and in the press, from the pulpit or by the pen of Democratic partisans or "Liberal" doctrinaires, there is a constant burden of complaint, accusing or deprecating, as the case may be, to the effect that the North—i. e., the Republican party—is constantly showing distrust of the South. Senators Gordon, Withers, Maxey, Cockrell, Ransom, and even as moderate a man as Key, of Tennessee, arraign their Northern associates in the Senate chamber as unjust accusers and assailants of a gallant people who have accepted the situation forced upon them in the utmost good faith. In the Senate, as they have not yet obtained control, the accusation is put in the form of complaint and criticism. In the other branch, however, Lamar, Tucker, Ben Hill, Vance, Singleton, *et al.*, being the acknowledged leaders of a controlling majority, (temporarily so, at least,) do not stoop to deprecation, but assume the judicial and accusing attitude, and arraign not only the Republican party and the Administration it sustains, but in effect assails the defense of the Union it conduct-

ed, seeking thereby to destroy the historical value of the victory won by its efforts for unity and liberty.

There is the desperation of despair as well as the aggressiveness of courage in both the complaint and the assault. It is self-evident that there is a profound distrust of the South among the loyal masses. The shrewdest Democrats, ex-Confederate and Northern, alike see that the people are again "on guard." What has been preached as bringing perpetual peace now proves to be only an armed neutrality at the best.

It is well to see why this is so. At Lexington last year Gen. Bartlett pleaded for the Southern prodigal son. At Bunker Hill the Maryland and Virginia troops were cheered to the echo. A little incident occurred on that occasion which illustrates this theme. A small group stood looking on the line of march. It included persons of Southern birth and proclivities, several New England friends, and one well known in former days for anti-slavery service. As the Northern escort marched by the Southerners did not cheer, but when their own friends

passed they saluted enthusiastically. So did all of the group but the ones specially referred to. He was taken to task, and asked why he refrained, to which he replied he waited to see his Southern friends cheer the Northern soldiers. The reply was a hasty one, but it expressed the feeling that rankles—"They were invaders; why should we?"

The incident is insignificant, perhaps, but it expresses a wide-spread feeling, and shows clearly, too, that the old South, the political South, that of slavery and rebellion, of ostracism and White Leagues, still holds its ingrained belief that they are a conquered people, and we are but the triumphant foreigners at best. The North has been slow to perceive all this; but at last it understands. Slow of anger and effort, it is equally as slow to move back again when its spirit has been once roused. Without personal anger, with the kindest wishes to that section and all its people—the old or the new South—THE NORTH, those States which recognize and maintain in its integrity the national will, have at last become rearoused to the issues of the hour and what they imply.

The old South, politically speaking, will seek, for this generation at least, to be governed by its traditions. They are all associated with slavery and its former dominance, and with the advocacy of the doctrines of State supremacy, and its correlative, secession. The mouths of its orators have so long been inflamed with fiery rhetoric, and the intellects of its lawyers are so thoroughly dessicated by the processes of its Past, that it is practically impossible for the representatives of either type, like Hill and Tucker, to refrain from exasperating rhetoric or the lucid presentation of mischievous theories.

It may be said that the Toombses, Hills, Tuckers, and Singletons no longer represent the South; that the Ku-Klux Klans, White Leagues, Louisiana massacres, and Mississippi election outrages are sporadic and not chronic, incidental and surface, and not of the spirit and the flesh also. We are told that it is not fair to judge the South by the utterance of these representative men; but what else is to be done when for the last ten years the Lamars, Gordons, Keys, one and all,

have stood by in approving silence, if not actually assenting to the results achieved by these renewed efforts of firing the Southern heart? While they have not disapproved outrages, or at the best perhaps mildly censured them, the deprecating ex-Confederates who are typified by such names as those mentioned have given most material aid and comfort to the renewed spirit of sectionalism by pouring out in their own homes, on the floor of Congress, or before the Northern people themselves, (as witness Gordon and Lamar in the New Hampshire canvass in 1875,) the most unstinted assault of all Republican leaders or workers, whether Northern or Southern born, who have had the audacity to reside as American citizens in the former rebel States, and to seek therein to exercise their rights as such by endeavoring to organize a political party on the basis of their own convictions.

The renewal of the sectional spirit is made manifest in the manner of and methods used to accomplish the apparent unity of action, politically speaking, which is now seen in the Southern States. The Republican vote in the former rebel States cannot be less than one-half of the whole poll, (the colored voters number not less than 900,000, and form at least three-sevenths of the whole body,) and yet, under the processes adopted to control them, the Democracy now have three-fourths of the representation in the House, over one-half of that in the Senate, and have wrested the Government from the control of Republicans, in whole or in part, within States where they are clearly recognized as having a large majority of the voters.

Now, whatever may be the real truth as to the process adopted to secure this apparent unity of sentiment among the States, border and rebel, which were formerly slaveholding, the fact of its existence is evident. In its existence, also, lies the real danger to the Republic. The South long since determined to ruin where it could no longer rule. Hence the civil war, with all its mighty events and consequences. But, demoralized as the conscience and character of men and women became under the influences of slavery, this dreadful step would not have been taken but for another fact.

The specious doctrine of State sovereignty—local liberty to do wrong—was the one which held the mass of the Southern whites to the service of their daring and reckless leaders. Adherence to these views have been, in their eyes, sanctified by the losses of the civil war and the defeat they suffered. It is made the means of again consolidating a sectional spirit; of once more reuniting the Southern States under old cries for old issues and by an old policy. Every editorial writer, every pulpit declaimer, every orator, old or young, who airs his voice on public occasions, takes for his text the "lost cause," and for the burden of his plea the necessity of preserving its principles and defending its associations. What were its principles? On one side the necessity of organizing legal, civil, social, industrial inequality into government and its administration; and on the other the supremacy of the parts over the whole, of the States over the Federation, of the limbs over the body, of the rights of provin-

cialism over nationality. No one has interfered with principle or right, except that of revolting from the Union without righteous cause or the holding of human beings in bondage. It is true that secession has been destroyed, civil war defeated, and the South as a whole made richer by freedom, personal and institutional. A sectional unity, therefore, which is fomented by constant appeals of this character, is one fraught only with evil to the Republic. A sectional policy is always to be deplored, and doubly so when its aim is political control by means of a solid section dominating the councils of a national party, so called. This is the old, old story of our politics. We fear the Greeks even when they come with presents. So said the wise Trojans, according to blind Homer's report. Are we not justified in fearing a Democracy controlled chiefly by the reunited South, even though it comes with presents in the specious form of good wishes for unity and reconciliation?

DEMOCRATIC COURTESY.

These are stirring times, and, as was recently remarked, times in which the whole force and ability of the Democrats of the National House of Representatives are engaged in throwing sturs at their Republican colleagues and denouncing the corruption of Republican officials without giving those officials an opportunity to be heard. Mr. John L. Vance is chairman of the Congressional committee which investigated the office of Mr. A. M. Clapp, the Public Printer. The Democratic members of the committee proceeded on their work, not in the spirit of inquiry to ascertain facts, but with a pre-determination to give the worst interpretation to everything brought to their notice, and with little regard to the explanation which Mr. Clapp might have been able to afford. The Democratic portion of the committee seemed to have organized themselves into a court to convict at all hazards, and to have purposely kept the Public Printer away from them, though his official affairs were being investigated.

The Congressional Record of May 13, 1876, contains the report of the committee. It is interspersed with occasional correspondence,

from which the spirit of the committee may be seen. So partisan, so unfair, so discourteous a committee has rarely placed before the people the evidence of its own discourtesy and unfairness; and if Mr. Vance's committee is a sample of other Democratic committees, the reports of investigations can only be considered as partisan documents, published with the intention of injuring Republicans, but having no relation to truth or to good morals. Indeed, if the object of Democratic investigations is not to arrive at the truth, but to assail and smirch Republicans, the country ought to be aware of the profligate waste of time they in the shameless expenditures which have to pay.

The amenities of life have been recognized even among political. Between gentlemen the rule ought always to prevail; but positive, gratuitous discourtesy may be the character of the re-investigation presented, is too to be allowed to pass without remark. Will the people think of the fol-

appear the most effectual to answer that most important purpose, and to agree upon proper measures for securing the same."

At this point it will be worth while to note how the first Continental Congress was chosen. The Virginia House of Burgesses, meeting on the 26th of May, 1774, the day after the Royal Governor had formally dissolved it, authorized the opening of a correspondence with the other Colonies. Massachusetts elected her delegates first—June 17—through its House of Representatives. Twelve Colonies responded. Six of them elected their delegates by direct local action of the voters, or through committees chosen for the purpose. These were, Maryland, June 22, by county committees; New Hampshire, July 21, in a general meeting convened by the towns; New Jersey, July 23, by county committees appointed for the purpose; New York, July 27, by popular elections in seven wards of the city and in Suffolk and Kings counties, (the city delegates were confirmed by county committees selected for the purpose;) Virginia, August 1, in a general meeting of delegates elected by the several counties; and North Carolina, August 15, in a general meeting of deputies or delegates chosen by the inhabitants of the Colony. These events all occurred in 1774.

In the other Colonies, Massachusetts chose her delegates through the Colonial House of Representatives, June 17; Connecticut, July 13, by a committee authorized to do so by legislative enactment; Pennsylvania, July 22, by the General Assembly; as did Rhode Island also, August 10. In Delaware the representatives of the freemen convened August 1, by circular letters from the Speaker of the Colonial House, and selected the delegates. This was not done in a legislative capacity. The House of Commons in South Carolina, August 2, 1774, selected its delegates.

This was not only the first direct step toward an American Union, but toward the organization of the Colonies therein represented into States. The Provincial Congresses that were quickly formed grew almost entirely from the advisory action of the Continental body, just as it will be seen

did the subsequent transformation of revolting Colonies, into "independent" States. The Second Congress was formed of delegates elected in most cases by the provincial bodies, but in a few instances by the Colonial Assemblies, at least where they still existed.

As to the creation of the several State governments themselves, facts even more conclusive than those already given prove that not only the Confederation was the result of a general movement, naturally manifesting itself by the aid of the local forms that were then in existence, but that the several States, recognized as such first and formally in the Articles of Confederation, received their direction and controlling force from the congresses that embodied and directed affairs in the initiatory revolutionary period from 1774 to 1781, when the complete ratification of the Articles of Confederation closed the career of the Second Continental Congress. A brief chronological and historical statement will prove this position.

Early in 1776 the Connecticut General Assembly declared by act that "the ancient form of civil government contained in the charter * * * shall be and remain the civil Constitution of this State, under the sole authority of the people thereof, independent of any king or prince whatever. And that this Republic is, and shall forever be and remain, a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name of the State of Connecticut."

This action, with that of Rhode Island, the Colonial Assembly of which, by act of May, 1776, declared the charter to be the fundamental law of the Commonwealth then created, seems to have been the first and only direct and independent action toward State organization on record. Connecticut is entitled to the honor of first using the word "State" and of first assuming the functions it implies.

Prior thereto, however, the first Continental Congress had passed several resolutions, at the request of delegates, recommending different Colonies to form such governments as would in the circumstances be most conducive to their welfare. New Hampshire and South Carolina were the first to ask the advice of the Continental

Congress and to act thereon. This fact takes away something of the force that belongs, at first glance, to the action of Connecticut and Rhode Island, as it shows there was a general acceptance of the Continental Congress, as the body empowered by its character to initiate the movements needed for the establishment of provisional governments.

On the 3d of November, 1775, the First Continental Congress passed a resolution in response to the appeals of the New Hampshire delegates for the advice their people had instructed them to ask, by which the Provincial Congress thereof was urged to "establish such a form of government as in their judgment will best produce the happiness of the people." The convention which framed a temporary form of government met December 21, 1775, and their plan was agreed to and promulgated in January following. A formal constitution was framed and rejected in 1778-'9, and a second one being framed was adopted October 31, 1783. In South Carolina the movement began November 1, 1775. The Continental Congress passed a resolve, November 4, at request of the delegates, approving of any action necessary for the temporary establishment of a State government. The term used up to this date and afterward was "Province," and not "State." The temporary form went into operation March 26, 1776. The first regular State constitution became operative in 1790.

North Carolina comes next in date, as she was almost first in efforts at direct and separate action. The Provincial Congress, one of the bodies which grew out of the policy of the First Continental Congress, in April, 1776, ordered the preparation of a State constitution, which was framed and became operative, December 18, of the same year. North Carolina, like Connecticut or Rhode Island, does not appear to have waited on the passage of advisory resolutions by the General Congress. Its patriots, however, well knew they were following in the recognized line of policy.

Georgia also framed a temporary form of government simultaneously with North Carolina. April 15, 1776, its second Pro-

vincial Congress framed and made operative such a form, subject, it declared, to the "further order of Congress"—referring in the first place to the general body and next and explicitly to itself or any subsequent Provincial Congress. The first regular State constitution was framed and became operative February 5, 1777.

Massachusetts, as became her activity in resistance, was earliest in definite separation from the crown. Acting under the advice of the Continental Congress, July 19, 1775, a House of Assembly was elected, which on meeting acknowledged the Colonial charter as the constitution of the Province. On the 1st of May, 1776, it enacted that the royal authority should be no longer recognized in any form, and adopted the name and style of "The People and Government of Massachusetts." It was not until June 16, 1780, that the people accepted and ratified the second regular State constitution submitted to them. The first had been rejected.

The Colony of Virginia moved early and steadily to its goal. With Massachusetts it was a leader. The Bay State was first on the Northern line; Virginia first on the Southern. On the 6th day of May, 1776, the delegates of the people took their earliest steps toward the framing of a constitution, which was completed and subsequently adopted and made operative June 12th and 29th of the same year.

The Second Continental Congress acted upon and adopted the following, May 10-15, 1776, and all subsequent action toward organizing State governments was taken thereunder:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."

The spirit in which this action was received, and the still more glorious one by which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, is seen in the following extract from resolutions passed at White Plains,

July 9, 1776, by the Provincial Convention of New York:

"Resolved unanimously, That the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States are cogent and conclusive."

The noticeable fact in this and similar action taken in the remaining Colonies is the unequivocal recognition of the right and of the Continental Congress—that is, the body delegated by the whole people to act in their behalf—to declare the *"United Colonies free and independent States."* Is there any natural or logical process, then, whereby the limbs become the body; the parts the whole; the created the creator? To return, however, to the dates of State action.

The remaining five States took prompt action. New Jersey almost anticipated the resolution already quoted and began the formation of her first State constitution very soon after the Continental Congress took its first formal step toward separation. A new Provincial Congress was convened by authority of the resolution already quoted, and on the 10th of June it resolved to concur in a Declaration of Independence and to make a "confederacy for a union and common defense." On the 26th the draft of a constitution was submitted, and on the 2d of July, confirmed. It was made public and put in force on the 3d of July, 1776.

Delaware decided on the 14th of June, 1776, through her General Assembly, to act under the resolution of May 10. A convention soon met and adopted the first State constitution, September 21, 1776.

In Maryland action ran in a similar form, and the Provincial Congress or Committee of Safety called a convention to frame a State government, August 24. It met and completed its labor. The constitution so framed was adopted November 8, 1776.

Pennsylvania patriots acted independently of the Proprietary or Colonial Assembly, which sought in part to perpetuate its authority, after action looking to independence had been set in motion. It met for the last time without a quorum, September 26, 1776. On the 18th of June preceding, however, a conference of leading public men was held, by whom a Provincial Convention was called. That body met July 15, 1776, and

framed a constitution which became the organic law of that State, September 28, of the same year.

New York took as early action as her circumstances allowed, by voting on the 9th of July, 1776, in the White Plains Assembly, that the Province would support the Declaration of American Independence with all the means at its command. On the next day the style of the Assembly was formally changed from that of Provincial Congress of the Colony to that of "the State of New York." The first regular constitution was adopted April 20, 1777.

Such in brief outlines are the principal facts in relation to the governmental organization of the original States of the American Union. What is there in a single one herein presented which justifies the assumptions of the Calhoun-Beverly Tucker school? Everything points conclusively to the deduction that the American Republic through its chief stages as United Colonies, Confederacy, and Union, was born of the people's will—out of their desire to form a separate and sentient nationality; and that in fact, the States, as now understood, were in reality the creatures of that remarkable effort rather than its molders and fashioners. The dividing lines of the several Colonies and provincial settlements were used as frameworks on which the collective body or Continental Congress induced the people therein resident to build such governments as would most assuredly promote their welfare. The States, as such, were the children of the United Colonies; the latter was not the foundling brought to lusty growth by the independent action of any of the parts. The national character of the Revolutionary period cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by the constant appeals to the "United Colonies," as such, or by the marked obedience shown by each to all the earlier unifying and directing impulses it gave out. There would have been no States if the United Colonies had not first asserted themselves; the States, practically, logically, and legally, derived their existence from the action taken at different times in the two Continental Congresses, finally culminating in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

THE REPUBLIC has received in response to the appeal it made sometime since a large number of communications, all of them authenticated by the writers' full names and addresses, as well as by the commands to which they were attached during the war, or at the time of their capture. They all tell the same invariable tale of personal cruelty, of a brutal policy, unnecessarily harsh regulations, and of a vindictive spirit of neglect and ill-will. So general is this that the publication of the hundreds of communications now in possession of THE REPUBLIC would constitute the most fearful indictment possible against the rebel authorities. There is scarcely a gleam of light through the whole of these somber narratives. In fact, it would seem as if it had been the policy of the Confederate leaders to bring out all the brutes which that "sum of all villainies"—slavery—could produce, and place them in control of our unfortunate prisoners. The "Southern Historical Society" has recently made a labored defense of the Confederate Government against the crushing arraignment that was provoked from Mr. Blaine and others by the folly of those who wanted to honor Jefferson Davis. After occupying about three hundred pages with a great deal of irrelevant and unauthenticated matter, it sums up by claiming to have established:

1. That the laws, orders, regulations, etc., of the Confederate Congress, army, and administration made all possible provisions for the fair treatment of prisoners of war.

2. That if these were sometimes violated, it was without consent or knowledge of that government, and that prompt action was always taken to correct abuses.

3. That failure of prisoners to get full or proper rations was due to the destructive warfare carried on by the Federal troops.

4. That the mortality in Northern prisons was three per cent. more than in Southern prisons, and that the suffering in the latter was produced by causes beyond control, such as epidemics, want of medicines, owing

to the Federal blockade, our "inhuman" refusal to make exchanges, etc.

5. That Northern prisons were managed with horrible brutality. Prisoners were starved, frozen, suffered from want of medicines, hospital stores, and attendance, were shot at and beaten on slightest pretext, that friends were refused permission to provide for them, etc.

6. That our policy of non-exchange was responsible for the larger part of the suffering that prevailed.

This is a fair abstract of what it is claimed has been proven by the "Southern Historical Society."

The evidence presented to support these assertions consists in the main of the following documents, etc.:

New Orleans letter of Jefferson Davis, January 27, 1876, addressed to James Lyons, of Virginia.

Testimony of Robert E. Lee before the Committee on Reconstruction in 1866, and a private letter bearing date April 17, 1867, addressed to a cousin, Dr. Charles Carter, of Philadelphia, both denying in general terms charges of cruelty against prisoners.

An extract from A. H. Stephens' book, "War Between the States," endeavoring to show that the responsibility rested upon the Federal authorities.

A letter from Robert Ould, commissioner of exchanges; first published in the *National Intelligencer*, August, 1868.

An important document in the shape of a report by a joint committee of the Confederate Congress, March 3, 1865, by which in general terms a reply is attempted to the charges made in the Union States, growing out of the horrible condition in which our soldiers were being returned from Southern prisons. An attempt is also made to establish cruelty in Northern prisons.

Then follow a variety of papers: Cartels between belligerents; reports of medical officers, Drs. Jones and Stevenson being especially relied upon; a statement of General Imboden, C. S. A., who was, under Winder, in general charge of the Anderson-

ville and Eufala (Ala.) prison pens. This paper does not deny great suffering, but endeavors to show it was not avoidable, and in reality due to the want of exchange.

Colonel Chandler's report of his inspection of the Georgia pen is printed with a denial of Mr. Davis' knowledge thereof. It is declared that he never heard of it until 1875. A long letter from the chief clerk of the Confederate War Department deals in a series of general denials, but is especially interesting as to the Chandler report; also letters of Jefferson Davis and Mr. Seddon, rebel Secretary of War, defending Winder as "a gallant soldier and honorable gentleman." The Confederate Adjutant General, Cooper, indorses this eulogy.

General Beauregard defends the right to plant torpedoes in a road about to be marched over by an enemy, and denounces General Sherman's employment of rebel prisoners to remove those he found planted near Fort McAllister, Savannah, Georgia.

These are the papers, etc., mainly relied upon to prove how humanely the Confederate authorities acted toward prisoners of war. There are, in addition to what have been named, a recent editorial by Charles A. Dana, and some half dozen brief extracts, presenting a slightly more favorable view than usual, taken from the hundreds of witnesses whose testimony of a wholly different character is given in the Congressional report of 1868-'69.

Under the head of "Federal Treatment of Confederate Prisoners," the Southern Historical Society groups a mass of statements, largely irresponsible. The first comes in the person of Henry Clay Dean, a notoriously foul and unclean demagogue, of the most virulent Copperhead stripe, whose statement is a mass of loose falsehoods published in book form under the title of "Crimes of the Civil War." On any political topic, or on any subject connected with the war, Dean's statements would not be received under oath. He is an unscrupulous and disreputable demagogue, utterly without credit, except in the lowest circles of the "Sons of Liberty," among Missouri guerillas, and the readers of "Pomeroy's Democrat."

Letters, extracts, and narratives are given from the pens of Rev. G. W. Nelson, rector

of the Episcopal Church, Lexington, Virginia, who was a rebel soldier; from an unnamed rebel officer to an unnamed lady in Massachusetts; extracts from a book written by A. M. Kelley, Mayor of Richmond, Virginia, who was a prisoner of war at Elmira; and papers from Rev. Dr. Handy, a Virginian clergyman confined at Fort Delaware; also from the Rev. George Harris; from T. D. Henry, Oak Grove, Kentucky, written in 1866 and sworn to in California 1876, captured with Morgan in Ohio; and Major R. Stiles, prisoner at Johnson's Island and Fort Lafayette. One Charles Wright, of Tennessee, gives an account, or what pretends to be, of prison life at Rock Island. In it he charges a dead-line, wanton shooting thereat, and robbery of rations. There is also a statement of a Union soldier, named John A. Bateson, who is ready to swear, he says, that prisoners were starved to death. One John J. Van Allen, of Watkins, Schuyler county, New York, states that he was refused permission at Elmira to distribute relief funds, etc., intrusted to him by kindly persons in Baltimore. The anonymous letter from a so-called medical officer, published in the *New York World*, and relating to the Elmira prison is reproduced, in spite of the riddling it received on the floor of the House of Representatives during the memorable Blaine-Hill-Garfield debate.

This constitutes nearly all the testimony produced to make out the charge of wanton inhumanity in Northern prisons.

The balance of the Southern Historical Society's paper is taken up with an attempt to prove that the refusal to exchange, so called, was in violation of the laws of war, with which argument there is little in common with the horrors of the rebel prison pens.

The case as made for the South, by the Historical Society thereof, does not better the facts or disprove the allegations, which are, alas, too well proven. No one has denied that the documentary facts were made all right for historical purposes. Doubtless the Confederate Congress had an eye to scenic effect, though it betrayed itself occasionally, as in the no-quarter resolutions offered by Mr. Hill, and in the brutal proclamation of Jefferson Davis in relation to colored soldiers and their officers.

As to the character of Winder and his subordinates, they were long since proven to have been infamous. Defense of their acts only proves the charges of sympathy with them that have been and are now made. On the question of relative mortality, it is to be distinctly remembered that the Confederate prisoners of 1863-'64 were generally when captured in a debilitated condition, unfit for duty, and liable to fall victims to any epidemic that might break out. The rapid increase of deaths at Elmira at one time was due to the prevalence of small-pox, not altogether preventible, and likely to be brought there by the prisoners themselves. Take the death-roll of Andersonville, however, and it will be seen that at least ninety per cent. of the deaths arose from causes altogether preventible, and largely due to malarious ground, damp and crowded, insufficient food, and poorly cooked. Also, to the utter want of shelter. The principal diseases given in Dorrence Atwater's Death-Roll are scorbutus, diarrhoea, dysentery, and typhoid fever. These diseases carried off at least eleven thousand of the nearly thirteen thousand who died in that pandemonium. Does not this fact show clearly what were the causes of the shocking mortality? The annexed narrative will do it, at least.

As to the insufficiency of food being caused by the warfare carried on by the Union forces, a complete answer is found in the fact as to Andersonville, that during the period of greatest suffering therein, 1864, the State of Georgia was able not only to feed its own forces, but a large number of other Confederate troops, while Sherman's army of 60,000 men entirely subsisted on the region through which it marched. Over 12,000 men died in the Andersonville Pen during 1864. They were half starved, yet over one hundred thousand soldiers subsisted in the same region. So with the other prisoners. Our cavalry and other commanders raiding and living on the country were generally able to keep their men in good condition. The prisoners were, however, as ill-fed *before* as *after* such raids.

Now, as to the charges of ill-treatment in Northern prisons, the evidence is altogether too meagre to be worth considering. When there is any serious presentation of such

charges it will be time enough to reply in a serious manner.

If the Confederate South has nothing better to show than the paltry presentation made by the Southern Historical Society it will find that the only result is labor for their pains. Read the following—only one among hundreds of similar statements in possession of THE REPUBLIC. There is no special pleading in its direct, straightforward narrative:

To the Editor of the Republic:

In reply to your invitation to all survivors of Andersonville prison to send to your office statements of their experiences in that pen of horrors I submit the following sketch, which may be of interest to your readers. I will not, however, attempt to describe in full what I saw and experienced, for volumes could be written on the subject and the half not be told. Description is almost defied. I was taken prisoner at the battle of Chickamauga, and after a confinement of eight months at Richmond and Danville, Va., was taken to Andersonville prison. This notorious place contained twenty-seven acres of ground inclosed by a stockade twenty feet high. A narrow railing built within eighteen feet of the stockade marked what was known as "the dead line." Any prisoner coming near this line ran the risk of being shot on the spot, the instructions to the sentinels being very strict on this point. Several poor fellows who had ventured too near the line were shot on this account to serve as examples to the rest. Upon this ground, which but a few months before formed part of a dense forest, not one single tree had been left for shelter or shade. Was it not the spirit of barbarous cruelty and revenge that prompted the rebel authorities to cut down every tree and leave the prisoners entirely unprotected? Ingenuity was taxed in every conceivable way to provide some kind of shelter, burrowing being generally adopted as the only means of escape from the burning rays of the midday sun. Living as it were in the earth, and having no sanitary facilities, no change of clothing, vermin bred and thrived, requiring a daily clothing hunt to relieve the body of their pestiferous attacks.

Imagine 30,000 human beings confined the same as so many wild beasts turned out into a field, without the least shelter, exposed to all kinds of weather, and kept on a very small allowance of coarse corn bread and pork, with no change in the diet. As a natural result of such inhuman treatment diseases of the worst nature followed, particularly the scurvy, which manifested itself in all its hideous forms. The blood had become so impure that wounds would not heal, and

consequently were followed by gangrene or mortification, the sufferers finding relief only in death, a few being saved through amputation. Vaccination was the primary cause in most of these cases. Many of the prisoners had been confined at Danville, Virginia, where the small-pox prevailed to an alarming extent during the winter of 1863-'64. Fortunately I escaped with an attack of varioloid, and my vaccination was healed before my removal to Andersonville. The so-called hospital was not much of an improvement upon the prison, the only shelter there offered being old tents, with nothing but the bare ground to serve for a bed. Medicines were furnished in very limited quantities, and of the many treated only a few recovered.

Passing myself off as a sick man one day, having previously obtained a rebel cap and jacket, I was admitted to the yard in front of the main prison gate inclosed by an ordinary board fence, wherein the sick were examined every morning for admission to the hospital. Watching for some time my opportunity I eluded for a moment the vigilance of the sentinels, and climbing over the fence walked away leisurely and effected my escape. In my eagerness to escape I had hardly realized the great risk assumed, but having become desperate was prepared to attempt almost anything for the sake of liberty and escape from this den of horrors. Concealing myself for the day in a ravine near by I started for the Union lines as soon as it was dark enough for safety. On reaching Flint river we (I say we, for in my travels I had fortunately met an escaped prisoner) discovered a small boat, in which we concluded to go down the river to the Gulf, and so reach our gunboats. But alas for human hopes and aspirations! We moved on swimmingly with the swift current, watching closely the snags; but toward morning, being off guard a little through drowsiness that had stolen over us, we struck a snag, which upset our boat, throwing us into the stream near the edge of a large swamp. Here we struggled for about four hours trying to get out (the water being about five feet deep) until our cries for help brought a darky to our rescue, who assisted us out and ministered very kindly to our comforts. Bless the darkies; I had occasion to try their faithfulness in several trying emergencies while endeavoring to effect my escape, and always found them true as steel.

I had become so exhausted by the struggle for life in the swamp that I was unable to continue my flight, and therefore requested my colored friend to conduct me back to prison on his horse, as he did not dare to harbor me longer. My companion, who had been a prisoner only a short time, continued

his flight. On my return I was placed in the prison hospital at Andersonville, where I lingered a long time between life and death, but finally recovering again effected my escape with another prisoner. Our liberty, however, was of short duration. We had been out only one night, and had just concealed ourselves for the day some distance from the main road, when we heard the dismal howl of the bloodhounds on our track. Quick as thought we climbed a tree which fortunately happened to be near us, and awaiting their arrival were soon surrounded by a pack of twelve hounds, clamorous to get hold of us. Upon arrival of the men in charge, who pretended to be looking for runaway negroes, we were released from our position and conducted back to prison. I have related this little chapter of my prison experience to prove how our prisoners were treated. Wirz kept these hounds for the express purpose of recapturing escaped prisoners, and every morning the dogs were taken around the stockade to be put on the track. Shot down, hounded down, exposed and starved to death was only a part of the cruel treatment to which we were subjected. Other cruelties were perpetrated upon us, but I cannot enter into heart-sickening details. No wonder the poor fellows died off at the rate of over 100 per day, and one day in August, I remember, the death-roll numbered nearly 150. The dead were thrown into carts and dumped promiscuously into pits for burial like so many dead animals. In the foregoing I have merely given the outlines; details are not given, for space and time forbid. And if in the face of these facts Mr. Hill, of Georgia, had the effrontery to say in the halls of Congress, "I have also proved that, with all the horrors which you have made such a noise about as occurring at Andersonville, greater horrors occurred at prisons where you held our prisoners, and that the atrocities of Andersonville do not begin to compare with the atrocities of Elmira, Fort Douglas, or Delaware." What an insult to offer to our loyal dead prisoners and their survivors! Did not the rebel prisoners confined in these Northern prisons have good shelter and food, and were they not treated as well as they could be under the rules and regulations of civilized warfare? Away with such a perversion of the truth! Well may Mr. Hill say, "let us turn our backs on the past," for it has a most damnable record against the late so-called Confederate Government, which would permit the existence of the Andersonville den of horrors—a lasting disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century.

ISAAC A. ISAY,
Late Capt. 27th U. S. Inf.
FORT WAYNE, IND., May 25, 1876.

PATRIOTISM AND SLANDERS.

"The feast of reason and the flow of soul" has at all times been a source of enjoyment to men of thought, and to men who felt that there were necessarily duties to be performed between man and man. Especially was the performance of political duties recognized, inasmuch as the peace and progress of society were closely interwoven with it. A spirit of patriotism often produced a spirit of emulation; and a citizen would mark out for himself a line of employment which had for its object the protection of liberty, the support of those principles which would enhance the value of free institutions, and their practical application to public and private affairs, in order that the country might have the advantage of the aid and intelligence of the best citizens, and an influence always in active operation, pressing directly to popular advancement.

This long has been and is the attitude of Republicans. If ever a political party had grown out of the necessity of the times it is the Republican party. Its principles called for the co-operation of all who loved the heritage of the fathers; and when the peril of the Nation was caused by the disloyalty of the leaders of the Democracy who drew aside expecting the Union to be destroyed, the patriotism of Republicans impelled them to interpose themselves as a living bulwark between Democratic rebellion and the preservation of the Republic. The Union was saved, but hundreds of thousands offered their lives as a sacrifice on the battle-field, and their efforts live in the grateful memory of the people.

The Union was saved by the Republican party from destruction. What the Democratic party was before the war, and during the war, every one knows; and it is very busy in making history now. In the first place, it has no sympathy with the work which Republicans have done, and in the next place, the Democratic leaders are trying to hound down all the statesmen who sustained that work and so undo their legislation. In a word, the Bourbon Democracy have planted their feet upon the great Rock of Scandal, and mean, if they can accomplish it, the destruction of the most prominent Republicans, whose only

fault is that they have been faithful and labored most diligently for the welfare of the Union.

The Democratic party has inaugurated a reign of scandal. A hundred years ago Washington and the purest patriots of his day were assailed with the most virulent scandal. Reckless charges were scattered through the land, and our fathers were asked to believe them. Did the scandal-mongers of the early years of Independence succeed? No! The people could not credit that men who had been instrumental in founding a new Nation should have been unfaithful to it. The charges were monstrous; but there was no suspension of judgment. Citizens of every State supported the patriots against whom the scandal was aimed in the most practical way. If they took the trouble to deny it, they acted as if no scandal existed; or if the scandal had any effect at all, it bound them together in a firmer resolution to do their duty, their whole duty as citizens, and cast their ballots with irresistible force against defamation. Shall the present reign of scandal and defamation triumph? The founders of the Republic came through the scandal ordeal without the smell of fire upon their garments,

The Democracy have now arraigned the Republican party for what it has done. The Republican party saved the Republic which the Democracy would have destroyed. Can Democratic scandal hurt it? Prominent Republicans participated in the preservation of the Union, in the reconstruction of the South, and in seeking to render citizenship there as valuable and safe as it is in the North. Shall Democratic scandal hurt them for that? All the floodgates of scandal are opened by the Democratic leaders in the committee rooms of the Capitol. For the preservation of the Capitol, too, the Democratic party has to thank Republicans; for the Southern rebels meant to have marched on Washington, burned the Capitol and public buildings, and sacked the city. Who prevented them? Loyal soldiers who had the patriotism to fight for their country and since then the right to vote as they fought,

while the Democracy were mainly allied with its enemies. It does seem strange that the well tried patriotism and courage which saved the city of Washington and the Union should have preserved the Capitol as an asylum for the country's enemies, and that the first use of the amnesty which admitted them to the National Legislature should be to dominate and subdue their Northern sympathizers, and then combine and turn upon those who were carrying out a national policy, seeking to break them down by scandalous attacks and venomous charges.

Men who have done so much for their country that history teems with their services are hardly the men to do it an injury. And it stands to reason that those who saved the Union, and raised it till it now stands foremost among the nations of the earth, are not of the party to furnish men to dwarf its fair proportions; to halt on the road of progress; to favor extravagance in expenditures; or to mislead the people into attacking or taking away the rights of others.

As the founders of the Republic rode through the scandal of their day unharmed,

so will the preservers of the Republic be unharmed by the Democratic scandal of to-day. But scandal becomes the Democracy, whose history is scandalous, and what is worse, deserved. The Democracy has waited for ten years to do just what they are doing. Scandal is their natural occupation. Will not the people, observing the confusion, the untruthfulness and the costly delay of the Confederate House of Representatives in its endeavors to smirch the character of better men, step in and prevent a repetition of the disaster, and say such Democratic occupation is gone? Let Republicans go to the polls, under all circumstances, and cast their ballots as they fired their bullets. Surely, then, the Democratic occupation of slandering Union leaders will be gone indeed under Republican sway, the country will be led into the way of restoration wherein the rights of citizens shall be respected and upheld, while all reforms that are needed may be inaugurated by those who preserved a government to be revered for its principles, and the Republic to be honored in its integrity.

THE AMNESTY DEBATE AND MR. HILL.

[From the Washington Chronicle, June 4.]

Representative Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, expresses anger at the republication (in part) of his speech made during the amnesty debate. The expression of anger towards everything he is not in sympathy with is a peculiarity of Mr. Hill's character. That, and ability to adroitly change a position, are among his leading traits. It is very difficult for the Georgian "fire-eater" to express himself otherwise than in uncivil terms, while the measure of his own conceit is so huge that it blunts by its bulk alike the sense of truth and logic. This is well illustrated by the following facts:

One J. W. Davidson, of Monmouth, Ill., writes Mr. Hill some time since that he had received a pamphlet purporting to contain the amnesty debate, and that his (Mr. Hill's) speech is so eliminated and garbled that from it no one can correctly judge of "the position Mr. Hill assumed during that debate." To this Mr. Hill hastens to reply

at length. He makes the following charges and denunciations. Speaking of the pamphlet, he says:

"It purports to contain the speeches of Mr. Blaine, Mr. Garfield, and myself on what is known as the amnesty debate. I find my own speech most grossly and adroitly mutilated. Many entire sentences are cut out, and many other sentences and paragraphs are cut up and garbled with a manifest purpose to alter and misrepresent the real meaning, temper, and argument of my speech.

* * * * *

"I do not know who got up this *dirty* pamphlet. It is a deliberate falsehood and a studied attempt to deceive. Every man who sends it to another, with knowledge of its character, is guilty of the falsehood, and avows thereby his desire to deceive the people. Every honest man to whom it is sent will feel insulted, and he is insulted."

He adds among other comments that—

"I called the attention of one of the best Republicans in Congress to this pamphlet, desiring to see how he regarded it. He only

laughed and said, 'It is bad, I admit, but it is politics, and you must expect it.' Is this true? Is this politics? If so, is anything safe? Have we reached the point where leaders are willing to deceive and the people are willing to be deceived? *If so, then our greatest statesman is the greatest liar in the country!*'

Before showing the folly and falsehood of Mr. Hill's uncivil comments, it will be well to remind him and the country that, if his criticisms are truthful and deserved, then Mr. Hill himself is the greatest of offenders. The speech which Mr. Hill says is so garbled is, as far as republished, taken word for word from the *Congressional Record*. But it is not the speech Mr. Hill delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives. *That speech Mr. Hill himself deliberately suppressed, substituting for the verbatim copy which the official reporters prepared one presenting in various essential and important aspects and arguments and references of a different character and tone from those he uttered in debate. Mr. Hill went to the length, unknown before in the annals of Congressional garbling, of eliminating a spirited colloquy between the Hon. Eugene Hale, of Maine, and himself. He left only, to use his own words, "many entire sentences," that were uttered on the floor; and he so altered others as to show "a manifest purpose to alter and misrepresent the real meaning, temper, and argument" of the speech as actually delivered. There can be no doubt but that in so doing Mr. Hill engaged in a "a deliberate falsehood and a studied attempt to deceive." Mr. Hill, in so garbling his real argument and printing the eliminated one in the Record, was guilty of the falsehood he charges against others, "and avows thereby his desire to deceive the people."* This, too, he did in his capacity as a Representative, and by means of a channel supposed to be correct—at least ought to be from its official character.

Mr. Hill complains of this campaign copy of his so-called speech being "garbled," "eliminated," &c. We are authorized to say that the remedy lies in Mr. Hill's own hands. If he will consent to the preparation of a correct copy from the *verbatim* notes made of his speech *as delivered and reported*, (not as printed,) and will furnish it to us, the same will be at once put in type and cir-

culated throughout the country. This also to the extent of as many copies as may be called for. It would be the best possible campaign document that Republicans could circulate. But let it be the genuine article, and not "garbled" and "eliminated," according to the wisdom which came to Mr. Hill in cooler moments, or by the advice of political friends.

However, the pamphlet assailed by Mr. Hill does not in any manner justify his use of abusive epithets. It contains thirty-two pages, does not purport to contain the whole debate on amnesty, but gives accurately, honestly, and without "garbling," as far as it goes, the main features of that remarkable discussion. As a matter of fact it could not be "garbled," as Mr. Hill seeks to misrepresent. The postal laws allow the franking by members of Congress of the *Congressional Record*, or any part thereof, or of reprints therefrom. To secure the advantage of this provision it must be rigidly adhered to. The person by whom the amnesty debate was prepared for the press states that the rule he followed (being limited to thirty-two pamphlet pages for all) was to give, as has been done, the opening speech in full of Mr. Blaine, then as much of Mr. Hill's as showed clearly and honestly the line of his argument, and preserved his own statement of real and alleged facts, eliminating only the side issues and rhetorical flourishes. This was followed by Mr. Garfield's speech in full, because it is a clear and logical reply to the so-called historical assumptions and assaults of the Georgian. The remainder of the debate is very much cut down, and Mr. Blaine, especially, has much more reason to complain of the elimination made in his last two incisive speeches and running debates than Mr. Hill has in regard to the presentation of the speech he printed, but did not deliver.

Mr. Hill undertook to prove that the Confederacy did all it could by law and regulation to prevent suffering among the Union prisoners in its hands; that such suffering as ensued was due in part to the inevitable horrors of war, but far more to the cruel policy in regard to devastation, the blockade, and refusal to exchange on our part, than to all other causes combined. In addition to these

pleas in extenuation, Mr. Hill made a deliberate attack on the United States Government and policy, charging that our treatment of prisoners was worse than theirs, and that greater mortality ensued. In the speech printed in the *Record*, Mr. Hill toned down the asperity of his assertions a good deal. In preparing the speech for publication as a campaign document an honest effort was made to show by Mr. Hill's own words (so-called) the full extent of his argument.

But if he really feels aggrieved, as he pre-

tends, and considers himself foully treated, the remedy is in his own hands. Republicans will be glad to give the genuine speech the benefit of their machinery and so circulate it to the fullest extent. Will Mr. Hill accept this offer and let the real speech be printed *verbatim et literatim*? This offer is made by authority. Will Mr. Hill accept it? We pledge ourselves to its fulfillment. If not, let him forever hereafter hold his peace and not unnecessarily soil his mouth or pen with false accusations.

EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

Mr. Waddington, the French Minister of Public Instruction and Worship, a Republican, delivered toward the end of April an important address before the United Scientific Societies of the Sorbonne (Paris) in which he indicates the method of reforms in the school system which he purposes introducing. He says:

"The government, while guaranteeing full liberty of thought and conscience, should, at the same time, maintain the rights of the State against the encroachments of the Church. The standard of sciences should be elevated, and a new and freer life in science and spiritual matters be promoted. France must, therefore, establish real universities in the different parts of the country; I mean such universities as will unite in a whole the single faculties hitherto in existence in various places, and will represent all branches of science combined, as it is now done in Germany. The universities should not be like isolated sparks rising here and there, but like great and strong flames illuminating a whole province. Furthermore, the higher instructions of learning, the gymnasium, and the polytechnical schools should be considerably improved; but above all, the elementary and grammar schools should be brought under the control of the government; compulsory instruction should be introduced and disciplinary punishment be inflicted upon the pupils for neglect of attendance at public school. *The Republic and the right of universal suffrage cannot exist without education and the general diffusion of knowledge.*"

This highly promising programme of the French Minister of Public Instruction is in utter opposition to the "Congress of the Catholic Committees" in Paris, which try to have the school system continued under the control of the clergy.

The same Ultramontane Congress protested with all its power, by resolutions, against public instruction being withdrawn from the control of the Church and given up to the government. The Cardinal Archbishop who presided at that Congress asserted, in utter variance with history, that the decay of public information was solely attributable to the State power, and the Bishop of Nismes even went so far as to openly predict the speedy downfall of the Republic. The campaign of the Ultramontanists against the Republic, liberty, and progress is in full blaze in France.

THE following table affords an indication of the growth of necessary trades and occupations, and shows that the South, as a section, is by no means so depressed industrially as it is for political purposes constantly claimed:

Number of hands employed as blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters and joiners, painters and varnishers, masons and stone-cutters, by the census of 1870 and 1860, in the States named.

States.	1870.	1860.	Increase.	Decrease.
Alabama	5,785	4,715	1,070	....
Arkansas	2,923	3,189	.....	266
Florida	1,605	1,080	525	.....
Georgia	8,843	6,122	2,721	.....
Louisiana	9,357	9,113	244	.....
Mississippi	3,970	3,594	376	.....
North Carolina.	7,245	7,254	.....	9
South Carolina.	4,746	3,505	1,241	.....
Tennessee	11,350	9,210	2,140	.....
Texas	6,804	5,060	1,744	.....
Virginia	14,609	19,204*	1,405	.....
West Virginia...	6,000			
	83,237	72,046	11,466	275

Total increase, 11,191

* In 1860 Virginia included the two States of Virginia and West Virginia.

POVERTY OF THE SOUTH—GEORGIA AND TEXAS.

The ex-Postmaster General of the former Slaveholders' Confederacy, Mr. Reagan, has several times alluded on the floor of the House of Representatives, during the present session, to the poverty-stricken condition of his State. In one notable instance he met with a sharp reply from the Hon. Martin I. Townsend, of New York, who soon convinced the House that he possessed an accurate knowledge of business affairs in the Lone Star State. Georgia is sometimes cited in proof of the truth of the jeremiads Southern Democrats and their allies are constantly sending forth.

Two tables are herewith presented which certainly do not carry out the idea of general depression; on the contrary, they show a steady advance in the valuation of taxable property in both States. Both tables are compiled from State reports, that for Georgia, now annexed, being made up from the returns published in the Report of 1875, made by the Comptroller General for the State of Georgia. It gives, as will be seen, for that State, the—

TOTAL VALUATION OF PROPERTY.

Year.	All other property, (personal,) except annual crops.	Increase.	Decrease.	Aggregate value of whole property.	Increase.
1868.....	\$28,554,426	.....	.....	\$191,235,520	.....
1869.....	29,167,194	\$2,612,768	.....	204,481,706	\$13,246,186
1870.....	30,985,471	1,828,277	.....	226,329,769	21,848,063
1871.....	30,123,998	.....	\$811,473	234,492,468	8,162,699
1872.....	28,335,151	.....	1,788,847	244,219,416	9,726,948
1873.....	30,249,764	1,914,613	.....	259,593,622	15,374,206
1874.....	32,948,158	2,698,394	.....	273,068,292	13,498,670
					81,857,772

It will be seen that there has been a total increase in the aggregate value of property from 1868 to 1874—seven years—of not less than \$81,857,772. This is by no means an evidence of decadence, especially when it is remembered, also, that Georgia was pretty thoroughly devastated by the war and its operations.

Taking some details from the table out of which the foregoing is compiled, and it will be found that the increase of acres of land returned for taxation in 1874 over 1868 was 2,182,084 acres. The total increase in the value thereof was \$18,976,205. The increase in the number of farm hands employed in 1874 over 1868 was 27,673. In 1873 it was 38,631. The increase in the value of furniture for plantation and mechanical purposes (the latter being returned only when above \$300 in value) in 1874 over 1868 was not less than \$12,400,886, a rather striking evidence of the greater diffusion of personal property and prosperity, which is a characteristic of free society.

The increase in the value of city and town lots, of money on hand, and in that of merchandise, are also illustrative of the changes produced by free labor. The value of town lots, etc., in 1868 was \$40,315,621; in 1874 it is stated at \$57,218,248—an increase of \$16,902,627. The amount of money on hand or of solvent debts had increased in 1874 over 1868, on a total of \$38,507,465, to the amount of \$15,288,945. The value of merchandise on hand had also increased to the extent of \$3,790,294 in 1874, on a total valuation of \$13,766,587. The increase in the value of cotton factories over 1869 was in 1874, \$1,354,041; in iron foundries, \$258,660; in national banks over 1869, \$6,132,035. These facts are all indicative of the beneficial changes that have been already wrought. But how much greater would be the prosperity if the bellicose politicians, the disgruntled clergy, irate ladies, and fire-eating editors could only be made to see the advantages that would come in every way from such a hearty acceptance, socially and economically, as well as politically, of the conditions that have already resulted from that, to them, blessing in disguise, the defeat of the

"lost cause!" The large sums distributed as wages must alone produce a revolution in trade and industry. The facts given are in evidence.

Turning to Texas, and the proofs of the beneficial changes already produced by free labor are quite as striking. The following table is worth examination :

Year.	Number of acres.	Value.	Value town lots.	Horses, sheep, cattle.		Merchandise.	Money on hand or at inter't.	Miscellaneous.	Total valuation.	Changes in value of taxable property.
				No.	Value.					
1867.....	50,839,063	\$83,108,756	\$23,103,220	5,773,748	\$37,727,029	\$9,457,912	\$6,060,245	\$10,548,383	\$170,005,545	.....
1868.....	50,076,846	69,396,259	22,020,623	5,164,659	29,939,778	8,244,081	4,666,034	10,013,203	144,260,244	\$25,745,301 dec.
1869.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	149,655,386	5,395,142 inc.
1870.....	49,296,887	79,026,564	27,771,601	6,029,401	31,037,651	12,009,568	5,768,761	14,860,633	171,818,986	22,163,600 inc.
1871.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	222,504,073	50,685,087 inc.
1872.....	50,857,842	93,301,053	34,022,590	5,740,044	37,979,743	13,387,213	10,423,448	18,806,479	207,920,526	14,583,547 dec.
1874.....	52,435,638	100,685,275	38,911,526	5,370,773	37,488,027	14,354,357	11,497,670	20,504,065	223,410,920	15,490,394 inc.

ASSESSED VALUE OF TAXABLE PROPERTY IN TEXAS.

[Per State Reports.]

The increase in the value of the different valuations in 1874 over the figures of 1867 is as follows :

Acres of land.....	1,596,575
In value.....	\$17,576,519
Town lots, in value	15,808,306
Merchandise.....	4,896,445
Money on hand, etc.....	5,437,425
Miscellaneous	9,955,682

Total increase on these valuations .. 53,674,397
Decrease in the valuation of horses, sheep, and cattle, 1874 on that of 1867 641,977

Total increase 53,032,420

These figures are not entirely reliable, as examination of the reports in detail show imperfect assessments, and, as a consequence, valuations also. But even then they present a gratifying exhibit. The contrast might be still further carried out, but these figures are sufficient to indicate that the States named, at least, are not in a suffering condition, and they show conclusively that the result of free institutions is a material advancement at least.

WHO CAN HESITATE IN THEIR CHOICE.—

When the Democratic party laid down its trust in despair and was about to surrender the Union to those who had conspired against it, the Republican party took up the trust, and, grappling with armed rebellion, crushed it after a desperate struggle, thereby saving the Union. For the cowardice and disloyalty shown in the face of danger the Democratic party deserves the condemnation of the American people. For its courage and patriotism in overcoming the rebellion and for its wisdom in restoring the States to their former rights and privileges the Republican party deserves the thanks, not only of this country, but of the civilized world. Who that loves his country can hesitate as to which party he should support in the coming struggle?

BARREN OF GOOD RESULTS.—The Democrats have had full control of the House of Representatives for the past six months. What have they done to merit public confidence and future support? Nothing! Their labors have been barren of any good results. The people's time and money have been recklessly squandered on fruitless investigations, started for no other purpose than to give the Democratic party a little political capital in the Presidential campaign. They will not only fail to secure this capital, but they are likely to lose what little they had formerly gained.

LET US HAVE PEACE.

There was great significance in the watchword that General Grant gave to the Republican party—"Let us have Peace!"

"The first want of every nation," said Mr. Seward in 1844, "is peace, the last is peace. It wants peace always. So our forefathers understood the philosophy of government; for they established a system which dispensed with even the forces necessary for perfect defense rather than cumber it with such as might tempt it to unnecessary collision with other states. A democratic government has no adaptation to war. War, however brief its duration, and however light its calamities, deranges all social industry, subverts order, and corrupts public morals. The first element, then, of our social happiness and security is PEACE."

It is a fact never to be forgotten that all the wars that have afflicted this nation since it was organized were brought on by the Democratic party—the causeless and fruitless war of 1812, the Florida war, the Mexican war, and the war of the Rebellion. All these owe their origin to the action of the Democratic party, and if it regains power how soon may we expect another war?

Among the brightest pages of our nation's history will be those which record the successful results of the great Geneva Arbitration. The Republican party can point to it as one of its greatest achievements in the administration of government. The Republican party indeed stands for peace as it does for freedom and progress. None of these great interests can be intrusted to the hands of the so-called Democratic party. That party has not so conducted itself in the past as to secure the confidence of a peace loving people, while the Republican party rests not under even the suspicion of its devotion to humane principles, nor can it fall under any such suspicion. It seeks no other field for its activity than the improvement of the resources of the country. Its ambition is for peaceful enterprises within our own expansive borders, avoiding if possible collision with foreign powers.

Although it has been remarked* that every great international exposition has been followed by a great war, it is nevertheless true that the influence of such gatherings of the people of different nations must be peaceful. Whether the great Centennial Exposition to be held during this year in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, shall contribute to this end we wait to see. It would have more effect if it combined with its exhibitions and displays some kind of an international congress. Last year there was held in Holland a congress advocating the principles that "human society belongs to man—a community of nations, girded with the armament of justice, ordered and perfected by equal and universal law—arbitrating the claims of every member, and conserving the welfare of the whole."

We indulge in no over-sanguine hopes of "universal peace" even among the most enlightened and Christian nations. That is something in the dim and distant future. But every arbitration convention is a step toward it. Moreover, nations and peoples are growing more and more practical. They are beginning to ask, "Does it pay?" They count the cost. Germany finds that of the total expenses required to carry on the government 26 per cent. is absorbed by the army; in France 31 per cent.; in Great Britain the same; in Russia 36 per cent.; in the United States only about 6 per cent. The standing army in Germany in time of peace costs the government annually about 360,000,000 of reichsmarks, equal to \$90,000,000, excluding the loss of the labor, productive industry, of 438,000 men and nearly 100,000 horses. On this basis the appropriations for the expense of the army have been made for seven years in advance.

In Italy, as in Germany, the army is recruited from the able-bodied men of the country—for the first line from the ages between 20 and 31; for the second 31 to 36; for the third 36 to 55. In Italy men under

*Rev. J. P. Thompson, D. D., L. L. D., formerly of New York, now a resident of Berlin, Germany, an able writer on the subject of peace in Europe, &c.

20 years of age may serve one year before they are 20 and thus be exempt from further service unless in case of war. In time of war no able-bodied man can escape service or send a substitute. It is the same in Germany and France. It is contended in these countries that while a large standing army is an evil that it nevertheless does some good. The army is a school; and no peasant returns home, it is said, after his five years' service without being much improved, acquiring valuable instruction in the regimental schools, while his mind is enlarged by acquaintance with all parts of his country. His physical condition is no less improved by regular exercise in the open air, and other advantages.

The first line of the Italian army comprises 300,000 men and 40,000 horses; the second 250,000 men; the third 200,000.

The navy of Italy is rapidly augmenting and improving in character. About seventy men of war have recently been sold to make place for vessels of more modern construction. With two years of peace Italy expects to have a navy equal to that of Germany or of Spain.

We take these two nations, Germany and Italy, as the two representatives of military power in Europe. Although this is a time of peace we see little evidence in European governments of a desire to reduce their armies to any serious extent. The people, however, who feel the burden of great armies in times of peace, are considering the subject.

They are opposed at least to wars of conquest and ambition, while they are willing to make any sacrifices to repel the attacks of neighboring powers.

The enormous expenses incurred in the maintenance of armies in Europe even in times of peace, and the no less enormous drain upon the productive industries of their respective countries, caused by such large bodies of mere consumers, we repeat, raise the question, Is there no relief? Arbitration as a substitute for war seems to be the only expedient. But arbitration must be tried. We doubt if the British Government was quite won over to its unfailing expediency by the result of the Geneva Arbitration. The United States, on the other hand, is well

satisfied. Therefore much time and experience will be needed to commend arbitration to even the most civilized nations. It would seem that disputes about property or territory, as well as questions affecting persons, ambassadors, emigrants, refugees, &c., might easily be left for settlement to some other arbitrament than war. Other differences will gradually come to be settled by arbitration.

That it is possible to bring men of even jealous nations into harmonious relations where the object is science or philanthropy was evidenced by the Geographical Congress which recently assembled in Paris, when an eminent German geologist presided over one of its sessions. German travelers recounted their explorations, German authorities were quoted, and German societies and savans received prizes and honors. In this Congress, as at that held in Holland, the Russian, the German, the Hollander, the Swede, the Belgian, the Englishman, the Frenchman, the Italian, the Hungarian, each in his own tongue, paid tribute to the grand idea of universal brotherhood. The Marshal President of France, the heir to the throne of Russia, and the Vice Admiral of France were found assisting the more active members of the Geographical Congress.

How far can great nations be induced to have recourse to arbitration as a substitute for war is a question now receiving considerable attention.

In this interest was instituted the "*Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations*," which claims to be the embodiment and expression of a conviction for a long time cherished by leading publicists and statesmen of different countries of the desirableness and the practicability of a well defined and settled international law, and an international tribunal, as a provision for regulating the relations of nations to each other, and adjusting their differences by peaceful methods, and thus securing international justice.

The association had its origin in the year 1871, while the Washington Treaty and the Geneva Arbitration were under consideration and likely to result in the satisfactory and peaceable settlement of the grave differences between Great Britain and the United States of America. A "call" for an

"International Congress" was prepared by Elihu Burritt and the Secretary, James B. Miles, in consultation together, which resulted in a meeting at Brussels in October, 1873. Among those who assembled at the Conference were distinguished men from Italy, Spain, England, Holland, and the United States. It received also the countenance of such Americans as Theodore D. Woolsey, Reverdy Johnson, Emory Washburne, Charles Francis Adams, and other eminent jurists and statesmen.

After full and able discussion, in which most of the members participated, the Conference adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"The Conference declares that an international code, defining with all the precision possible the rights and duties of nations and of their members, is eminently desirable in the interest of peace, of friendly relations, and of the common prosperity. It is therefore of opinion that nothing should be neglected to arrive at the preparation and adoption of such code. The Conference reserves the question of judging to what point the codification of the law of nations should be simply scientific, and to what point it should be embodied in treaties or conventions formally accepted by sovereign States.

"The Conference declares that it regards arbitration the means essentially just, reasonable, and even obligatory on nations, of terminating international differences which cannot be settled by negotiation. It abstains from affirming that this means can be applied in all cases without exception. But it believes these exceptions to be rare. And it is of opinion that no difference ought to be considered insoluble until after a complete exposition of the matter in dispute, after a reasonable delay, and after the exhaustion of all pacific means of adjustment."

Among the testimonies respecting the success of this mission is the following extract from the letter of an English gentleman:

"The marked attention which you have elicited for the object of your interesting mission from a number of the most eminent men in Europe, including such foremost statesmen (practical men removed to the furthest extent possible from mere theorists or utopian dreamers) as Mr. Gladstone, our Prime Minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, formerly Prime Minister of France under the Emperor Napoleon III., and Count Sclopis, President of the Geneva Tribunal—this is in itself a great work achieved."

At the Congress at The Hague in 1875 an effort was made by Judge Peabody, Chancellor Pruyn, and other American delegates, to adjourn to meet in the United States in 1876, but it was unsuccessful.

IS THIS HOSTILITY TO THE SOUTH?

Under the requirements of the laws by which lands were granted in aid of railroad construction to the several States several million acres in the Southern States reverted to the public domain at the close of the rebellion, owing to the non-completion of the roads to which they had been devoted. The total was about eleven million acres. A considerable proportion of this has been assigned to settlers in farms of forty and eighty acres each. But Congress has not been unmindful of the South since the surrender at Appomattox, as the following statement of grants or renewals will prove:

Date of law.	State.	No. of acres.
1869	Alabama	897,920 renewal
1871	Alabama	576,000 renewal
1866	Arkansas	966,722 renewal
1866	Arkansas	550,525 renewal
1866	Arkansas	864,000 new grant
1870	Louisiana	1,666,722 new grant
Total		5,521,889

Grants to corporations.		Acres.
1871	Southern Pacific	3,520,000
1871	Texas Pacific	18,000,000
1871	New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Vicksburg	4,000,000
		25,520,000

To this total should be added 1,582,718 acres granted to Missouri in 1866 for the construction of two railroads directly advancing the interests of Tennessee and Arkansas. These make a total of—

	Acres.
To the reconstructed States	5,521,889
To corporations direct, (within those States)	4,000,000
To corporations for Southern roads, and within the Territories	21,520,000
To Missouri for Southwestern connections	1,582,718
Total	32,624,607

BOURBON Democracy relies upon a united South in the coming Presidential struggle. Republicans should do their best to secure a united North. To this end, effective organization should take place in every town and city of the Northern States. The issue involved is the life of the nation, and to place this issue properly before the people should be the duty of true citizens everywhere.

A REPUBLICAN SUCCESS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

A short time since, when the chiefs of the Democratic party were laying out their plans for the coming Presidential campaign, one of the most influential of our Democratic contemporaries in the West advised them to attack the REPUBLICAN PARTY ON ITS RECORD as the best means of securing Democratic success. No Republican can have the slightest objection to such a course. It is an appeal "to the law and to the testimony;" and such an appeal is always to be welcomed, because the record of the Republican party has passed into history, and the most plausible doubts will be resolved into the most brilliant certainty in the light of facts which can be produced on all points wherein the country has been served with honesty or protected from injury which the partisan spirit of the Democracy deliberately sought to inflict upon it.

Take for instance the injury inflicted upon the national credit at home and abroad by the Democratic party. The Democratic party is responsible as an accessory both before and after the rebellion of the South. Democratic leaders were in communication with the disloyal leaders of the South, and knew how treason was spreading and what preparations were made for the outbreak of the war. The Democratic party were in power up to the year 1860. In view of what the Democratic party knew as about to take place in the South it would admit to the public service but two classes of men, viz: Southerners who were prepared to destroy the Union to preserve slavery, or Northern men with Southern proclivities. These men were sent abroad as ministers and consuls; and the consequence was that in every court of continental Europe, in England, and the other courts of the world, the utterances of the public servants of the United States, paid by the people, were impudently disloyal. These public servants, professing to worship slavery, gravely announced to foreign statesmen that the Union would be destroyed by violence if the intelligent freemen of the North did not cease to interfere with the

South and its peculiar institution. So earnest had been the communications of some of the ambassadors, and so boastful had they been of the high and Christian character of Southerners, "born to command," as they said, but failing to say "the plantation slaves, ignorant as cattle though in the form of men and women," that statesmen were perplexed, and had to wait the arrival of Republican successors until they could understand events.

The effect of the labors of disloyal ambassadors and other emissaries was to misrepresent the resources of the South by ridiculous boasting, and to undervalue the resources of the North; the combined effect of which was to discredit the national securities and alarm the holders abroad. The same course was pursued at home; and the Government had to raise money on the best terms it could, but often at a less amount than the face value of the bond, and at a high rate of interest. This early and great loss to the people is distinctly traceable to the disloyal utterances of the Democratic party at an important crisis in the country's history.

At last the country put aside the Democratic party as utterly untrustworthy, and the Republican party assumed the control of every national interest. Its first duty was to save the Union. To do this on the battlefield, on the men-of-war, and in the council of State was the natural instinct of Republicans. The grand armies of the Republic were recruited under the command of soldiers who loved the Union, and were willing, men and officers, to shed their blood for its preservation. While the war was being fought Republican statesmen were preparing the ways and means for raising money. The public mind had to be disabused of the evil seed the Democratic party had sown in it. Patriots, in whom the people trusted, had to come forward and pledge the faith of the Nation that the pledges of the Republican party should be kept. These pledges were enacted into law; and as the Nation's honor was in the keeping of a Republican Congress

the faith reposed in the Republican party at home extended to capitalists abroad, and the bonds of the United States were lifted from the cloud which oppressed them, and they rose to par and then to a premium; and they are at a premium to-day. But the Democratic party have never had patriotism enough to greet the recovery of our bonds with favor. Leading Democrats have always shown a desire to break faith with the Nation and the Nation's creditors whenever the finances have been the subject of debate in Congress. And those debates seem always to have been aimed to affect disastrously our credit abroad. But the wisdom and sincerity of the Government were too apparent to foreign capitalists to cause any permanent derangement, and the foreign bondholder has come to look upon the Republican party as his greatest safeguard, and the same may be said of the bondholder at home.

Persons who hold American securities abroad are by no means ignorant of the record of the Republican party. They know, too, the record of the Democratic party and will not put any trust in it. They say that a political party like the Democratic party, that would permit the Southern slaveowners to destroy the Union, is worthy of no confidence whatever. It is rumored that the evil record of the Democratic party has given rise to an expression of feeling in a quarter that is likely to be heeded. Belmont & Co., of New York, are bankers and Democrats. They are also the agents of the Rothschilds, whose wealth is well known. The Rothschilds have large pecuniary interests in this country, and they have a right to express themselves in a way that shall indicate that they wish their property protected. They are understood to have conveyed to Mr. Belmont their hope that a Republican President may be elected; for if the Republican party is successful they will regard their large investments in our public funds as safe.

This is a very important piece of intelligence, as coming from the wealthiest and shrewdest of foreign capitalists. Nor are they the only capitalists that entertain the opinion of the safety of investments while the Republican party is in power. But what a glowing commentary upon the record of

the Republican party! Surely on that record Republicans may go to the country. There is nothing in it to be ashamed of. The Republican party saved the Nation and restored the national credit; and as the majority of American citizens are Republicans the country expects every man to do his duty at the polls, and the banner of the Republican party will float high in the breeze. The ensuing Presidential election is the most important since the days of Washington. A Republican President will assure to the people the fruits of the war, will require the South to protect the rights of all men before the law, and will put an end to the lawless disloyalty and terror now prevailing in the Democratic Southern States. Republicans, take advantage of the opportunity; and, animated with fidelity to the cause of freedom and love of country, let not one ballot be absent when the time comes to cast them.

A DOZEN POINTS.

We give twelve good points why the Republican party should be preferred to Democracy. A hundred equally as good could be given:

1. It represents the intelligence and loyalty of the nation.
2. It is the champion of free education, and an advocate of the rights of labor.
3. It preserved the Republic in face of the greatest rebellion of modern times.
4. It restored—through its legislative wisdom—the Southern States to all their former rights and privileges in the Union.
5. It abolished slavery.
6. It made freedom universal.
7. It settled the vexed San Juan boundary question.
8. It obtained \$15,000,000 from England, and settled amicably the Alabama depredation question.
9. It gave to the nation a good national banking system.
10. It has paid nearly \$600,000,000 of the national debt.
11. It built the Pacific railroad.
12. It has opened a profitable commerce with Eastern nations through favorable treaties.

GENERAL GRANT—THE SIOUX BRAVE "TAKE THINGS."

One of the worst features of newspaper attacks upon public men is that it spares neither worth, virtue, nor manhood. When a journal passes the bounds of truth and decency it cannot complain of its loss of influence, for it has taken the steps most calculated to secure it. Not only does it lose its influence, but it loses also any reputation that it might have had for truth by indulging in this species of slander; and it deserves the rebuke of right-thinking men when administered in the way most likely to be felt the keenest, a diminution of its subscription list. What claim has the editor of a newspaper to the regard of his fellow men when he seeks to smirch and belittle the character of those whom the people have exalted by reason of the great services they rendered to the country? General Grant has been exposed to incessant attacks from a certain class of the press. These attacks have been undeserved, and have shown that the editors making them are unable to appreciate deeds which will make the name of U. S. Grant live in the history of the country his military ability helped to save. And it may safely be said, that when he shall have retired from the Presidency and the noise of political clamor shall have died away his name will shine forth with renewed luster, and the remembrance of his great deeds be revived.

The editor of the *Chicago Times* is anxious, however, to excel in meanness, and his ambition has, perhaps, met with its match, and is not likely to be troublesome for some time to come. Where scandal is the source of wit very little can be expected, but that little, like the Australian boomerang, may come back and hurt the person throwing it. The *Chicago Times* has sufficient sympathy to fraternize with the unreconstructed Southern Democrats who sought to destroy the Union. To please this class of friends, the editor opened its columns to the publication of this interesting item:

"A Sioux brave is named Take Things—Take Things is Indian for Grant."

Of course every Democrat and rebel was

expected to roar themselves black in the face at the joke; and some of them "laughed consumedly." Yet it was a good joke, far too good to be allowed to slide into oblivion. Moreover that joke had a mission to perform; and in the performance of that mission good men laughed contentedly, while rebels regarded it with a wry face. The Sioux brave Take Things, that reminded people of General Grant, recalled vividly to the recollection of another writer for the press what the Chicago editor had no wish to remember. He said of General Grant, as Take Things:

"Yes; we recall it now; he took Donelson, Petersburg, Richmond, and other things which the rebels cannot deny, as they would not have given them had they been able to hold them, but which having been taken from them by General Grant, were a fitting prelude to the day of Appomattox, when every rebel in Lee's army would have embraced Grant's legs to be assured of the safety of his neck."

BORROWING TROUBLE.—The Democracy, through its agents in the House of Representatives, have been trying for the past six months to discover a few faults in the Republican party out of which they can make political capital. If one half the labor had been expended to give due credit to Republican virtues the faults of the party would have appeared so trifling that even Democrats would have united in praising it as the most perfect political organization ever devised by wisdom and patriotism. The astronomer who searches the surface of the sun for the dark spots that are known to be there, may borrow trouble over the ultimate extinguishment of the fiery orb. But to those who enjoy the light, and who receive health and comfort from the warm sunshine, the dark spots bring no anxiety, for they are swallowed up in the brilliancy of the rays emitted. So with the few spots that are found on the record of Republicanism. They may trouble the Clymers, and Randalls, and the ex-Confederate astronomers of the House; but the people care nothing for them, for they know they are the rare exceptions and not the rule in the Administration of the Republican party.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

STATE OF LEGISLATION.

This day (Wednesday, June 14, 1876) the business of Congress lingers unfinished. Nothing of consequence has been perfected since our last month's report. The time has been largely occupied in political maneuvers preliminary to the nominating Presidential conventions. To-day the Republican convention meets at Cincinnati, and for many days the air has been rife with speculation as to the successful aspirant. Almost the entire press of the country has been engrossed with these approaching great events. Even the Centennial has for the day been eclipsed in the excitement which centers in the Presidential question. In ten days the Democratic convention will meet in St. Louis to make their nomination, and all calculation as to its choice is as much at fault as the reckoning of the soothsayers in the Republican camp. But the interest in these rival movements is sufficient to explain many things in regard to the action of Congress during the past month.

THE HOUSE.

The House, while professing to devote its time to the legitimate business before it, has really been frittering away the precious period in professions of economy and reform and in prosecuting its numerous investigations. Nothing has been done with the appropriation bills now pending. The most important of these bills—without which, after this month, the Government will have to suspend operations for want of money—lies as it came from the Senate, with more than a thousand amendments, and some of them very serious, yet to be considered. Reports from some of the investigating committees have been made. Ex-Minister Schenck, while acquitted of any intentional or moral wrong, has been censured for his careless connection with the affairs which originated the Emma Mine scandal. Mr. A. M. Clapp, the Congressional Printer, has also been severely handled, with a recommendation that he be tried in the courts for gross malfeasance in office. Some of the contested election cases have been disposed of, and one Republican, Mr. Morey, from

Louisiana, has been unseated. The balance of these personal matters, with the exception of the case of Mr. Speaker Kerr, hangs still in inextricable confusion. The Democratic leaders of the House, such as Messrs. Knott, Randall, and Hill, have proved utterly incompetent and unfit for the management of affairs. What with the discussions on the tariff, on the different schemes of the currency, and the public debt, on the necessities and administrations of the different branches of the Government, and especially in the action concerning individual cases, they have brought the whole round of legislative questions into the most imminent peril.

Exasperated by the charges brought against Mr. Doorkeeper Fitzhugh, and more than all by the ignorant and silly letter he wrote to a friend in Texas, they rushed madly upon him, and forthwith turned him out of his office.

MR. BLAINE'S TRIUMPH.

But the grand day of the session was Monday, June 5th, when Mr. Blaine rose to a personal explanation. The sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the House had called Mr. Blaine before them to explain his connection with certain alleged transactions of the Kansas Pacific and the Northern Pacific railroad. They had also summoned from Boston one James Mulligan, who was said to have possession of some private letters of Mr. Blaine, written to his business partner, Mr. Warren Fisher, which if published would be very damaging to Mr. Blaine. That Mulligan should have possession of these letters and hold them as a menace over Mr. Blaine was an enormous outrage, and tended to excite him to the highest pitch of feeling. He immediately sought an interview with Mulligan, and after considerable effort succeeded in getting these letters into his hands. The committee demanded the letters, which Mr. Blaine refused to submit. This placed him in a wholly false position before the public, and was calculated to do him immense injury in the public mind. Already suspicions were put afloat that Mr. Blaine withheld the letters through fear of exposure.

He was charged likewise with having obtained possession of the letters in a dishonorable manner. This was the situation when he rose to speak on the occasion referred to. He recited the history of the resolutions of investigation under which the case had thus far proceeded. He then made a splendid defense of the right of property in the citizen, and, rising to a high pitch of energy, he defied the House to take those letters from him. He dared any man to join issue with him upon that point. Then, having vindicated himself in his course on that subject, and drawing from his pocket a package of papers which he held up, he proceeded to say, notwithstanding his mortification in the premises, that, rather than submit to the suspicions and evil surmises engendered by his withholding the letters, he would throw himself on the confidence of forty-four millions of people, and would now himself read the letters to the House and the country. This was the signal for the most spontaneous and long-continued applause all over the Hall. Then, in a calm, clear voice, he went through with the reading, and when he had finished he proceeded to say that but one piece of testimony was wanting to make the proof of his innocence complete, and that was the statement of Josiah Caldwell, now in Europe, and turning to Mr. Knott, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he asked if he had heard from Mr. Caldwell. Mr. Knott was silent or evaded a reply. Mr. Blaine then, advancing from his desk toward Mr. Knott, asked if on last Thursday morning, about the hour of eight o'clock, he did not receive a telegram from Mr. Caldwell. Mr. Knott still evaded a frank and full reply. Then Mr. Blaine, stepping still toward him with a majesty and power of action perfectly sublime, said, "I charge you that you did so receive a telegram from Caldwell which perfectly exonerated me, *and that you have suppressed it!*" This was the moment when the most terrible storm of excitement broke from every quarter of the House. The Speaker's gavel was wholly ineffectual to quell the tumult, in the midst of which Mr. Blaine, having offered a resolution requiring the Judiciary Committee to produce the telegram in question before the House, re-

sumed his seat. Mr. Hunton, chairman of the sub-investigating committee, went into a long explanation, followed by Mr. Knott, who attempted to quote from the classics and to perpetrate some stale witticisms, but the battle had been fought and the victory won. Mr. Blaine was triumphant, and many an eye glistened with pride and admiration at his noble action and manly bearing. Nothing that the Democrats could say or do could roll back the tide of defeat. They were routed by one man—"horse, foot, and dragoons," and never appeared in any phase of their brief career so utterly insignificant as they did that day before him. There have been many scenes of wild excitement in Congress, but never any that surpassed, even if they equalled, this. The oldest members, men who have been long in public life, expressed it as their opinion that at no time in the history of the American Congress had there been a scene to equal it. It was with the greatest sympathy and sadness that the tidings spread through the city that Mr. Blaine had been stricken down with a serious attack on the brain at the steps of the church where he had walked with his wife on last Sunday morning. The greatest anxiety has been felt in his case—but now on this day of the assembling of the Convention at Cincinnati, where he is a prominent candidate, the telegrams of the hour announce his assured recovery.

SPEAKER KERR.

This gentleman has for some time past been in declining health and obliged for a considerable portion of the time to vacate his chair in search of relief. Some month or more ago a charge was brought against him by one Harney, of New York, for having received \$450 as the price of obtaining an appointment for a Captain Green in the United States army some ten years ago. Harney swore before the committee that he himself paid Mr. Kerr the money. It appears from the documentary evidence in the Department that Mr. Kerr did procure the aforesaid appointment, but he swears as positively that Harney paid him no money. On this question of veracity between the two men the personal good character of Mr. Kerr has availed him much, while an

investigation into the antecedents of the man Harney shows that he is capable of almost anything to blacken the character of others.

The other day the committee made a unanimous report exonerating the Speaker, when Messrs. Danford and Hurlbut, both Republicans, without regard of political or party considerations, addressed some admirable remarks to the House and the country in regard to the villainous assaults upon the character and reputation of public men now so much in vogue, and when the vote was taken General Garfield, another Republican, proposed that it should be taken by rising, when every member on both sides of the chamber stood up with a hearty good-will. Had this generous example been followed in some other cases it would have been to the credit of the Democratic side, as well as a well-merited rebuke to liars and perjurers, who from the basest motives lie in wait to strike at those who may be in any way exposed to their attacks.

THE SENATE.

The business of the session is expedited in the Senate by the fact that the number of members is so much smaller than in the House, and the most necessary measures have been generally well and promptly disposed of. The legislative appropriation bill greatly changed was sent back to the House in a few days, where it now remains.

About two and a half weeks of the last month have been occupied with the discussion and decision of the question of jurisdiction in the impeachment of General Belknap. After consuming some twelve days in secret session on this point the Senate has decided that it will take jurisdiction of the case by a vote of 37 to 29, not a two-thirds vote. Friday, June 16, was fixed as the day when the Senate as a court would meet, to give an opportunity to both sides for arrangements in regard to witnesses, and July 6 as the day when the trial shall commence. The respondent has already furnished a list of 197 witnesses whom he intends to call in his defense; and besides his counsel will most likely raise now another preliminary question, as to the vote on jurisdiction. It was not a two-

thirds vote, and they will contend that those Senators who voted in the negative can not conscientiously sit in the trial of the case. But it is not likely that this question will be long continued, since the principle in law is everywhere recognized that the minority of a court is bound by the decision of the majority. The work before the Senate in this trial, together with the other business, gives promise of their remaining in session during the summer.

THE DEAD LOCKS.

That there is serious disagreement between the two Houses on the appropriation bills is evident to the most careless observer. It is clear that there must be concession somewhere, or the Government will be entirely crippled at the end of the month for want of funds. If the Democrats of the House should adhere to their course substantially the Government will certainly be crippled in all its branches, and many most worthy persons will be turned out of employment. It remains to be seen what can be done in time to remedy this deplorable state of things. But it is likely that ten or fifteen days more will be frittered away on account of the all-absorbing interest in the political conventions which are to select candidates for the Presidential canvass during the present month. Many of the Republicans of both the Senate and House are now absent in Cincinnati, and in a few days more many of the Democrats will be absent on a similar errand in St. Louis. There is little likelihood of much besides being accomplished until the nominees on both tickets have been selected, and the struggle for the next Presidency is fairly launched. Congress has still much to do before it can with any propriety adjourn. Meanwhile the business of the country is in a fearful stagnation, while the financial question finds no solution.

MISSISSIPPI.

The Senate committee of five to investigate the last election in Mississippi departed for that State on Tuesday, June 6. They will make as thorough work as possible, but the date of their return is wholly in uncertainty. The discussion on this subject in the earlier part of the session disclosed an extent of violence and fraud in that distracted State

which is scarcely paralleled by any other in the Union. The Senate is doing what it can to find out and apply the proper remedy.

SENATOR BARNUM.

The latest accession to the Senate is the Hon. Mr. Barnum, a Democrat, from the State of Connecticut. The political changes in both branches of Congress have been very marked, and there is all the more reason why there should be no mistake now made by the Republican party throughout the country, that their majority in the legislative branch of the Government as well as the

incumbent of the Executive may be confirmed. The contest will be severe and close. May the Power that rules our destinies avert all these calamities, and prosper then as it enters on the second great century of its history!

THE NOMINATIONS.

On Friday, the 16th of June, the Republican Convention at Cincinnati nominated Governor Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and Mr. W. A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice President. So the ticket is fairly launched, and now it remains to see that this ticket is elected.

LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, CINCINNATI, JUNE 14.

ALABAMA.—At large, Hon. Jere Haralson, M.C., (colored,) S. F. Rice, Willard Warner, and W. H. Smith; 1st district, M. D. Wickersham and F. H. Threatt; 2d, R. H. Knox and H. V. Cashin; 3d, M. S. Patterson and R. T. Smith; 4th, J. V. McDuffie and G. S. W. Lewis; 5th, C. H. Miller and W. H. Nichols; 6th, J. A. Cowdery and William Miller; 7th, R. A. Mosely and J. W. Burke; 8th, J. R. Coffrey and Thomas Masterson.

ARKANSAS.—At large, Powell Clayton, S. W. Dorsey, John M. Peck. District—John McClure, M. W. Benjamin, Joseph Brooks, Henry M. Cooper, Asa Hodges, James Torrens, M. W. Gibbs, O. A. Hadley, O. P. Snyder, R. A. Dawson, J. F. Vaughn.

ARIZONA.—R. C. McCormick and De Forest Porter.

CALIFORNIA.—At large, A. G. Abell, Charles F. Ried, G. S. Evans, J. M. Pierce; 1st district, John Martin and I. Hecht; 2d, L. H. Foote and E. H. Dyer; 3d, N. D. Rideout and A. P. Whitney; 4th, Josiah Belden and M. E. Gonzales.

COLORADO.—At large, Jerome B. Chaffee, Henry M. Teller, George W. Morgan, and J. L. Brush; district, J. B. Belford, Henry McAllister.

CONNECTICUT.—At large, Joseph R. Hawley, Stephen W. Kellogg, Joseph Selden, John T. Rockwell; 1st district, Martin J. Sheldon and Dwight Marcy; 2d, John M. Douglas and Lynde Harrison; 3d, John A. Tibbits and John M. Hall; 4th, Samuel Fessenden and William B. Rudd.

DAKOTA.—A. Hughes and A. McHench.

DELAWARE.—At large, James Scott, Richard G. Smith, J. H. Hoffecker, and J. R. Lofland; district, E. R. Sharpe and D. W. Moore.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Sayles J. Bowen and A. M. Green.

FLORIDA.—At large, S. B. Conover, W. J. Purman, John G. Long, John R. Scott; 1st district, Manuel Govin and Peter W. Bryant; 2d, Harrison Reed and J. W. Menard.

GEORGIA.—At large, H. P. Farrow, James Atkins, Geo. Wallace, (colored,) H. M. Turner, (colored;) 1st district, J. T. Collins and J. H. Devaux, (colored;) 2d, E. C. Wade and F. F. Putney; 3d, S. W. Parker and J. W. Bell; 4th, R. L. Mott and S. Smith; 5th, George Chamberlain and J. O. Wimbish, (colored;) 6th, Jefferson Long (colored) and J. Devaux, (colored;) 7th, W. L. Goodwin and J. N. Vanmeter; 8th, C. H. Prince and Edwin Beicher, (colored;) 9th, I. S. Fannin and Madison Davis, (colored.)

IDAHO.—D. P. Thompson and Austin Sawyer.

ILLINOIS.—At large, Joseph Robbins, Robert J. Ingersoll, Green B. Raum, and George S. Bangs; 1st district, Sidney Smith and G. M. Bogue; 2d, John McArthur and S. K. Dow; 3d, Frank W. Palmer and Charles B. Farwell; 4th, William Coffin and E. E. Ayers; 5th, R. L. Burchell and Alexander Walker; 6th, A. R. Mock and J. W. Hopkins; 7th, J. Evarts and G. N. Chittenden; 8th, J. F. Culver and A. Buck; 9th, T. A. Boyd and Enoch Emery; 10th, D. Mack and D. McDill; 11th, J. M. Davis and George W. Ware; 12th, William Prescott and N. W. Branson; 13th, C. R. Cummings and R. B. Latham; 14th, D. D. Evans and L. J. Bond; 15th, Benson Wood and Thomas J. Golden; 16th, James S. Martin and George S. McCord; 17th, John I. Rinaker and H. S. Baker; 18th, William McAdams and Isaac Clements; 19th, C. D. Ham and W. A. Robinson.

INDIANA.—At large, R. W. Thompson, Will Cumback, James N. Tyner, Thomas M. Browne; 1st district, Wm. Heilman and R.

T. Kercheval; 2d, Lazarus Noble and N. R. Peckingpaugh; 3d, J. H. McCampbell and Simeon Stansifer; 4th, J. H. Tripp and Wm. J. Baird; 5th, R. M. Haworth and John Schwartz; 6th, Simon T. Powell and Asbury Steele; 7th, L. M. Campbell and J. C. S. Harrison; 8th, Amzi L. Munson and W. K. Edwards; 9th, M. H. Bunnell and Henry Taylor; 10th, E. Merrifield and E. Nicar; 11th, K. G. Shryock and J. R. Gray; 12th, George Arnold and A. W. De Long; 13th, B. L. Davenport and James S. Frazier.

IOWA.—At large, James F. Wilson, Hiram Price, John Y. Stone, and George D. Perkins; 1st district, Samuel M. Clark and Frank Hatton; 2d, William T. Shaw and E. S. Baily; 3d, William G. Donnan and A. F. Tipton; 4th, J. W. Mackenzie and H. Brush; 5th, Samuel F. Cooper and E. Smyth Johnson; 6th, Sherman G. Smith and R. L. Tilton; 7th, R. C. Webb and J. J. Steadman; 8th, John T. Baldwin and L. M. Brooks; 9th, Asa C. Call and John D. Hunter.

KANSAS.—At large, T. C. Sears, William Martindale, A. H. Hertou, and T. D. Thatcher; 1st district, Cyrus Leland and A. J. Banta; 2d, D. P. Lowe and F. M. Shaw; 3d, A. L. Reddon and O. A. Seldon.

KENTUCKY.—At large, John M. Harlan, W. C. Goodloe, W. H. Wadsworth, and Robert Boyd; 1st district, R. B. Ratliff and J. R. Puryear; 2d, E. H. Murray and E. R. Weir; 3d, E. L. Motley and E. G. Lebreer; 4th, W. H. Hays and T. C. Burns; 5th, James Speed and Madison Minnis, (colored;); 6th, J. J. Landrum and J. W. Finnell; 7th, T. O. Shackelford and Gabriel Burdett, (colored;); 8th, A. R. Burnam and Thomas Z. Morrow; 9th, C. B. Farris and H. C. Rainey; 10th, W. W. Culbertson and Reuben Gudgell.

LOUISIANA.—At large, W. P. Kellogg, S. B. Packard, P. B. S. Pinchback, and W. G. Brown; 1st district, C. J. Adolphe and W. F. Loan; 2d, H. Dumas and R. H. Chadbourne; 3d, Chester B. Darrall and Pierre Laundry; 4th, George L. Smith and J. Y. Kelso; 5th, David Young and G. B. Hamlet; 6th, C. E. Nash and J. H. Burch.

MAINE.—At large, Nelson Dingley, Jr., J. H. Drummond, J. L. Stevens, and Frank Cobb; 1st district, J. B. Brown and James M. Stone; 2d, William P. Frye and Enoch Foster, jr.; 3d, Russell B. Sheppard and Edwin Flye; 4th, C. A. Boutelle and J. B. Mayo; 5th, Eugene Hale and S. L. Milliken.

MARYLAND.—At large, Joseph B. Pugh, Edward Wilkins, C. C. Fulton, and John L. Thomas, jr.; 1st district, E. G. Waters and William Perkins; 2d, John T. Ensor and W. A. McKillip; 3d, Robert Turner and Peter Thompson; 4th, Samuel M. Shoemaker and Samuel Chase; 5th, W. G.

Tuck and James A. Gary; 6th, F. M. Darby and L. H. Steiner.

MASSACHUSETTS.—At large, E. Rockwood Hoar, Richard H. Dana, Jr., John M. Forbes, and Paul A. Chadbourne; 1st district, Robert T. Davis and William T. Davis; 2d, John E. Sandford and Edward L. Pierce; 3d, Henry D. Hyde and J. F. Osgood; 4th, Alpheus Hardy and Charles R. McLean; 5th, J. M. Shute and J. F. Dwinal; 6th, George B. Loring and Henry Carter; 7th, W. A. Russell and C. H. Waters; 8th, James Russell Lowell and James Freeman Clarke; 9th, Alexander H. Bullock and George F. Hoar; 10th, Rev. J. F. Moors and William Whiting; 11th, Edward Learned and S. R. Phillips.

MICHIGAN.—At large, Henry P. Baldwin, William A. Howard, Delos L. Tiler, and Jonathan J. Woodman; 1st district, William G. Thompson and Herman Keifer; 2d, Rice A. Beal and Charles Rynd; 3d, W. H. Withington and E. S. Lacy; 4th, N. A. Hamilton and George Hannahs; 5th, A. B. Watson and B. D. Pritchard; 6th, William L. Smith and W. S. George; 7th, J. C. Waterbury and S. J. Tomlinson; 8th, Theodore F. Shepard and H. H. Hoyt; 9th, W. H. C. Mitchell and E. Breitung.

MINNESOTA.—At large, Alexander Ramsey; 1st district, J. B. Wakefield, W. H. Yale, and W. G. Ward; 2d, John T. Ames, Albert Knight, and L. Boegen; 3d, R. B. Langdon, D. M. Sabin, and N. P. Clark.

MISSISSIPPI.—At large, J. L. Alcorn, B. K. Bruce, R. C. Powers, and Adelbert Ames; 1st district, J. M. Bynum and F. H. Little; 2d district, George M. Buchanan and J. T. Settle; 3d district, Jason Niles and T. J. White; 4th district, H. W. Warren and J. J. Spellman; 5th district, J. A. Hoskins and M. Shaughnessey; 6th district, C. W. Clarke and J. D. Cessor.

MISSOURI.—At large, Benj. F. Loan, R. T. Van Horn, G. A. Finkelnberg, and James T. Smith, (colored;); 1st district, Hugo Auler and George Bain; 2d, Chauncey I. Filley and M. A. Rosenblatt; 3d, William H. Cornell and John H. Pohlman; 4th, Gustavus St. Gem and John A. Weber; 5th, Amos P. Foster and W. I. Wallace; 6th, H. E. Havens and A. L. Cahn; 7th, Milo Blair and Mack J. Leaming; 8th, D. S. Twitchell and A. T. Holcomb; 9th, A. E. Wyatt and Charles G. Comstock; 10th, M. A. Lowe and J. P. Jones; 11th, A. F. Denny and M. L. De Mott; 12th, J. Sands and S. W. Birch; 13th, Theodore Breuere and T. J. C. Fagg.

MONTANA.—W. F. Sanders and E. D. Leavitt.

NEBRASKA.—By judicial districts: 1st, R. G. Broun; 2d, N. R. Pinney; 3d, L. W. Osborn; 4th, Albinus Nance; 5th, H. S. Kaley; 6th, Charles F. Bayha.

NEVADA.—William Sharon, John P. Jones, C. N. Harris, Frank Bell, R. S. Clapp, Thomas Wren.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—At large, Ira Colby, Nathaniel White, C. H. Burns, and Daniel Hall; 1st district, Alonzo Nute and George W. Marston; 2d, E. A. Straw and Jesse Gault; 3d, Benjamin F. Whidden and Thomas C. Rand.

NEW JERSEY.—At large, William J. Sewell, George A. Halsey, Frederick A. Potts, and G. A. Hobart; 1st district, Richard S. Leaming and W. E. Potter; 2d, Frederick W. Robeling and J. N. Stratton; 3d, W. A. Newell and W. J. Magee; 4th, John I. Blair and Isaiah W. Diltz; 5th, J. Wyman Jones and H. C. Pitney; 6th, John L. Blake and S. V. C. Van Rensselaer; 7th, L. H. Kendrick and M. T. Newbold.

NEW MEXICO.—Samuel B. Axtell and William Breeden.

NEW YORK.—At large, Alonzo B. Cornell, Andrew D. White, Theodore M. Pomeroy, and James M. Matthews; 1st district, L. Bradford Prince and George William Curtis; 2d, Abiel A. Lowe and Silas B. Dutcher; 3d, Stewart L. Woodford and Benjamin D. Silliman; 4th, Jacob Worth and David Williams; 5th, William Orton and Abraham Lent; 6th, Benjamin K. Phelps and A. J. Dittenhoefer; 7th, DeWitt C. Wheeler and Thomas Murphy; 8th, George F. Merkle and John D. Lawson; 9th, Marshall O. Roberts and Joel W. Mason; 10th, Clarence A. Seward and Rufus B. Cowing; 11th, Edwin D. Morgan and George Opdyke; 12th, William H. Robertson and James W. Husted; 13th, John H. Ketchum and Jacob W. Hoysradt; 14th, Edward M. Madden and John W. Ferdon; 15th, William S. Kenyon and Joshua Fiero, Jr.; 16th, Charles E. Smith and Joshua F. Smyth; 17th, Isaac V. Baker, Jr., and Gilbert Robertson; 18th, George Cahoon and Franklin W. Tobey; 19th, Wells S. Dickinson and Henry R. James; 20th, James M. Marvin and Stephen Sanford; 21st, Hugh G. Crosier and S. S. Edick; 22d, Amos V. Smiley and James C. Feter; 23d, C. M. Dennison and A. B. Johnson; 24th, John C. Churchill and B. R. Wendell; 25th, George N. Crouse and Frank Hiscock; 26th, John H. Camp and William B. Woodin; 27th, Hathorn Burt and John S. Shepard; 28th, Thomas C. Platt and Giles W. Hotchkiss; 29th, William M. Smith and Harlow Hakes; 30th, Charles E. Fitch and Henry A. Glidden; 31st, W. J. Humphrey and William Poole; 32d, Philip Becker and Sherman S. Rogers; 33d, Walter L. Sessions and Alonzo Hawley.

NORTH CAROLINA.—At large, Thomas Powers, James H. Harris, W. H. Wheeler, and Virgil S. Lusk; 1st district, P. John and J. J. Martin; 2d, E. R. Page and W. P.

Mabson; 3d, James Heaton and D. R. Russell; 4th, William A. Smith and R. C. Badger; 5th, Thomas M. Owen and Robert M. Douglas; 6th, J. R. Nocho and R. M. Norment; 7th, J. J. Mott and Thomas N. Cooper; 8th, Pinkney Rollins and John G. Heap.

OHIO.—At large, Benjamin F. Wade, Edward F. Noyes, Wm. H. Upson, J. Warren Keifer; 1st district, Benjamin Eggleston and Christian Moerlin; 2d, Henry Kessler and L. C. Weir; 3d, H. L. Morey and Frank Browning; 4th, W. D. Bickham and B. Collins; 5th, James L. Price and James Irvine; 6th, N. M. Howard and Earl W. Merry; 7th, Samuel H. Hurst and John A. Smith; 8th, H. W. Smith and A. R. Byrnett; 9th, T. C. Jones and Hylas Sabin; 10th, R. P. Buckland and J. B. Rothchild; 11th, H. C. Jones and S. H. Bright; 12th, L. J. Critchfield and John Groce; 13th, E. L. Lybarger and J. L. McIlvaine; 14th, D. W. Wilson and H. C. Carhart; 15th, V. B. Horton and Jewett Palmer; 16th, J. T. Updegraff and John Lemmox; 17th, C. Aultman and J. A. Ambler; 18th, A. S. McClure and G. T. Perkins; 19th, H. B. Perkins and George H. Ford; 20th, Edwin C. Cowles and Hiram Garretson.

OREGON.—J. C. Tolman, B. C. Van Houghton, J. H. Foster, J. B. David, H. K. Hines, H. W. Scott.

PENNSYLVANIA.—At large, J. D. Cameron, W. R. Leeds, H. M. Hoyt, R. W. Mackey; 1st district, H. H. Bingham and Wm. J. Pollock; 2d, John L. Hill and Morton McMichael; 3d, G. W. Fairman and M. H. Stanton; 4th, Wm. B. Mann and W. H. Kemble; 5th, J. M. Byram and Joseph Johnston; 6th, H. T. Darlington and Alan Wood, Jr.; 7th, G. E. Darlington and J. Smith Futhey; 8th, W. S. McManus and E. E. Greissmer; 9th, B. F. Esheleman and Henry S. Eberle; 10th, H. J. Reeder and E. B. Young; 11th, Charles Albright and D. A. Beckley; 12th, E. N. Willard and H. W. Palmer; 13th, L. Bartholomew and Daniel P. Miller; 14th, Samuel F. Barr and I. W. Grove; 15th, J. E. Carwalt and W. T. Davis; 16th, John R. Bowen and L. Rogers; 17th, John Cessna and Edward Scull; 18th, John Stuart and John Wister; 19th, Charles H. Mullen and Edward McPherson; 20th, H. T. Harvey and T. H. Murray; 21st, D. S. Atkinson and Andrew Stewart; 22d, C. L. Magee and J. H. Hampton; 23d, H. W. Oliver, jr., and J. A. Chambers; 24th, M. S. Quay and W. S. Moore; 25th, R. Ruloffson and Simon Truby; 26th, L. G. Linn and Henry C. Bloss; 27th, Thomas M. Walker and J. H. Osmer.

RHODE ISLAND.—Counties: Newport, Charles C. Van Zandt; Providence, Charles Nourse, Nelson W. Aldrich, G. P. Pomeroy,

and Edward L. Freeman; Kent, Henry Howard; Bristol, Isaac F. Williams; Washington, James M. Pendleton.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—At large, Robert B. Elliott, (colored,) Daniel H. Chamberlain, Richard H. Gleaves, (colored,) and John J. Patterson; 1st district, S. A. Swails, (colored,) and Joseph H. Rainey, (colored;) 2d, H. G. Worthington and W. J. McKinlay, (colored;) 3d, H. C. Corwin and W. B. Nash, (colored;) 4th, A. S. Wallace and John Winsmith; 5th, Robert Smalls, (colored,) and Laurence Cain, (colored.)

TENNESSEE.—At large, J. M. Thornburg, J. C. Napier, David A. Nunn, and J. T. Wilder; 1st district, R. R. Butler and T. H. Reeves; 2d, E. C. Camp and William Rule; 3d, A. G. Sharp and T. L. Cate; 4th, James Peacock and W. L. Waters; 5th, J. A. Warn and W. Y. Elliott; 6th, H. H. Harrison and J. H. Burris; 7th, M. T. Weir and G. W. Blackburn; 8th, S. W. Hawkins and E. G. Ridgeley; 9th, A. A. Freeman and J. W. Boyd; 10th, Edward Shaw and William M. Randolph.

TEXAS.—At large, E. J. Davis, S. H. Russell, A. Zadek, and A. B. Norton; 1st district, L. W. Cooper and S. T. Newton; 2d, A. G. Mallery and F. W. Miner; 3d, I. L. L. McCall and L. W. Williams; 4th, Richard Allen and A. J. Evans; 5th, N. W. Cuney and Julius Schultze; 6th, J. P. Newcomb and W. Billings.

UTAH.—James B. Kean and George A. Black.

VERMONT.—At large, Luke P. Poland, Wheelock G. Veazey, George Howe, and George H. Bigelow; 1st district, Mason S. Colburn and F. E. Woodbridge; 2d, Warren C. French and Roswell Farnham; 3d, S. P. Carpenter and J. L. Mason.

VIRGINIA.—At large, Richard H. Carter, Wm. H. H. Stowell, W. S. Stevens, (colored,) John F. Lewis; 1st district, J. B. Sener and B. J. Carter; 2d, J. F. Dezendorf and J. M. Dawson; 3d, O. H. Russell and P. W. Poin-dexter; 4th, W. L. Fernald and Ross Ham-ilton; 5th, D. S. Lewis and J. B. De Haven; 6th, J. H. Rives and George V. Case; 7th, J. W. Porter and Joseph Harrison; 8th, Wm. Miller and O. Blanchard; 9th, Jacob Wagoner and W. S. Okey.

WASHINGTON.—T. T. Mynor and Orange Jacobs.

WEST VIRGINIA.—At large, Thomas H. Logan, Waitman T. Willey, James W. Davis, and R. W. Simmons; 1st district, William E. Stevenson and Nathan Goff, jr.; 2d, E. W. S. Moore and John E. Schley; 3d, Z. D. Ramsdell and Eugene Dana.

WISCONSIN.—At large, Philetus Sawyer, David Atwood, Mark Douglass, James H. Howe; 1st district, Elihu Enos and James Bintliff; 2d, E. W. Keyes and J. T. Lewis;

3d, E. Bowen and W. H. Brisbane; 4th, Edward Sanderson and I. M. Bean; 5th, C. E. Lewis and J. H. Mead; 6th, R. L. D. Potter and George Grimmer; 7th, E. O. Rudd and John Comstock; 8th, M. H. McCord and George C. Ginty.

WYOMING.—J. M. Carey and William Hunton.

SPEAKER KERR'S VINDICATION.—Speaker Kerr has been vindicated by the unanimous vote of the House of Representatives. Every Republican voted in his favor on the general principle that a good record should outweigh even positive testimony from a doubtful source. The willingness of the Republicans to do justice to Speaker Kerr, should cause Democrats to blush for shame over their actions under similar circumstances. The witness Harney who testified that he paid Mr. Kerr money for a cadetship has a far better reputation than the average witnesses called upon to testify against Republican officials. Weight has been given to men of no character by Democratic committees. Private reputation and long years of honorable service have passed for nothing in the partisan investigations set on foot by the Democrats of the House of Representatives. Bent upon securing political capital for the fall campaign, the usual sense of honor commonly recognized among fair-minded men has been totally ignored, and every perjurer who could be induced to appear as a witness has been regarded an oracle of truth. If the prompt vindication of Speaker Kerr by the Republicans of the House has the tendency to awaken a like sense of justice among the Democrats we may reasonably hope the period of official defamation is nearly at a close, and that a healthy public opinion will cause the shafts of malice and slander to fall harmless at the feet of men who have earned a right to public confidence by long and honorable service to the country.

OUR IMPORTS.—Our imports for the month of May fell \$10,000,000 short of the imports for the same month last year, or a decline of at least thirty-three per cent. Our exports have about held their own. Business depression has led to the practice of economy, and this, if adhered to, must bring about prosperity.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...In some respect the experiences of the past month may be truthfully regarded by the Democracy in the light which Tennyson places Waterloo when he sings of it as a "Day of onsets of despairs."

It has been a series of Waterloos. The Blaine business especially has been exceedingly damaging. For the purposes of this review the personal attitude and position of Mr. Blaine must be put aside. Admiration for his remarkable ability, vigor, audacity, knowledge of human nature, etc., cannot and must not be withheld. He has indeed "plucked the flower safety from the nettle danger" with consummate skill and force. This at least is true for his party, if not as wholly so for himself. In his remarkable defense Mr. Blaine proved himself able to bear whatever burdens of doubt his own letters might evoke, while, as if by lightning strokes, he showed the utter hollowness of Democratic pretensions. The manner in which Mr. Blaine handled his defense—if indeed it be not invidious to consider him in need of defense—shriveled his opponents into nothingness or worse, because it showed clearly that they were animated only by the wicked and unjust purpose of "making points." Mr. Knott, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, is placed in a very awkward position by his action in relation to the Caulfield cablegram. It looks very much as if he deliberately sought to suppress something favorable to an opponent, wrongfully accused.

...Putting aside, however, the theory of intentional suppression on the part of Mr. Procter Knott, what does his action show? This fact—that the Democrats are, as a rule, intensely provincial and bigoted in their action. The Republicans in the House can show at least two score of men who would have known that the Cable Telegraph Company never send the address of any patron other than city or country. A country lawyer—a provincial Congressman—and Procter Knott is both—to whom the receipt of a cable dispatch is an event, could not be expected to know the rules of a cosmo-

politan office like that of the Cable Company, and was therefore just in the mood to suspect as bogus a dispatch marked "London," and nothing else. "Men of affairs," like Blaine, if they had been in any doubt would have gone or sent at once to the telegraph office and inquired. If necessary such a man would have sent to London and found out the "why and wherefore" of such an address. But "mousing" is a Democratic specialty just now, and men who otherwise regard themselves as gentlemen of honor do not appear to be in the slightest degree ashamed of acting as private detectives, while they eagerly rake the gutters over for tidbits of libel—provided only the same is likely to assoil a political opponent. It is the policy of negations, criticism, destruction. Small men, provincial patriots, are always meanly jealous of large reputations and the broad habits of continental life and character.

...Another illustration of the same spirit is seen in the inquiry into the Navy Department and Secretary Robeson's administration. The ex-Confederate managers of the cesspool committees do not appear to see how much their character as Americans is injured by the way in which they conduct their so-called investigations. But, then, they do not have a large degree of interest in the American name anyhow. The secret slander mill against Mr. Robeson seems to be coming to grief somewhat after the fashion by which that against Mr. Blaine has been put out of gear. The tenor of all these attacks is the same; the characteristics of each investigation are similar. In each one of them the Democrats proceed on the assumption, to all appearances, that every Republican public man must be assailed; that every one must be dishonored; that any story or hearsay, however loose, is testimony; and that any witness, however disreputable, who testifies to suit the majority, is to be relied upon.

...In refreshing contrast to all this is the manner in which Republicans have everywhere, and especially here at the capital, treated the accusations against Mr. Speaker

Kerr. No one who knows the facts will for a moment gainsay that when the report was first circulated that there was a general feeling of regret and incredulity—the latter being based on the Speaker's reputation and the former because of the scandal which such things bring on the good name of the Republic. There has been no gloating expression of pleasure at the besmirching of a political opponent, such as is constantly seen among Democrats when some new libel is uttered against a prominent Republican. The effect of all these things is very noticeable. The large number of good citizens who were some months since disposed to believe that there was an unwarrantable degree of corruption and loose dealing in Government and party circles here—induced to such belief by the reiterative abuse which has been so freely outpoured for four years past or more—are now satisfied that the Democracy are anxious only to secure materials for a campaign of slander and assuiling. The real issues they seek will not bear debate, and they know it. Hence they try to divert it into personal abuse. The American people are too intelligent to have this played upon them. And in their misapprehension of the average intelligence the Democrats again illustrate the narrow and provincial spirit by which they are controlled. The people will rebuke in a serious manner the spirit which wantonly slanders the men who saved the Union in order to give place and power to the men who sought its destruction.

...The triumph of Republicanism is not a question of mere party; it contains a deeper significance. It is an election between the broad, and humane issues on which it is founded and the narrow prejudices, the worn-out political dogmas of which the Democratic policy is the exponent. It is virtually an expression of a deliberate choice on the part of the American people between political life and political suicide. Its failure would be the political emasculation of a whole people.

If we have learned anything from the past it certainly should be to distrust those special doctrines which were intended but as temporary bridges, so to speak, to carry a perilous experiment over to safe ground.

One of those bridges Republicanism has already swept away into merited oblivion. To others the worst foes of the Republic—the advocates of an utter extinction of *nationality*, by the Procrustean doctrines of statesmen like Ben Hill of Georgia, Lamar of Mississippi, and Hunton of Virginia—still clinging with desperation as to the one true faith. These are the "Othellos" who would smother the "Desdemonas" of the Republic with the murderous pillow of State Rights. They cannot learn the lesson, simple as it is, that the whole is necessarily greater than any one of its parts, and they are willing to go on extending the influence and increasing the importance of segments with an irrational disregard of the unity of the whole. It does not occur to them that they are thus augmenting to a dangerous degree the power of each to harden the other. Take the petty States of any country so divided as an instance. Perpetually warring one upon the other, even the ostensible head is to some extent powerless to aid or control. There is no more positive certainty outside of the law of mathematics than that ungoverned, unregulated power invariably recoils on its own head. The turbulent South, with its mixed interests, is peculiarly liable to suffer in this way, and it is not difficult to foresee the Kilkenney-cat ending of the much-desired "united South" of the sanguine Democrat.

If we *must* go back a hundred years in this our Centennary, let it be with our eyes open to the perils we are incurring and the exceeding bitterness of the penance by which we must atone for our folly.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS—REPUBLICAN.

...The Republican Convention called by the Spencer committee met at Montgomery, Ala., May 24. A Committee on Credentials was appointed after which the Convention adjourned. On the second day nominations were made of James Clarke, for Governor; T. T. Allington, Secretary of State; B. M. Long, Treasurer; G. P. Plowman, Auditor; R. I. Heflin, Attorney General, and P. J. Glover, Superintendent of Education. G. E. Spencer, Chas. Hayes, Alex. Curtis, and Alex. White were elected delegates at large. The sixteen district delegates were locally divided between white and colored citizens.

Resolutions favoring resumption, recognizing civil and political equality, free public and non-sectarian schools, protection and encouragement of labor were adopted; also, a resolution of hearty indorsement of President Grant. A resolution commending the Hon. O. P. Morton to the National Convention was made the subject of some amendments, but was finally adopted.

...May 24. The Kansas Republicans met at Topeka. Colonel W. H. Whitman was chosen as temporary chairman, and after recess P. B. Plumb was elected as permanent President. Although the delegation will go uninstructed the Blaine men were evidently in the majority. The delegates at large are T. C. Sears, A. M. Martindale, A. H. Horton, and T. A. Thatcher.

...The Republican State Convention of Nebraska assembled at Fremont May 23. Nothing was done and an adjournment was had to the following day, when little more than the election of chairman and delegates was accomplished. The former was General C. H. Stanwick, and the latter, R. G. Brown, N. R. Pinney, L. W. Osborn, H. S. Koley, C. F. Bayhoof, and A. Nance. The delegates were instructed in favor of Blaine. The two delegations from Douglas county were excluded, there being a contest between them and the committee then acting.

The Kentucky Republicans in convention at Louisville, May 18, indorsed Bristow as having been "true to Republican principles in war and peace, ever manly, calm, and courageous, and ever faithful in the discharge of his duty." A parallel between Lincoln and Bristow was also drawn. The following is their declaration of principles, which calls for—

First. For the fulfillment of all promises by the nation to soldiers and sailors who fought for the Union.

Second. Thorough retrenchment and the most rigid economy in all departments of the public service.

Third. Such reform in civil service as will prevent prostitution of public station to selfish ends, and make honesty and capacity indispensable qualifications for all offices.

Fourth. Favors men in office who are honest and have courage to fight corruption.

Fifth. Repudiation in all its forms is a national crime.

Sixth. The payment of the public indebted-

ness according to letter and spirit of contract.

Seventh. Speedy return to the money of the Constitution—gold and silver.

Eighth. Opposition to any postponement of return to specie payment beyond the time now fixed.

Ninth. Reduction of taxation as rapidly as the public faith permits.

Tenth. Opposition to all schemes which tend to place our public schools under other than popular control.

Eleventh. Equal rights before the law of all citizens.

Hon. James Speed, Attorney General under Lincoln's administration, was made President.

...The meeting of the Republican Convention of Missouri took place at Jefferson City May 24. Resolutions indorsing President Grant, and thanking him for his refusal to pardon convicted criminals, were read; others, in favor of Morton, Blaine, and Bristow, were referred. A resolution, declaring the feeling of the convention to be "for unity and harmony," of thankfulness for reforms, for sound currency of coin or convertible paper, and for a non-sectarian school system, was then adopted. The convention further presented resolutions arraigning the Democratic party for treasonable actions in the present House of Representatives. The delegates chosen were Benj. F. Loan, R. T. Van Horn, G. A. Finkelnberg, and James T. Smith, the latter a colored man.

...The Illinois Republicans met at Springfield, May 24. The Hon. Shelby McCullom was chosen for Governor; Hon. Andrew Sherman, of the *Chicago Evening Journal*, for Lieutenant Governor; Geo. H. Harlow, Secretary of State; Thomas B. Needles, State Auditor; E. S. Rutz, State Treasurer, and J. K. Edsall, the present incumbent, as Attorney General. The platform adopted denounced the policy of leniency toward ex-Confederates, and accused the party they represent of having caused the violent death of five thousand Unionists, white and colored, at the South, and calls on the Government to protect Union men. Laws to authorize the funding of national bonds into longer time bonds, bearing lower interest, were urged. The present currency was indorsed and a

return to the State-bank system deprecated. Confidence was expressed in the President and the closest union among Republicans urged.

...In the Minnesota State Convention, assembled at St. Paul, May 24, the delegates were left uninstructed. Ex-Governor Ramsey, Lieutenant Governor Wakefield, W. H. Gale, and W. G. Ward were elected delegates at large. John T. Arms, Albert Knight, L. Bogen, R. B. Langdon, D. M. Sabin, and N. P. Clarke, as district delegates. The Presidential electors are ex-Governors Davis and Miller, General Edgerton, C. K. Tinseeh, and L. Bogen. Hard money and free school resolutions were unanimously adopted, followed by an emphatic condemnation of official dishonesty and an almost unanimous resolution indorsing Mr. Blaine.

...The Republican Convention of New Hampshire met at Concord May 24.

...May 31. The Louisiana Republicans convened at New Orleans, Judge Taylor Beattie in the chair. Resolutions were adopted favoring a return to specie payment, also asking for appropriations for internal improvements and aid for the Southern Pacific railroad and the improvement of the Mississippi. Governor W. P. Kellogg, S. B. Packard, P. B. S. Pinchback, and W. G. Brown were elected delegates. They go uninstructed.

...The Republican Convention of Iowa assembled at Des Moines May 31. Seven hundred and thirty-five delegates were present, constituting the largest convention ever held in the State. Hon. J. T. Wilson occupied the chair. The platform adopted called for unity and rigid economy in State and National affairs; favored a convertible currency; a continuation of the free school system; demanded the subjection of railways and other corporations to the Government, and invited immigration into the State. The State officers nominated were, Judge Sherman, State Auditor; Register Land Office, Captain Secor; Supreme Judge, Mr. Sevans; Secretary of State, Mr. Young; and J. T. McJunkin, Attorney General. The delegates at large were J. F. Winslow, Hiram Price, John G. Stone, and Geo. D. Perkins.

...The colored voters of New York held a

committee meeting at Utica May 23, and pledged themselves to the support of Conkling.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS.

...June 1 the Democratic Convention of Missouri assembled at Jefferson City. The following platform was adopted:

1st. Fidelity to all the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

2d. Perpetual union of States, with local self-government in every section.

3d. Civil service reforms, and restitution of tests of honesty, fidelity, and capacity as qualifications for public office.

4th. Retrenchment and economy in Federal, State, and municipal administration. Lessening the burdens of labor by a reduction of offices and taxation.

5th. Exposure and speedy punishment by penal laws of corruption and speculation in the administration of public affairs.

6th. Private use and appropriation of public funds by State custodians means embezzlement and robbery. Official accountability exacted and enforced by better administration of civil and criminal laws.

7th. Free schools exempt from all sectarian control. A free press accountable for abuses to civil and criminal laws.

8th. The preservation of public faith and credit, and honest payment of the public debt.

9th. That we are in favor of the resumption act of January, 1875, but, inasmuch as the National Convention of the Democratic party is to be held within the next thirty days, we deem it inexpedient to adopt any resolutions respecting the currency or finances of the country, but refer the same to such convention, hereby pledging ourselves to support its platform, to give the electoral ticket of Missouri for the nominee.

The delegates chosen were Henry J. Spannhorst, Stilson Hutchins, Governor Charles H. Hardin, and ex-Governor Silas Woodson.

...The Alabama Democrats held convention May 31 and June 1, at Montgomery, W. H. Chandler presiding. Governor W. S. Houston was renominated for Governor; also, R. K. Boyd for Secretary of State, Daniel Crawford for Treasurer, Malo Brewer for Auditor, J. W. Sanford for Attorney General, and L. F. Box, Superintendent of Education, were put in nomination. J. L. Pugh and Jno. T. Morgan as electors at large, and E. S. Shorter, F. P. Walker, J. T. Morgan, and C. C. Laydon, delegates, were elected.

...The Virginia Democratic Convention met at Richmond May 31, Governor John L.

Marye in the chair. Delegates at large elected were General James A. Walker, Hon. Robert A. Cabill, Colonel D. G. Godwyn, and General Fitzhugh Lee: district delegates, C. E. St. Clair, B. F. Gunter, Wm. Lamb, J. B. Prince, Jno. A. Meredith, T. S. Flournoy, W. H. Sutherland, T. S. Boccock, Wm. P. Johnston, S. V. Southall, M. G. Harman, H. E. Peyton, M. S. Neal, Wm. Watts, and Wm. Astor: district electors, B. F. Bland, Thos. Tabb, A. M. Keely, E. K. Harris, E. Penn, Wm. M. Cabell, W. H. Riddlesbarger, B. J. Barbour, and D. S. Pierce: electors at large, Jno. H. Daniel and F. W. Holliday.

...The Tennessee Democrats convened at Nashville on May 31, John M. Crozier as presiding officer. Resolutions were adopted demanding unconditional repeal of resumption act and substitution of Treasury notes for national bank currency. Delegates at large chosen were J. A. Gardner, J. M. Fleming, ex-Governor John C. Brown, and Jno. C. Burch. They were instructed to act as a unit.

...California Democrats met in convention at San Francisco May 24.

...Maryland State Convention assembled in Baltimore May 31, Colonel John F. Dent president. Resolutions favoring specie currency were adopted. Hon. Robt. McLane, R. B. Carmichael, Hon. E. K. Wilson, and Outeridge Horsey were chosen delegates. They went unpledged, but the general sentiment was in favor of Bayard, of Delaware.

...The Democrats of Michigan met in convention at Detroit May 24 and 25, William L. Webber president, and Peter White, Terrill I. Mills, and Henry Schulberton were elected delegates at large. Resolutions repudiating undue exercise of power by Government officials, spoils of office, use of money to influence elections were adopted, and hard money indorsed as the only currency recognized by the Democratic party.

...Kansas Democracy assembled at Topeka May 16; instructed their delegates to vote for Hendricks.

...The Democratic State Convention of West Virginia met at Wheeling June 9, and nominated the following State ticket: Henry Matthews, Governor; Colonel White, Attorney General; Joseph S. Miller, Auditor; Thos. J. West, Treasurer; W. K. Pendleton,

Superintendent of Education; and A. T. Haymond, L. C. Green, and O'Key Johnson, Judges of Supreme Court. Messrs. Camden, Wood, Davis, and Berkley were chosen delegates at large.

...The Vermont Democrats convened at Montpelier June 1, elected Marcus D. Gilman, R. B. Smalley, Jasper Rand, P. S. Benjamin, James S. Williams, J. W. Bliss, C. M. Chase, Thos. B. Kennedy, John Cain, and Geo. M. Fisk as delegates. They were instructed to act as a unit, and a strong indorsement of Governor Tilden was adopted. Resolutions calling for a reduction of Government officials, payment of the public debt, the maintenance of a free non-sectarian school system, and a currency of coin were passed. The convention was the largest assembled in the State since 1863.

...The Democratic State Convention of Minnesota assembled at St. Paul June 1. The session was an excited one. Resolutions indorsing Tilden and a return to hard money were adopted. The delegates elected were E. M. Wilson, Daniel Brick, J. H. McKinney, C. F. Brick, Michael Dorrin, J. T. Norrish, G. E. Skinner, Wm. Lee, J. N. Castle, and T. G. Mealy.

...May 23 the Democrats of New Jersey held convention at Trenton. They declared in favor of a specie currency, and presented the name of Joel Parker as their choice for President. Messrs. John P. Stockton, Leon Abbott, Miles Ross, and John McGregor were the delegates at large.

...The Democratic State (Greenback) Convention, meeting in New York city June 1, elected Richard Schell, Rutger B. Miller, Theodore Tomlinson, and Jeremiah Maguire delegates at large. Their resolutions claimed admission to the convention of the 27th as the only authorized representatives of the party and the only organization not controlled by pecuniary considerations. The delegates were urged to effect the repeal of the resumption act, and the substitution of legal tenders for national bank notes, and were further instructed to act as a unit.

INDEPENDENTS.

Hon. Peter Cooper has signified his acceptance of the Presidential nomination made at the Indianapolis Independent Convention May 18.

NOMINATIONS—RENOMINATIONS.

The Republican Convention of the Seventh Congressional district of Iowa has nominated Colonel J. B. Cummings for Congress.

In the General Assembly, held at Newport May 31, the Hon. Henry B. Anthony was

nominated to the Senate from Rhode Island. As a testimonial of esteem and confidence, the nomination was made unanimous.

Hon. Wm. P. Frye, of Maine, has been renominated by the Republicans of his State.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

The following proclamation was issued on Wednesday, May 25, 1876, by the President:

WHEREAS, A joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives was duly approved on the 13th day of March last, which resolution is as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it be, and is hereby recommended by the Senate and House of Representatives to the people of the several States that they assemble in their several counties or towns on the approaching centennial anniversary of our National Independence, and that they cause to have delivered on such day an historical sketch of said county or town, from its formation, and that a copy of said sketch may be filed, in print or manuscript, in the clerk's office in said county, and an additional copy, in print or manuscript, be filed in the office of the Librarian of Congress, to the intent that a complete record may thus be obtained of the progress of our institutions during the first centennial of their existence; and

WHEREAS, It is deemed proper that such accommodation be brought to the notice and knowledge of the people of the United States,

Now, therefore, I, Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States, do hereby declare and make known the same in the hope that the object of such resolution may meet with the approval of the people of the United States, and that proper steps may be taken to carry the same into effect.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, on the 25th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1876, and of the independence of the United States the one hundredth.

U. S. GRANT.

By the President,

HAMILTON FISH, *Secretary of State.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

THE MONTHLY PUBLIC DEBT STATEMENT.

The following is a recapitulation of the condition of the public debt statement for the month ending May 31, 1876:

Six per cent. bonds.....	\$984,999,650
Five per cent. bonds.....	710,041,800
Total coin bonds.....	1,695,041,450
Lawful money debt.....	14,000,000
Matured debt.....	5,135,030
Legal tenders.....	370,191,705
Certificates of deposit.....	34,385,000
Fractional currency.....	37,359,474
Coin certificates.....	25,714,800

Total debt without interest.....	467,650,979
Total debt.....	2,181,827,460
Total interest.....	31,788,757
Cash in Treasury—	
Coin.....	66,624,766
Currency.....	9,285,708
Special deposits held for redemption of certificates of deposit...	34,385,000

Total in Treasury.....	110,295,474
Debt less cash in Treasury.....	2,103,320,542
Decrease of debt during May.....	4,617,515
Decrease since June 30, 1875.....	25,367,983

BONDS ISSUED TO PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, INTEREST PAYABLE IN LAWFUL MONEY.

Principal outstanding.....	\$64,623,512
Interest accrued and not yet paid.....	1,615,587
Interest paid by United States....	30,141,513
Interest repaid by transportation of mails, &c.....	685,349
Balance of interest paid by United States.....	23,290,163

PRICES FIXED BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN FOREIGN MANUFACTURERS TO BE CONSIDERED IN ESTIMATING VALUES OF IMPORTED MERCHANDISE.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 22, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others:

This Department is informed that, by convention or agreement between foreign manufacturers, prices of certain merchandise are fixed for sales to all foreign purchasers, except purchasers in the United States, and that invoices of such merchandise imported into the United States are valued at prices less than those so fixed.

In estimating the foreign market value of imported merchandise, appraisers will therefore take into consideration such agreements or conventions, as well as other evidence ordinarily considered by them, being careful to allow only such discounts, exhibited on the invoice, as are according to the usual and established usage of the trade, and to observe Article 446 of the General Regulations, which prescribes that discounts shall not be allowed when the invoice value will

be reduced thereby below the foreign market value at the date of exportation.

B. H. BRISTOW,
Secretary.

CONCERNING PAYMENT OF SEMI-ANNUAL DUTY,
AND MAKING CORRECT RETURNS.

TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, May 23, 1876.

Hereafter DRAFTS will not be received at this Office in payment of semi-annual duty. The amount must be deposited with the Treasurer U. S., an Assistant Treasurer, or a designated depositary, including any national bank designated as a Government depositary, and a certificate in triplicate obtained therefor, the "original" of which is to be sent to the Secretary of the Treasury, the "duplicate" to the Treasurer U. S., and the "triplicate" to be retained by the bank making the deposit.

In order to avoid unnecessary labor and annoyance in sending back semi-annual returns for correction, banks are urgently requested to examine and supervise their returns, to insure correctness, before sending them to this Office. It is also requested that there be more promptness in making the returns and payments within the time specified by law.

JNO. C. NEW,
Treasurer U. S.

CIRCULAR TO MARSHALS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
FIRST COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7, 1876.

The attention of United States marshals is hereby directed to the following opinion of the Honorable S. F. Phillips, Acting Attorney General:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, May 29, 1876.

To the Secretary of the Treasury:

SIR: Yours of the 24th instant, addressed to the Attorney General, contains the following question of law:

Whether a marshal of the United States is entitled to full mileage on each writ served by him when several, issued in behalf of the Government, to be served on different persons, are or might be served at the same time, only one travel being necessary to make the service on all of said persons.

I have read the letter of the Comptroller inclosed by you, and considered the cases therein stated, in one of which a marshal "charges as for five separate trips of 125 miles each, to serve five subpoenas on witnesses for the United States in five cases of indictments, all the writs having been issued February 2, 1876, and all served from the 9th to 11th February, in Edmonson county, at or near the same place;" and in

another of which another marshal "charges travel on each of ten warrants issued by a Commissioner at Clarkesville, on the 16th October, 1875, all served the next day by one deputy, nine of the writs being served 25 miles from Clarkesville, and the tenth 30 miles from that place. It appears that for one travel ten mileages are claimed."

Allowances for mileage to marshals, attorneys, and clerks are now regulated by the act of 22d February, 1875, (18 Stats., 334,) quoted by the Comptroller. This act provides that "no such officer or person shall become entitled to any allowance for mileage or travel not actually and necessarily performed under the provisions of existing law."

Under this act, in my opinion, there can be but one charge for mileage upon several writs, (subpoenas, &c.,) in hand at the same time, requiring a marshal to travel to the same place or in the same direction.

If a marshal have in hand several writs, (subpoenas, &c.,) against the same person or different persons living at A, he will charge mileage but once. If he have several writs, &c., against different persons living at either A, B, or C, which are (say) in the same direction, he will charge one mileage only to A, one mileage from A to B, and one mileage from B to C.

No matter how many precepts a marshal may have in his hands requiring him to go to the same place or in the same direction, he makes but one *actual and necessary travel* in serving them; for instance, in the second case above the marshal made one *actual* and nine *constructive* travels. The act of 1875 puts an end to the notion that the latter are performances for which the marshal is to be compensated.

With great respect, your obedient servant,
S. F. PHILLIPS,
Acting Attorney General.

The construction thus given to the law regulating mileage on judicial process is made the rule for adjusting accounts for travel. And marshals will conform to it in making up their accounts.

Travel should be made by the most direct routes, or such as are usually taken by business men going on their own affairs at their own expense. In vouchers containing charges of mileage the following particulars are required: The date of each writ; the name of officer issuing same; the date of service; the place of service. When the place of service is not a city, the name of the nearest post office, as well as the county, should be given; and if not in the immediate vicinity of said office, the distance and direction therefrom should be stated.

R. W. TAYLER,
Comptroller.

RESIGNATION OF ASSISTANT REGISTER OF THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 9, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs:

The resignation of J. A. Graham, Assistant Register of the Treasury, having been accepted, to take effect on the 30th instant, the blank "Certificates of Registry," (Form 4, General Customs Regulations of 1874,) heretofore furnished by the Department, signed by him, will not be used after that date, and all blanks of said form, so signed, on hand (unused) in custom-houses on the 1st proximo will be returned to the Department by mail.

B. H. BRISTOW,
Secretary.

COINAGE AT THE UNITED STATES MINTS IN MAY.
Philadelphia.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold coinage.....	15,518	\$155,000
Trade dollars	100	100
Subsidiary silver	5,182,400	1,184,105
Minor coinage	559,500	12,475
Total.....	5,757,518	1,301,680

San Francisco.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold coinage.....	139,000	\$2,780,000
Trade dollars	318,000	318,000
Subsidiary silver	2,204,000	716,000
Minor coinage .....	.....	.....
Total.....	2,661,000	3,814,000

Carson.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold coinage.....	18,116	\$241,160
Trade dollars .....	.....	.....
Subsidiary silver	1,784,000	340,000
Minor coinage .....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,797,116	581,160

Total number of pieces coined at all the mints.....	10,215,634
Total value	\$5,696,840

IMPROVING THE COIN.

The Director of the Mint has for some time past been arranging for an improvement in the devices on the coinage. The principal change will be the substitution of a classic head of Liberty in place of the sitting figure on the obverse of the silver coins. The best artistic skill that can be secured will be em-

ployed in effecting this and other improvements.

THE BOOKS AND ACCOUNTS OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT—THE ALLEGED DISCREPANCIES IN THE FINANCIAL REPORTS—EVERYTHING COMPLETE AND SATISFACTORY.

The report submitted June 6th by Mr. Sherman, in behalf of the Senate Finance Committee, concerning the books and accounts of the Treasury Department and alleged discrepancies or alterations therein, is extremely voluminous, embodying a large number of detailed letters and explanations furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury, and containing or referring to numerous statements of accounts, &c., which are not susceptible of condensation and which would occupy many columns in print. The committee describe in detail the system of accountability provided by the statutes and say:—"So far as the safe keeping and custody of public money covered into the Treasury is concerned it would be difficult to point out a better mode than that provided for by the present law. Every safeguard that has been suggested has been furnished. No law can prevent the neglect or violation by comptrollers, auditors, or registers of their public duties; but the guards and checks upon such misconduct are as perfect as human ingenuity could devise. The only changes in these laws that the committee recommend are to authorize the Treasurer to be credited with unavailable sums charged to him, but lost, through no fault of his, by the robbery, &c., of his subordinates and of the United States depositories; and to provide for covering into the Treasury all 'trust funds' on which the interest alone is to be disbursed for the benefit of others, so that its expenditure may be under the general safeguard of the law, only to be paid out in pursuance of an appropriation by Congress." In this connection the committee refer to the sum of more than \$28,000,000, which is charged against the Treasurer as being on deposit under the act of 1836 with the several States.

In regard to apparent discrepancies in the Treasury accounts the committee point out, among other things, that the Treasury account shows only the warrants paid, while

the appropriation account shows all warrants issued.

It is further shown that the financial reports at different periods have been made up according to different systems of bookkeeping in various respects, and that the same is true as to the monthly debt statements. The detailed explanations of these apparent discrepancies that have been furnished to the committee by the Treasury Department are found complete and satisfactory, and no change is recommended in the existing system, which is declared to be the growth of the experience of the Department since its organization. In one of the letters which are embodied in the report Secretary Bristow says :

"In no instance has there been any erasure or alteration in the books or records of this Department, and the changes made in the published reports have been only to ex-

press with greater accuracy the precise condition of the public accounts as shown by such books and records."

CIRCULAR.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
FOURTH AUDITOR'S OFFICE,
June 10, 1876.

The following instructions are issued for the guidance of disbursing officers of the U. S. Navy :

In accounts rendered to this Office after the 1st of July, 1876, it is required that all payments for traveling expenses or advances shall be indorsed upon the *copies* of the orders, as well as upon the originals.

All vouchers for the above payments, substantiated by copies of orders from which the indorsements of payments have been omitted, will be suspended in the settlement of the accounts.

STEPHEN J. W. TABOR,
Auditor.

Approved :

C. C. CARPENTER,
Second Comptroller.

EUROPEAN RAILWAYS.

Great Britain and Ireland had at the close of 1874, (Board of Trade Report,) 16,449 miles of railways. The cost was £37,078, or a total of about \$3,000,000,000. It has one mile to every 5.1 square mile of superficial area, and one to about 2,000 inhabitants. The cost per capita for construction, etc., has been \$90. The rate of interest was 4.49 per cent. The rate of profit was but 4.74 per cent.

Belgium had in 1871 about 1,956 miles of railway; 883 miles having been constructed by the State. The cost to the State had been \$58,567,559. The average cost per mile on the total mileage was £13,281. In Belgium there is one mile to every 5.8 of square miles of area, and one to every 2,614 persons. In 1872 the profit was 8.1 per cent on the capital.

Germany, according to Dr. Sturmer, had in 1873, 14,077 miles of railway, being one mile to every 14.8 of area, and one to every 2,916 persons. The total cost has been about \$1,373,609,700, or \$30 per capita, (Dr. Sturmer.) The profit on outlay was 6.6 per cent.

France had in 1873, (February 1,) 11,050 miles open, 2,854 in process, and 773 of lines conceded and decreed, making a total of 14,667. The total cost was about \$2,250,000,000. The cost per mile was about £30,746. Dividend in France has represented 10.74 per cent. on outlay. One-fifth of the cost of French railways so far constructed was contributed by the State.

Austria proper has 9,901 miles of railway, while South Austria and Upper Italy (Tyrol,

Styria, etc.,) have 2,617, making in all 12,518 miles. The average cost has been £20,512, or a total of about \$7,250,000,000. The profits were but 6 per cent., (1872.) It is now understood to have increased.

Russia had 10,140 miles, (in 1871,) part of which is in Asia. The cost an average per mile of £21,846, or a total of about \$1,100,000,000.

Italy had (1873) a mileage of 4,202 miles; cost about the same as the German roads. Recently (1875) the Government has proposed the purchase of all the lines. It has largely aided in their construction and guarantees interest on the bonds.

Sweden and Norway had in 1874, 2,227 miles, a considerable portion of which is owned by the State.

Spain had at the same date, 3,801 miles, heavily mortgaged and poorly paying. (1870.)

The Netherlands report 1,042 miles. (1872.)

Portugal, 489 miles. (1872.)

Roumania, 507 miles. (European Turkey,) (1873.)

Denmark had in 1872, 530 miles of road.

The total mileage for Europe, according to the foregoing figures is 83,085. Probably five hundred miles of this total are to be found in Asiatic portions of the Russian and Turkish Empires. About one-sixth of this total is directly owned by the Governments of different States. The railway system is in all countries but Great Britain and the United States, more or less under State supervision.

UNION REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL Executive Committee

1006 F Street, Northwest,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Hon. SIMON CAMERON, Chairman; Hon. A. H. CRAGIN, Hon. JOHN A. LOGAN, Hon. J. R. WEST, Hon. S. W. DORSEY, Hon. T. C. PLATT, Hon. JAY A. HUBBELL, Hon. J. M. RUSK, Hon. C. H. SINICKSON,
Hon. J. M. EDMUNDS, Secretary.
Hon. JACOB COME, Treasurer.

The Union Republican Congressional Executive Committee desire to call attention to the following list of Campaign Documents issued by the Committee, and now on hand. The Committee ask a careful examination of the list, and are prepared to receive and fill orders for such as may be required.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

- No. 1. Growth of the Nation Under Republican Rule. 8 pp.
- No. 2. Vaticanism in Germany and in the United States. 8 pp.
- No. 3. Can the Nation Trust the Democratic Party? 16 pp.
- No. 4. Record and Platform of the Democratic Party. Speech by Senator Morton at Urbana, Ohio, August 7, 1875. 8 pp.
- No. 5. The National Finances and the Currency, 1875. 8 pp.
- No. 6. High and Low Tariffs and their Effects. 4 pp.
- No. 7. Our Currency: Its Volume and Character. Also, Taxes: Who Pays Them? 4 pp.
- No. 8. Vaticanism in Germany and in the United States. (In German.) 8 pp.
- No. 9. The People a Nation. 8 pp.
- No. 10. The Southern Question: The Conspiracy Rule or Destroy the Nation. 12 pp.
- No. 11. Growth of the Nation Under Republican Rule. (In German.) 8 pp.
- No. 12. Labor and Wages. 4 pp.
- Amnesty Debate. (Blaine, Garfield, and Hill.) 32 pp.
- Senator Morton's Speech on Mississippi. 24 pp.
- Record of the Democratic Speaker. 8 pp.
- The Bible the Security of American Institutions. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Rankin. 8 pp.
- Religious Liberty. Sermon by Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman. 32 pp.
- An Irredeemable Paper Currency. Speech by Hon. J. G. Blaine. 8 pp.
- Centennial Celebration of American Independence. Speech by Hon. M. I. Townsend. 8 pp.
- Senator Gordon's Civil Service Reform. (Debate in the Senate.) 16 pp.
- Rankin's Impeachment. Escape of Witness Marshall. (Mr. Bass' speech in the House.) 8 pp.

Those marked thus * having been taken from the "Congressional Record," can be distributed through the mails under the frank of Senators or Members. Of those marked thus † our supply is exhausted; but as we have the stereotype plates, we can print new editions if necessary.

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NOVEMBER, 1875.

Whole No. 38.

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1876.

Vol. 6. **PROSPECTUS.** Vol. 6.

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In the Presidential election, which takes place in 1876, the REPUBLIC desires to add to its usefulness by adding to its list of subscribers. It already numbers among its readers many of the most thoughtful and intelligent citizens of the country. The deep interest manifested by them in the work, is to the publishers, evidence of an appreciation of its value. If others would entertain of the REPUBLIC, could it be brought to their attention, will not our friends take upon themselves the slight labor of inviting others to add their names and their influence to a magazine that is published in the interest of the morality and good government.

As in the past, the REPUBLIC will advocate an honest administration of whether municipal, State or National.

It will advocate loyalty, honesty, economy, and personal ability as pre-requisites for office. It will give credit where credit is due; and impartial criticism whenever required.

It will hold up intelligence as the safeguard to National safety, and will defend our free-school system as essential to its preservation.

It will advocate improvements, that experience may commend, in the education of the young; but will oppose all efforts to divide the public-school funds, or to introduce into the schools sectarian influences.

It will advocate the perpetuation of the Republican party as the best, if not the only means to secure the preservation of the Union, and the impartial execution of the laws.

It will labor earnestly to bring about such reforms as the spirit of progress may demand, and in all things seek to present those methods of administration, which the wisdom and experience of a century have confirmed.

It will give to its readers a clear insight into the various branches of Government, by a faithful record of their doings.

These are among the leading features of the work to which the REPUBLIC is devoted. It pledges anew its best energies to make the Centennial volumes worthy the Nation it serves, and the year it enters upon.

To the Republican press of the country, co-laborers in the grand mission of preserving good government, the REPUBLIC sends greeting and thanks. If increased activity can merit a continuation of the good will expressed, our brethren of the press will still extend their hands in generous welcome. The Presidential campaign will bring upon all, increased responsibilities and new demands. The REPUBLIC will bear its share and perform its duty without fear or favor, keeping ever in view, that the highest reward that patriotism can win, is the consciousness that its efforts have advanced civilization and contributed to the cause of good government.

TERMS:

THE REPUBLIC is a magazine of sixty-four pages, published monthly, at \$2 a year, or six copies for \$10. The postage, in all cases, will be paid by the publishers. A few copies of the back volumes may yet be obtained, either bound or in numbers. Remittances should be made by postal money-order or registered letter.

Address,

REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, Washington, D. C.

To the readers of The Republic.

The Republic, now approaching the close of its third year, asks the attention of its patrons to the following Considerations-

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2^d, The labor and thought bestowed on its pages have been uncompensated, having been freely given by earnest and intelligent and painstaking writers in the interest of truth and of progressive and improved methods of law and administration.

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4th, The publishers call attention to their premium list for clubs and further, especially request that each reader of The Republic will procure one additional subscriber, thus giving material aid in a work, the usefulness of which is already established.

To give this suggestion practical effect will be of great service to the cause in which we are engaged, and it may be accomplished with the expenditure of scarcely more than a moment of time.

Very respectfully,
J. M. Edmunds
Pres't. Repub' Pub'g Co.

1876.

Vol. 6.

PROSPECTUS.

Vol. 6.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

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NAVIGATION LAWS.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATUTE BOOK AS A SOURCE OF NATIONAL HISTORY—MARITIME NATIONS ADVENTUROUS—THE WEALTH OF THE SEA—NEWFOUNDLAND—LETTER OF JOHN RUTT TO HENRY VIII.—ONE POOR "BRITTANIE BARKE"—FISHERIES IMPORTANT—ACTS OF PARLIAMENT ENCOURAGING AND PROTECTING THEM—REQUIRING ENGLISHMEN TO EAT FISH ON CERTAIN DAYS—PENALTY FOR VIOLATION OF THE LAW—FISHERIES FREE TO BRITISH SUBJECTS—ALIENS EXCLUDED—EXPORT OF FISH FREE OF CUSTOMS DUTIES—FIRST DIRECT VOYAGE TO AMERICA—RICHARD MATHER—ROYAL GRANTS—QUARRELS WITH CHARLES THE FIRST—SHIP MONEY—CHARLES IS BEHEADED—OLIVER CROMWELL—BRITISH NAVIGATION ACT—THE REVOLTED COLONIES—COLDEN.

Learned enthusiasts have defined Law as the perfection of common sense, and that the various amendments made thereto, to meet the altered condition of public affairs, show the advance of a people in culture and enterprise. But it is far more interesting to know that the most correct history of the rise and progress of a nation, exclusive of its wars, may be learned from the laws upon its statute-book. They disclose the popular character and disposition; the train of circumstances through which the nation had passed, and the events to which it led; the habits and manners of the people, and the distinctive public policy by which they have been guided. Laws refer to the numberless questions which have arisen, and which required settlement; to the protection extended to person and property; to the rights of individuals and communities; to the rights of trade and commerce; the adjustment of conflicting interests; the quality and nature of evidence; to the rules which regulate intercourse with other nations, and to maritime jurisdiction. Indeed, all the occupations in which men were engaged at home and abroad have been the subject of legal enactment; and those enactments

commence from a period of comparative political infancy and weakness, and follow the intervening necessities and struggles, until to-day, when what was once feeble and immature, is developed into a glorious and mighty power, as one of the nations of the South.

The history of the Navigation Laws of Great Britain is of peculiar interest. It would seem that the first instincts of a nation, whose coasts are washed by the ocean, is to navigate the sea for the purposes of discovery or trade. Adventurers always abound ready for any enterprise, however hazardous. They are governed by two motives—a love of danger and the hope of reward. The wealth to be drawn from the deep requires only opportunity and labor. Newfoundland belonged to England, the waters of which teemed with fish. French and Spanish vessels fished off the coasts centuries ago, and cured the fish caught to be taken to those countries. Sabine, a writer well versed on subjects connected with Canada and its products, states that in Cabot's memoirs is a letter written by John Kent to Henry VIII. from St. John, Newfoundland, in 1527, reporting that he found "eleven

men anchoring on the English coast, or interfering in waters where nets were used, were liable to seizure and confiscation. The Newfoundland fishery, meantime, was prosecuted with vigor. Three hundred and fifty to four hundred vessels, of various flags, are estimated to have been engaged in it. France and Spain had more ships in 1577 than England, because the English merchants are said to have sent their vessels to the old fishing grounds at Iceland. But English ships were the best; and Englishmen exhibited their national character. They gave protection to the fishermen of other countries, and exacted tribute or payment for the service. The whole commercial marine, Sabine says, consisted of only 1,232 vessels in 1582, of which 217 were upwards of eighty tons. If it is assumed that the fifty then visiting Newfoundland were of the latter class, then nearly one-quarter part of the navigation of England, suitable for distant voyages, was employed in fishing. In the year 1600, it is estimated that two hundred English ships went annually to Newfoundland, and that ten thousand men and boys were employed as catchers on board, and curers on shore. As the century advanced, there was a great increase of shipping and of mariners, which was attributed solely to the prosperity of the fishery. But of all the adventures at that period, the first direct voyage by an Englishman across the Atlantic was made by Bartholomew Gosnold to the coast of New England; and he had reason to be satisfied with the result of his enterprise. The celebrated John Smith, of Pocahontas fame, followed in 1614; and he, too, enriched himself. He took forty thousand fish, which he dried, and seven thousand which he corned or pickled, in the waters of Maine, and purchased a large quantity of furs from the natives. The profits of the voyage were upwards of seven thousand dollars. Of the prolific nature of the fish, and their abundance in the deep, some judgment may be formed from a record left by Richard Mather, who came over to Massachusetts in 1635. He kept a journal of the voyage, and when on the Bank of Newfoundland, writes that he saw, "on the end of it nearer to New England, mighty fishes rolling and tumbling

in the waters, twice as long and big as an ox." He saw, too, "mighty whales spewing up water in the air, like the smoke of a chimney, and making the sea about them white and hoary, as is said in Job: of such incredible bigness, that I will never wonder that the body of Jonas could be in the belly of a whale." The wealth and prosperity of the corporations which had received royal grants, had the usual effect when higher influences were removed. Demoralization pervaded the Newfoundland colony, which led to many evils. Nor was pride wanting, and the assertion of restrictive powers. Robert Gorges bore a commission to proceed to New England as lieutenant-general over all the country known by that name; and Francis West was commissioned as Admiral of the Seas, with power to restrain such ships as came either to fish or trade on the coast without license. Both of these gentlemen visited this country in their official capacity; but neither of them was commissioned by the crown. They were only agents of a private corporation. Claims of this kind, of course, led to controversy. But a royal grant had been made of the vast domain embraced between the 40th and 45th degrees of north latitude, and extending from ocean to ocean. Forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen were named in this grant; and, assuming that the fishing-grounds, from Acadia to the Delaware, were no longer free to British subjects, they asserted exclusive property in and control over them; and they were sustained in their pretensions by the king. This company was known as the "Council of Plymouth." The council demanded that every fishing-vessel should pay into their treasury a sum equal to about 83 cents per ton, which, considering the size of the vessels, would be a tribute of more than \$100 on each English ship. This action of the favorites of the Court, who had induced the king to bestow upon them such immense possessions, aroused the English people. They regarded the Dutch herring fishery as the "right arm of Holland," and dreamt of fortunes to be secured from a kindred pursuit in regions not reached by the Dutch. They wanted to fish at will—to draw the coveted treasures, without molestation or tribute,

sails of Normans, and one Brittain, and two Portugall barks" in that harbor, but mentions no others; and he proposed to sail along the coast to "meete" the only vessel of his own flag known by him to be in that region. Subsequently a colony was planted, that fishermen might live permanently near the fishing grounds; and the colonists exterminated the red men, who formerly peopled Newfoundland. The intention was, that vessels should proceed at proper seasons from England to engage in the fishery. The fishery soon grew into national importance, and was considered worthy of legislative protection—not, it will be observed, so much in the way of guarding the labor of those hardy seamen, as in requiring Englishmen to consume the fish. Parliament passed an Act, in 1548, imposing severe penalties on persons eating flesh on fish-days. The punishment for the first offense was a fine of ten shillings, ten days imprisonment, and abstinence from meat during the same period; while, for the second offense, these inflictions were doubled. Provision, however, was made for the sick and aged, to whom flesh was necessary. They were exempted on obtaining a license from the ecclesiastical authorities, in which the names of the parties were inserted and the reason of the exemption given, viz., "for the better avoidinge of sicknesses and diseases which, by their absteining from flesh, might growe upon them."

Another Act of 1548, the first which related to America, had special reference to Newfoundland, and to the abuses that existed there. Its quaint preamble says: "Forasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past there have been levied, perceived, and taken by certain officers of the admiraltie, of such marchants and fishermen as have used and practiced the adventures and journeys into Iceland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing and the getting of fish, in and upon the seas and otherwise, by way of marchants in those partees, divers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, and such other like things, to the great discouragement and hindrance of the same merchants and fishermen, and to no little damage of the whole commonwealth; and

thereof, also, great complaints have bene made, and informations also, yerely to the King's Majesties Most Honorable Councell: for reformation whereof," etc., etc. From this period, in consequence of the measures adopted, the Newfoundland fishery became entirely free to every inhabitant of the realm.

At this time the whole foreign trade of England was limited to the Flemish towns and to the fishing grounds. With a view to extend commerce, and to encourage the fishing industry, another curious Act of Parliament was passed in 1563, which provided "that as well for the maintenance of shipping, the increase of fishermen and marines, and the repairing of the port towns, as for the sparing of the fresh victual of the realm, it shall not be lawful for any one to eat flesh on Wednesdays and Saturdays, unless under the forfeiture of £3 for each offense, excepting in case of sickness, and those of special licenses to be obtained." Sæter, from whom Saturday was named, was one of the old Saxon water deities, and is represented as standing on a fish with a bucket in his hand. The English Parliament was thoughtful of the people's spiritual welfare, as well as of the interests of trade; and lest the eating of fish on Wednesday and Saturday, as enacted, should have connected with it the idea of religious service, the Act, which was designed to increase shipping in the infancy of English navigation, provided further that "whoever shall, by preaching, teaching, writing, or by open speech, notify that any eating of fish or forbearing of flesh mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God otherwise than as *other* politic laws are and be, then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news ought to be." And it may be remarked that there were laws which took their rise from the fisheries, which required British subjects to abstain from eating flesh and to eat fish on one hundred and fifty-three days in a year; so that the demand for the products of the sea was immense.

In the year 1571, British fishermen were permitted to export sea-fish free of customs duties; while, by another Act, foreign fisher-

men anchoring on the English coast, or interfering in waters where nets were used, were liable to seizure and confiscation. The Newfoundland fishery, meantime, was prosecuted with vigor. Three hundred and fifty to four hundred vessels, of various flags, are estimated to have been engaged in it. France and Spain had more ships in 1577 than England, because the English merchants are said to have sent their vessels to the old fishing grounds at Iceland. But English ships were the best; and Englishmen exhibited their national character. They gave protection to the fishermen of other countries, and exacted tribute or payment for the service. The whole commercial marine, Sabine says, consisted of only 1,232 vessels in 1582, of which 217 were upwards of eighty tons. If it is assumed that the fifty then visiting Newfoundland were of the latter class, then nearly one-quarter part of the navigation of England, suitable for distant voyages, was employed in fishing. In the year 1600, it is estimated that two hundred English ships went annually to Newfoundland, and that ten thousand men and boys were employed as catchers on board, and curers on shore. As the century advanced, there was a great increase of shipping and of mariners, which was attributed solely to the prosperity of the fishery. But of all the adventures at that period, the first direct voyage by an Englishman across the Atlantic was made by Bartholomew Gosnold to the coast of New England; and he had reason to be satisfied with the result of his enterprise. The celebrated John Smith, of Pocahontas fame, followed in 1614; and he, too, enriched himself. He took forty thousand fish, which he dried, and seven thousand which he corned or pickled, in the waters of Maine, and purchased a large quantity of furs from the natives. The profits of the voyage were upwards of seven thousand dollars. Of the prolific nature of the fish, and their abundance in the deep, some judgment may be formed from a record left by Richard Mather, who came over to Massachusetts in 1635. He kept a journal of the voyage, and when on the Bank of Newfoundland, writes that he saw, "on the end of it nearer to New England, mighty fishes rolling and tumbling

in the waters, twice as long and big as an ox." He saw, too, "mighty whales spewing up water in the air, like the smoke of a chimney, and making the sea about them white and hoary, as is said in Job: of such incredible bigness, that I will never wonder that the body of Jonas could be in the belly of a whale." The wealth and prosperity of the corporations which had received royal grants, had the usual effect when higher influences were removed. Demoralization pervaded the Newfoundland colony, which led to many evils. Nor was pride wanting, and the assertion of restrictive powers. Robert Gorges bore a commission to proceed to New England as lieutenant-general over all the country known by that name; and Francis West was commissioned as Admiral of the Seas, with power to restrain such ships as came either to fish or trade on the coast without license. Both of these gentlemen visited this country in their official capacity; but neither of them was commissioned by the crown. They were only agents of a private corporation. Claims of this kind, of course, led to controversy. But a royal grant had been made of the vast domain embraced between the 40th and 45th degrees of north latitude, and extending from ocean to ocean. Forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen were named in this grant; and, assuming that the fishing-grounds, from Acadia to the Delaware, were no longer free to British subjects, they asserted exclusive property in and control over them; and they were sustained in their pretensions by the king. This company was known as the "Council of Plymouth." The council demanded that every fishing-vessel should pay into their treasury a sum equal to about 83 cents per ton, which, considering the size of the vessels, would be a tribute of more than \$100 on each English ship. This action of the favorites of the Court, who had induced the king to bestow upon them such immense possessions, aroused the English people. They regarded the Dutch herring fishery as the "right arm of Holland," and dreamt of fortunes to be secured from a kindred pursuit in regions not reached by the Dutch. They wanted to fish at will—to draw the treasures, without molestation or

from the coasts included in the limits of the patent. The controversy came up in the House of Commons, on the question of abrogating the obnoxious monopoly.

Bancroft has given a sketch of the debate. "What!" says Sir Edwin Sandys, "shall the English be debarred from the freedom of the fisheries—a privilege which the French and Dutch enjoy? It costs the kingdom nothing but labor; employs shipping; and furnishes the means of a lucrative commerce with Spain." The friends of free fishing prevailed; but that Parliament was dissolved before the proper legislation could be enacted. Another Parliament met, and the pretensions of the Council were again assailed. Sir Ferdinand Gorges, one of the Council, and who claimed to have acquired Maine in his own right, was summoned to attend the House. The Speaker, Sir Edward Coke, the great lawyer, demanded the revocation of the restriction; and, addressing Gorges from the Chair, said: "Your patent contains many particulars contrary to the laws, and privileges of the subject; it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under color of planting a colony." Coke afterwards took part in the debate. "Shall none," said he, "visit the sea-coast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and sun." A bill was passed to revoke the charter, but it did not receive the royal assent. The Council, however, were thereafter powerless, although enjoying the King's protection; for public sentiment was against them, and they had to submit; and they continued to exist as a company only for the sale of lands. But the right of free fishing, thus gained, was of little real value, as it was complained that the fishermen began to leave fishing, and "to fall wholly to trading." The owners probably withdrew their vessels, because of the interruption of their adventures during the dispute; and many of them were interested in the fishing stages which had been set up by their countrymen in New Hampshire, Maine and Massachusetts.

The political consequences of the late discussions, which had involved a difference

between the King and Parliament, were to be developed in the next reign. James I. bequeathed the quarrel to his son, Charles I.; and doubtless the disagreements between him and his people, which brought his head to the block, had their commencement with this subject, and the refusal of Parliament to grant him money. At the accession of James I., the royal navy consisted of but thirteen vessels, while the mercantile marine had largely increased. Charles succeeded to a naval force far too weak to cope with the fleets of his enemies. Embarrassed by the failure of the House of Commons to grant him supplies, he resorted to the levy of "ship money," in order to break up the Dutch fisheries on the British coast. This illegal method of raising money, though for a purpose to benefit England, only widened the breach between him and his people. The quarrel with Holland was of long standing. Complaints had been made in various reigns. In the time of James, the Dutch were said not only to have engrossed the fisheries, but the entire maritime business of the country; and the King compelled them to pay an annual tribute for the liberty of catching herring on the coasts of his kingdom. New complications arose. The Dutch were warned off by royal proclamation. Records show first occupancy of the fishing grounds by the English, and their dominion over the four seas which surrounded the British Isles, to the exclusion of both the French and Dutch. They also show that the Kings of England, even without the authority of Parliament, had levied large sums of money to maintain the sovereignty of these seas. The Dutch denied this, and, insisting that the dominion of England extended no further than the firths, bays and shores, continued their employment in British waters. A demand was made for the acknowledgment of the British title, and for tribute. Both were refused. Negotiations between the two nations ended in no adjustment. But Charles had annually increased his navy by the exaction of "ship money." And at last, a fleet of sixty sail was equipped, the greatest ever owned by England. This armament was sent to drive the Dutch from the four "narrow seas;" and the enterprise having succeeded, the

Dutch were required to pay a sum of about \$150,000. The value of the English fisheries, both at home and in America, is therefore apparent. The increase of shipping was encouraged. And Sabine says, that he regards it as historically correct to state that the earliest considerable demand for English ships of proper size and strength to perform long and perilous voyages was, for explorations and fishing upon our coasts. He is undoubtedly accurate in the statement. Yet something more needs to be added. England had taken long strides in civilization. Her people were learning the use of political power. The spirit of adventure possessed many, who made more distant voyages than to the fisheries. Wealth arising from trade was in the hands of a greater number of merchants, and the idea of employing that wealth with advantage in other commerce than the fisheries, was pressing itself upon them, and holding out visions too attractive to resist. But before they were to realize their hopes, England had to pass through an experience which, though apparently hurtful and disastrous, really prepared her for what was to follow. It consolidated the nation, and laid the foundation of her future greatness as a commercial and political power.

The civil war into which England was plunged by the illegal exaction of ship money, and the execution of Charles, devolved the government upon the shoulders of Oliver Cromwell. He set himself to work diligently, put down insurrection at home, in Scotland and Ireland, and made the name of England feared and respected abroad. Till the vigorous hand of Cromwell held the reins, she had been of little consequence in the councils of Europe. But at the head of an enthusiastic army, who went into battle with the certainty of victory from their strong Puritan faith, he advanced the fame of England higher than she had ever attained. His wars were meant to settle the dispute, and were, therefore, effective. The blow he struck, struck home, and discomfited the enemy. As a statesman Cromwell's tactics were unique—Cromwellian; and his style of attack was superb. He went forth to accomplish an object. When he left the

field he returned with such evidences of success that neither side were disposed to doubt. The unfortunate monarch who lost his head, had managed to reign without Parliaments for many years. Parliament had not been summoned from 1629 to 1640, during which period he levied taxes without law. On the establishment of the Commonwealth the two Houses were convoked. And in 1652, the celebrated Navigation Act was passed, which changed the maritime condition of the world—the commencement of a series, the principle of which was adhered to, and affected the legislation of the United States.

Jenkinson, in his work on Treaties, gives a brief commentary on this original Navigation Act. He says: "Critics in commerce reason variously on the benefits or disadvantages of this Act. Those who argue in its disfavor, reason on the general principle of its being an error in politics to interrupt the free course of commerce by any kind of prohibitions whatever; which is generally true, and would be always so, could one be assured of constant universal amity. But as that is very far from being the case, the exception to the general rule in this case holds good, since nothing is more clear, than that those who employ most ships will have most seamen, and consequently be the best enabled to command the sea. It was but too evident by this short war (Cromwell's with Holland) how near a match for us (the English) the Dutch were, and continued so for some years after; and had not this act been made, would, very probably before this time, have been too potent for us, as they would have had the gross of the European seamen in their service; so that the act, notwithstanding some inconveniences it might produce in point of commerce, was a very happy thought in the making, and shows our judgment in its being continued."

Passing down to the commencement of the War for Independence, the question of the right to trade and fish by the revolted colonies was a very pressing one, which Lord North tried to answer by introducing in his place in the House of Commons, a motion to prevent the New England States from doing either. The motion was offered on the 10th of February, 1775; and was for leave to

bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and British Islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery, etc., etc. The motion was supported by Lord North on the ground that, as the Americans had refused to trade with England, it was but just that they should be deprived of the right to trade with any other nation. When the measure was brought in it was strongly opposed by Burke and other friends of the Colonies. Fox delivered his maiden speech against it, which gave promise of the talent he afterwards displayed. But the Government was strong, and some of its supporters were pleased to consider the bill as one simply of commercial regulation. It passed the House on the 8th of March, and was read a third time, on the 16th, in the House of Lords.

The Navigation Laws were upheld by the greatest statesmen of England, and were defended by every generation of political economists down to the time of Richard Cobden. Why those laws were regarded as so important, may be seen from the speech of Mr. Huskisson, once a Cabinet Minister, and a recognized authority on all questions relating to trade. He said: "Our Navigation Laws have a two-fold object: first, to create and maintain in this country a great commercial marine; secondly, an object not

export their produce to England in British ships only, instead of employing the vessels of any third power." Such is the spirit and purpose of the Navigation Act of the Long Parliament, re-enacted in the first year of the Restoration, and which was in stringent operation in England till close upon the year 1850.

But a better idea, perhaps, may be gained of the navigation laws, and what they produced, from the following brief synopsis, which says a great deal in a small space: They secured to England the building of her ships, and their navigation by British seamen; the absolute monopoly of her Colonial commerce, and her full share of the carrying trade of the world. For these purposes, it was provided that no ship should be deemed a British ship that was not wholly built within the dominion of Great Britain, and wholly owned by British subjects, navigated by a British commander, and a crew of which at least three-fourths were British subjects; next, that only British ships should carry any merchandise from any port of the British empire to any other; and thirdly, that no goods which were the growth, product, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into any of the ports of Great Britain, except in British ships, or in ships of the countries of which the goods were the production. The rigorous execution of these laws, and the consequent adherence to these principles, are supposed by many to have done more than any other one

in giving to Great Britain her enormous commerce. In order to ascertain what the British ships, and secure the execution of the laws, an admirable system of regulation was adopted, and remained in force in England during almost two centuries, with substantial change. But a change was finally made. In 1849 the principle of the law was permitted to break down slightly to some extent. By the act of 1849, and the subsequent amendments enacted that ships which are not of British build may become British by registration, wholly owned by British subjects, except that any ship may bring to the Kingdom any merchandise, except iron, however, that the King or Queen, by

order in council, may interpose such changes, restrictions, or prohibitions upon ships of any country as will put the ships of that country, when in British ports, on the same footing as that on which British ships stand in the ports of that country. (App. Ency.)

In order fully to understand the reasons for the change in the navigation laws, it will be necessary to refer for a moment to the condition of England at the time. Cobden had instinctively perceived that as all human society must rest upon a material foundation, it was to the laws of material progress that inquiry must be first directed, and that before and beneath all systems of government, and all schemes of public morality, there must lie the science of the "wealth of nations." When the soil of a country is appropriated, the only means whereby an increasing population can limit the encroachments of the land-owners, is by working for foreign markets. Such a population has only its labor to give in exchange for its requirements, and if this labor is constantly

increasing, while the produce of the soil is stationary, more labor will steadily and progressively be demanded for less of the earth's products. A fall of wages would, therefore, ensue, which, if caused by laws which kept up the price of English corn, while refusing admission to foreign corn to reduce the price of bread, he regarded as the greatest of crimes. Cobden looked upon the world as composed of a number of interdependent nations; and he desired, through commerce—not competitive, but co-operative commerce—to link them together in amity. He wished to advance the material prosperity of the world by the strong tie of common industrial interests. He would liberate trade from every charge save for the actual purposes of revenue, and throw open the world to all nations. The incentive to war would consequently be removed, the welfare of the people being bound up in the preservation of peace. Especially would that be the case in England, whose foreign commerce is the source of her wealth.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION—FISHERIES—INDEPENDENCE—TREATY OF 1783—WAR OF 1812—SUFFERINGS AND LOSS IN NEW ENGLAND FISHING TOWNS—CONVENTIONS OF 1815 AND 1818—DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLES—WEARISOME NEGOTIATIONS—RETALIATORY LEGISLATION—ORDER IN COUNCIL—CLOSING OF THE PORTS TO VESSELS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

The revolt of the Colonies of North America was a memorable struggle. Our revolutionary fathers stood steadily to their purpose; and were prepared to defend their right to the creation of a Power distinct and separate from the mother country. Such an event needed the sagacity of statesmanship, as well as courage and patriotism on the battle-field. And that sagacity was forthcoming in aid of the negotiators, always ready to advance the cause, even while the conflict was being waged.

Previous to the Revolution, the principles of the navigation laws had been applied to the Colonies. But when they became independent States, the time would arrive for the negotiation of a treaty with Great Britain. The records of Congress show that, on a proposition to open a negotiation for peace, Mr. Gerry introduced resolutions relating to the fisheries, on which there was much debate. The common rights of Americans to fish on

the banks of Newfoundland, and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, were claimed. A violent opposition sprang up. It was said to be absurd to expect that a war, commenced for freedom, should be continued for the humble privilege of catching fish. Mr. Gerry replied: "It is not so much fishing, as enterprise, industry, employment. It is not fish merely which gentlemen sneer at; it is gold, the produce of that avocation. It is the employment of those who would otherwise be idle, the food of those who would otherwise be hungry, the wealth of those who would otherwise be poor,—that depend upon your putting these resolutions into the instructions to your minister." The resolution passed; and Mr. Adams was instructed "that the common right of fishing should in no case be given up." And they were not given up. In the third article of the treaty which was made,

But the career of the United States was attended with trials and struggles, with vast individual loss, while aiming to obtain a broader recognition of national rights. The prohibitory acts of 1808, the embargo, and other restrictive measures, which preceded the war of 1812, produced most disastrous results in New England. Ship building, which had been a considerable trade, had almost died out; the fisheries, as the nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, as Mr. Jefferson called them, were almost unproductive, and the ships of Americans were seized. Then came the war, with its negotiations and questions to be settled. During the negotiations at Ghent, John Adams, who was at Quincy, Mass., addressed a letter to President Madison, on the 28th of November, 1814, in which he said: "All that I can say is, that I would continue this war forever, rather than surrender one acre of our territory, one iota of the fisheries, (as established by the third article of the treaty of 1783), or one sailor impressed from any merchantship." * * "It is the decree of Providence, as I believe, that the nation must be purified in the furnace of affliction." Sentiments like these inspired the true course to be taken. Mr. Clay embodied in a proposition to the British commissioners the principle that we held our rights of fishing by the same tenure as we did our independence; that, unlike another class of treaties, the treaty of 1783 is to be regarded as perpetual, and of the nature of a deed, in which the fisheries are an appurtenant of the soil conveyed or parted with, and that, therefore, no stipulation was necessary or desirable to secure the perpetuity of the appendage, more than the territory itself. Out of these propositions grew the Commercial Convention, of July 8, 1815, which established a reciprocity of duties and charges of all kinds upon the vessels of Great Britain and the United States, in the ports of each nation. Its operation was, by its terms, to begin from the day of its date. The rule of reciprocity ought to have attached, practically, at that time; instead of which, each nation continued for a while to levy the duties existing before the convention, and Eng-

land had not abolished them all in 1818. The commercial policy of the United States was made known by the act of March 3, 1815, and the principle set forth in that act was applied by the convention to the commerce between the United States and the British territories in Europe. But the convention, having excluded from its scope the trade between the United States and the British colonies in America, Great Britain had, in part, secured to herself all the benefits of the convention. She had obtained the relinquishment of our discriminating duties; but she, by her navigation laws, retained for herself, in the exclusion of the colonies from the arrangement of mutual commerce, all the advantage of the double and circuitous voyage from Great Britain to the colonies, from the colonies to the United States, and from the United States to Great Britain; and the disastrous effects of this were speedily felt by the commercial and navigatory interests of the United States. Mr. Richard Rush, who was sent to England as Minister of the United States, was charged with the important duty of representing this state of affairs to the British Government; and he was to ask them to apply a remedy. Mr. Rush reached London at the close of the year 1817, and entered at once upon his labors, even before he had been presented to George IV, then regent. From an interesting diary, kept by Mr. Rush, during his residence abroad, it appears that, at his first interview with Lord Castlereagh, that nobleman expressed his pleasure at hearing of the prosperity of the United States, remarking that the prosperity of one commercial nation contributed to that of others. At another opportunity, the subject of the Commercial Convention was discussed. Mr. Rush observed that, as neither country had carried out its terms, his Government desired to carry back the operation of the Convention to the day of its date, and was ready to give effect to this rule by retrospective measures, hoping to find a corresponding disposition in his Majesty's government. The partial opening of the West India trade, to the vessels of the United States, was also to be considered, and placed upon a satisfactory footing. The precise idea of the nature of this trade, according to the statement on the side of the United

States, stands thus, as recorded in the diary. The United States contend for a free intercourse in their vessels with the British West India Islands, and British colonies on the continent of North America, whenever the trade is opened at all by Great Britain to their flag; else, they say, that, by navigation acts of their own, they will be obliged to prohibit the trade altogether. The steady policy of England has been to secure as large an employment as possible of her own tonnage, in carrying on her commerce with the rest of the world. Her celebrated navigation acts, commenced in Cromwell's time, and adhered to in principle ever since, whatever occasional departures there may have been from them in practice, have all had this end in view. They provided that the whole trade between England and the continents of Asia, Africa, and America, should be carried on in English ships, manned by English sailors. They also embraced regulations that placed the trade between England and the European nations upon nearly the same footing. It was against the previous monopoly of Dutch tonnage that these navigation acts were levelled. What more natural, than that other nations should be unwilling to witness the same monopoly in the tonnage of England, that she objected to in that of the Dutch; more especially, since the foreign and colonial dominions of England have swelled to an extent that could scarcely have been conceived in the time of Cromwell? The West India Islands being part of the British Empire, her right to interdict all trade between them and any foreign country, could not be denied, and was not. As a general rule, she did interdict it; but there were junctures when, to advance objects of her own, she would throw the trade open to the United States. When she did this, she confined it to her own ships, manned by her own sailors. What the United States claimed was, that, whenever the trade existed at all, it should be carried on in their vessels, manned by their sailors, as well as with the vessels and sailors of England. The trade once opened, the United States were parties to it; and thence urged their right to a voice in its regulation. This was their doctrine. It had been maintained

since the days of President Washington. It contemplated no interference with the colonial rights or monopoly of Great Britain. It left her at full liberty to prohibit the importation into her colonies of whatever articles she thought fit, from the United States; and in like manner to prohibit exportations. It only asked the commercial intercourse, of whatever nation it might be, that was once opened for her benefit, or that of both countries, should be placed upon a footing of equality as to the vessels and sailors of both. This had been done in the trade between the United States and the European dominions of Britain, by the convention of July, 1815. That convention itself, unless the reciprocity were extended to the West Indies, would give undue advantages to British vessels. The latter could sail, under its enactments, from Liverpool to New York, for example, paying in New York, none other than American duties. Thence, under the English colonial system, they could sail to the English West Indies and back again to England, making profit from this three-fold operation. American vessels, on the other hand, were confined to the direct track between New York and Liverpool. The British ship could sail on the three sides of the triangle; the American only on one.

While Mr. Rush was holding communication with the British Government, in America, the Navigation Act, of the 18th of April, 1818, was passed. This act closed the ports of the United States against every British vessel, coming from any port or place in any British colony, or territory, which was, or might be, by the ordinary laws of navigation and trade, closed against vessels owned by citizens of the United States; and such British vessel, notwithstanding that, in the course of her voyage, she might have touched at, or cleared out from, any intermediate port or place in the British possessions, open to the vessels of the United States, was nevertheless to be excluded from the United States, provided she had cleared out, or sailed, from any closed British port, before touching at, or clearing out from, such intermediate open port; and every vessel violating, or attempting to violate, the act, was declared to be forfeited, together with her

cargo, to the United States. And every British vessel, in any port of the United States, on board of which should have been there laden, for exportation, any articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of the United States, other than sea stores, necessary for the voyage, was required, under penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo, to give satisfactory security that the article so laden on board for exportation, should be landed at some place other than a place in any British colony, or territory, which, by the ordinary laws of navigation and trade, might happen to be closed against vessels of the United States.

Mr. Rush explained the reluctance with which the President had given his consent to that act, but said it was founded on equal justice; still his desire was to give efficacy to measures mutually more beneficial and conciliatory. To that end, the negotiation of a general treaty was proposed, which should include, among other matters, the question relating to the fisheries, which was of immediate and pressing importance. The negotiation proceeded, and the right and liberty, forever, was secured to American vessels, in common with British vessels, to fish on the coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, &c., with the exception of the inshore fishing, within three miles from the land. But no article could be agreed upon as to the West India trade, because of the colonial system of Great Britain. Where, however, the colonial system of Spain interfered with English commerce, a very decided opinion was expressed, on behalf of England, by one who had a right to speak. The Spanish Ambassador represented to Cromwell, that the Inquisition and the colonial trade were his master's two eyes. Cromwell replied: "Then I must trouble your master to put out his two eyes." And words, from Cromwell, were not to be disregarded. But to return to the fisheries: It was said that New England, alone, was more populous than were the Dutch, when their sailors carried terror to the shores of the Medway, and as maritime; and that "*her farms were upon the ocean, and she gathered her harvests from every sea.*"

As England continued to hold to her monopoly, the United States was forced to legislate against British vessels gaining any advantages from trade, while American vessels were excluded from her colonial ports. The act of May 15, 1820, closed the ports of the United States against British vessels coming by sea from any place in Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, St. John's, Cape Breton, Bermuda, the Bahamas, the Caicos, or any of the dependencies of either of them, or from any other place in the possession of Great Britain, in the West Indies, or on the continent of America, south of the United States, under penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo. It also continued the prohibition concerning imports to the above-named places, in British bottoms. The British Government saw that England would not be permitted to engross all the commercial intercourse between the United States and her colonies, and certain of the colonial ports were opened to the admission of American vessels laden with certain articles of American produce. Congress reciprocated this concession, by the act of May 6, 1822, authorizing the President to proclaim the opening of our ports, upon terms of equal advantage. But the English concessions were very imperfect. American vessels were allowed to carry directly, and not otherwise, from some American port to the certain colonial ports which had been opened, and enormous duties were levied upon the articles they were permitted to carry, from which the cargoes of British vessels were exempt. And those vessels, moreover, could carry from the colony in North America to the colony in the West Indies, which American vessels could not. The inequalities under which American commerce labored, were so great and obvious, that the act of March 1, 1823, was passed. This act limited the intercourse with the United States in British vessels to the direct voyage. By the old Navigation Act, of the Commonwealth, no vessel of the United States could enter any of the enumerated ports of the British colonies, coming from any other part of the world; and the act of George IV, which relaxed the old Navigation Act, so as to open the enumerated ports to American vessels, admitted them

only direct from the United States. No American vessel, so admitted to those ports, could export anything from them, because no other vessels were admitted. And it was impossible fully to apply the restrictions to British vessels which were applied to Americans. So the act forbade British vessels, coming from elsewhere, to bring with them merchandise from the enumerated ports; and those coming from the enumerated ports, to bring with them merchandise from elsewhere. Parliament met this enactment by a law which limited the liberty of trade to "the ships of those countries which, having colonial possessions, should grant the like privileges, of trading with those possessions, to British ships; or which, not having colonial possessions, should place the commerce and navigation of Great Britain, and of its possessions abroad, upon the footing of the most favored nation." The United States, having no colonial possessions, could not come within the first of these conditions; but it was expected to come under the second. It did not do so; and an Order in Council was issued, July 27, 1826, declaring that the United States had not complied with the conditions of the act of Parliament, and declaring that the trade and intercourse between the United States and the greater part of the British colonies should cease, on a day named. The President, on March 17, 1827, issued a proclamation, declaring that the trade between the United States and the British colonies be prohibited. And thus, said Mr. Cushing, by the official acts of both governments, the commercial intercourse between the United States and most of the British colonies in America, was suspended, and ceased. The value of the interests, brought to a stand still so suddenly, may be seen by the following figures, which show the gross registered tonnage, and the total amount of the imports and exports of both nations for the year 1826:

Statement of the Gross Registered Tonnage for the Year 1826: 737,978 tons.

Statement Showing the Value of Foreign Merchandise Imported, Re-exported and Consumed in the United States, in the Year 1826:

Imported.....	\$84,974,477
Re-exported.....	34,539,612
Consumed, and on hand.....	60,434,862
Population.....	11,574,889
Consumption per capita,	\$5.22

Value of the Exports of Domestic Produce and Manufactures for the Year 1826:

Year ending Sept. 20, Amount...\$53,055,710.

NEBRASKA: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

All States are known by names other than their legal ones; hence, Nebraska was christened the "Antelope State." Yet its editors and citizens generally, in writing, denominate it the "Junior State." This they will abandon, however, next year, when Colorado will take her place as the "Junior" and "Centennial State." "Nebraska" is an Indian word, and was the original name of what is now called the "Platte" River. "Ne"—water; "Braska"—wide, shallow.

The territory forming the State of Nebraska, was included in the Louisiana purchase of 1803, and, until 1812, formed a part of the "District," or "Territory," of Louisiana, when it was embraced in "Missouri Territory." After the organization of Missouri, as a State, in 1821, Nebraska was without organization until 1844, when Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," of Illinois, introduced a bill to establish the Territory of Nebraska, which was referred, amended, and finally lost sight of, until 1848, when the same Senator revived his bill, which was reported by the Committee on Territories, recommitted, and again slept until 1854, when its awakening aroused the entire Union. Congress then defined the territory of Nebraska. But in 1861, Colorado and Dakota were organized, and in 1863 Idaho, each taking a portion from Nebraska, reducing it to its present broad limits of 75,000 square miles, or the seventh largest State in the Union.

In March, 1860, the electors of Nebraska, by a vote of 1,877 to 1,987, declined forming a State government. In 1864, Congress, at the request of the Territorial legislature, passed an enabling act, which provided, among other things, that the Constitution of Nebraska should contain an article, forever irrevocable, without the consent of Congress—

1st. That slavery, or involuntary servitude, should be forever prohibited, in said State.

2d. That perfect toleration of religious sentiment should be secured, and no inhabitant of said State, to be ever molested, in person or property, on account of his or her mode of religious worship.

3d. That the people of the Territory should disclaim all right to the unappropriated public lands within its borders; that the lands of citizens of the United States, not residing within the State, should not be taxed higher than the land belonging to residents, and that the land, or property, of the United States should not be taxed.

Nothing definite was done, however, until June, 1866, when, by a vote of 3,938 to 3,838, the Constitution was ratified by the electors, and, in July of the same year, the first legislature of the State convened, at Omaha, the then Capital; but it was not until February 8, 1867, that Congress finally passed a bill admitting Nebraska. President Johnson having refused to sign, or veto, the bill adopted by Congress for that purpose, in July, 1866, and vetoed the one passed in January, 1867, and when the bill finally passed, it was over President Johnson's veto, by a Senate vote of 30 to 9, and in the House by a vote of 120 to 44. Johnson's professed objections were, that the bill embraced conditions not mentioned in the enabling act; that the proceedings attending the formation of the Constitution were different from those prescribed; and that the population did not, at that time, justify the admission of Nebraska. But it was generally understood that his real objection was the political character of the applicant.

The bill admitted the State into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original States, with the following express condition:

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That this shall not take effect, except upon the fundamental condition, that, within the State of Nebraska, there shall be no denial of the elective franchise, or of any other right, to any person, by reason of race, or color, except Indians not taxed; and upon the further fundamental condition, that the legislature of said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States an authentic copy of said act.

Upon receipt of this, the President was required, by proclamation, to announce the fact; and from that time, without further proceeding on the part of Congress, the ad-

mission of the State into the Union was to be considered as complete.

On the 20th of February, 1867, the Nebraska legislature ratified the above provision, and declared that said third section of act of Congress should be a part of the organic law of the State. On the 1st of March, 1867, the President announced, by proclamation, the compliance of Nebraska with the provisions aforesaid, and from that day dates her full admission into the Union.

There is, probably, no State in the Union which can show such material advantages, in such a short period, as Nebraska, from March, 1867, to the opening of the present year. Before us lies the valedictory message of Governor Robt. W. Furnas, delivered in January last, a masterly State paper, from which we glean, that at the close of the fiscal year, 1872, there were 538 school houses in the State, valued at \$700,000; whereas, the report, for the fiscal year 1874, showed 1,345 school houses, valued at over \$1,300,000, an increase of over 800 buildings and \$600,000, in two years; while the increase in pupils, for the same period, was 21,868, there being at the close of 1874, 72,991.

Nebraska has, also, a State University, Agricultural College and Normal School, each and all in a flourishing condition, which speaks well for the educational spirit of the people of the "Antelope State."

Of State institutions, Nebraska has an Insane Asylum, Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and Penitentiary, and the last legislature provided for the erection of a Blind Asylum. And here it is proper to add, that the average number of convicts in the Penitentiary is 54. It is the only institution which does not thrive in proportion to the swelling population of the State.

The head waters and upper branches of the Missouri River are all in Nebraska. The soil is of exuberant fertility, and of a dark, vegetable mould, easily stirred and tilled. The altitude of the country secures to it a dry, pure, salubrious atmosphere, free from fog and humidity. The extreme of heat is 100°, tempered by prairie breezes—the extreme of cold is 15° and 20°, but the "zephyrs" of winter do not temper it much.

THE PRESENT.

We have briefly, and without effort to extenuate, set forth Nebraska as it was, from which it will be seen, that she was born after much travail and solicitude. And even after its birth, it had a seemingly insurmountable obstacle to overcome, in the fact, that the people of the world, through our geographers, were led to believe that the State was located in the centre of the "Great American Desert." But to-day, the three hundred thousand inhabitants of the State are witnesses of the great error thus circulated. And there are other witnesses also. We refer to those of the several States of the Union, who attended the two last National Pomological Exhibitions, holden at Richmond, Virginia, and Boston, Massachusetts, at each of which Nebraska carried away the largest and most envied premiums. The record will be required by many ere this is believed. Well, to prove it. On page 40 of the proceedings of the Convention and Exhibition holden at Richmond, Virginia, September 6, 7 and 8, 1871, we find the following record:

"From Nebraska State Horticultural Society, Nemaha county, Nebraska, R. W. Furnas, Secretary: 134 varieties of apples, 12 of seedling peaches, 10 of pears, 2 of plums, 1 of grapes. The collection of seedling peaches attracted marked attention. Fourteen years ago, not a single fruit tree, of any variety, was grown in Nebraska."

On page 42 we find the following:

"The Committee on Special Premiums for the best collection of apples, peaches, pears and grapes, report that the only entry meeting the requirements of this premium, is that from Nebraska, and respectfully recommend, that the premium of one hundred dollars, offered by the Virginia Pomological Society, be awarded accordingly."

"Colonel Furnas, of the Nebraska delegation, rose immediately after the reading of the report, and said: Nebraska did not send her fruits here to take premiums, and begged leave to donate the premiums awarded to the American Pomological Society. The donation was accepted, and three cheers given for Nebraska."

In the proceedings of the National Exhibition at Boston, Massachusetts, September 10, 11 and 12, 1873, we find that:

"Nebraska had on exhibition 229 varieties of apples, 43 of pears, 8 of grapes, 8 of peaches—total 288."

careful and thoughtful canvassing of judgment and opinion.

Elliott, reporter of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, tells us that whilst the last members were signing the Constitution, Dr. Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issues, looked at that behind the President, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know, that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

This nation did not spring into existence like Minerva, full-grown and developed. Only gourds and mushrooms grow in a night and perish as speedily; but the Fathers, with an eye single to the interests of those who should follow them, and animated with the hope and belief that the Sun of the Republic would not set until Time drifted and merged into eternity, provided us with a Constitution, which was at once a marvel of statesmanship, and stimulus to the higher and nobler aspirations of mankind. The people of the several States accepted it, and the news of its adoption was hailed with delight by millions beyond the seas, who looked upon America with the delight and confidence experienced by the "wise men" when following the Star of Bethlehem.

No people under the stars ever had so much to be proud of, ever inherited such a priceless legacy, as the Americans, and it is enough to crowd the mind with amazement, that there are to be found within our boundaries men who would, if they could, dissolve our relations as States and people, and upon the ruins of our grand Republic, establish small confederacies. Lincoln's question, in 1861, to the threatening rebels, was pertinent: "Can we not as friends make laws, better than as aliens we could make treaties?" asked the immortal martyr. What stands in the way of a consolidation of interests and unison of hopes?

Surely, nothing save the unbridled schemes of partizans, surcharged with passion and hate, and governed by the principle of "rule or ruin."

In 1861, power was legitimately and constitutionally withdrawn from the Democratic party and vested in the Republicans; whereupon the influential leaders of the Democracy set themselves about to tear down the pillars of the Republic, and through a sea of blood attain position, which they could not through the suffrages of electors. The Republican party resisted the fratricidal effort, and frustrated it, and has since used its best endeavors to so rehabilitate the insurrectionary States, that they should be enabled to work easily and contentedly under the same influences and laws that govern the loyal States. But, unfortunately for the country, there are those who look with disfavor upon all efforts looking to conciliation and harmony, and the effects of their teaching are fruitful of much discontent and mischief. Well may the patriot citizen exclaim, as did Hamilton, when commenting on the efforts of a similar class in his day to defeat the ratification of the Federal Constitution:

"The more I see, the more I find reason for those who love their country to weep over its blindness." To the lasting and enduring credit of Republicans let it be noted, that not a single one has put himself on record as opposed to extending the right hand of friendship and fellowship to their erring brethren, only requiring that no special privileges be granted those who fought against the Starry Banner, over those who periled their lives in its defence. On the contrary, they each say to the other, as Hamilton did to his friend, Col. Saunders: "We have fought side by side to make America free; let us, hand in hand, struggle to make her happy."

A more untenable doctrine than "State Rights" was never impressed as a hobby, and yet it is the staple upon which the enemies of the Republican party seek to regain lost power. In saying that it is untenable, is not indulging in mere assertion, but is easily demonstrated; and the effort is timely, inasmuch as the way to harmonious union is clogged by enemies of the Republican party, who insist upon a recognition of the dog-

ma as a cardinal principle. The fact might be cited, that the question entered largely into the late war, and that the result was a verdict in favor of the doctrine that the Federal Government is superior to that of the State, as that of the State is superior to that of its counties. But history provides fuller evidence, and proves that the Fathers of the Republic, the framers of the Federal Constitution, repudiated the idea of State independence. Patrick Henry, in addressing the Convention of Virginia, called to consider the Constitution, said: "It has been repeatedly said here, that the great object of a National Government was National defence. If they give power to the National Government for the general defence, the means must be commensurate to the end. All the means in the possession of the people must be given to the Government, which is entrusted with the public defence."

Washington, under date of December 20, 1776, in a letter to the President of Congress, said: "I have labored ever since I have been in the service, to discourage all kinds of local attachments and distinctions of country, by denominating the whole by the greater name of AMERICAN."

Under date of November 30, 1787, writing in relation to the opposition to the Constitution by editors, on the ground of too much power being vested in the Federal Government, Washington said: "I have hardly seen one publication that is not addressed to the passions of the people, and obviously calculated to alarm their fears."

Madison, in his papers, vol. 1, page 89, says: "It has ever been my opinion, that Congress ought to have complete sovereignty in all but the mere municipal law of each State." The same statesman made a report to Congress in the following words: "It is understood and truly declared, in case any of the confederated States shall refuse or neglect to abide by the determination of Congress, and to observe all the articles of confederation, as required by the 13th Article, the said United States, in Congress assembled, are fully authorized to employ the force of the United States, as well by sea as by land, to compel such State or States to fulfill their federal engagements." Those

words, uttered or written now, would stamp their author as a Republican of pronounced Radical type. But such were the sentiments of the Fathers, and such the convictions of Republicans of to-day.

There are other opponents of the Republican party, and its efforts looking to reconstruction, who argue, in their defense, that the enfranchisement of the blacks is an outrage, and being ashamed to acknowledge that their prejudice against the blacks as a race is the groundwork of their opposition, they assume to favor property qualification, reasoning, that thrift indicates intelligence, and naught but intelligence had just claims on suffrage. But why discriminate against the blacks? Why not make the principle, if a just one, general, and copy the suffrage law of Massachusetts? But this question of linking property qualification with suffrage was presented and ably argued in the Convention in which the Federal Constitution was drafted, and it is well to refer thereto and ascertain what were the views of the authors of that document, it being generally contended and conceded that they were wise and patriotic. Democrats usually wax very eloquent when alluding to the Fathers of the Republic, and the sacredness of the "Constitution as it was."

Franklin said, that if a vote were given a man who owned a jackass, and withheld from the man too poor to possess himself of such an animal, the question would be pertinent, "Was it the man or the jack that voted?"

Luther Martin was Attorney General of Maryland, and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, in which body he was recognized as a very able member. In Elliott's Debates, vol. 1, p. 353, is recorded an address to the people of his State, by Mr. Martin, favoring the ratification of the Federal Constitution, of which the following is an extract:

"It was said that the maxim that taxation and representation ought to go together, was true so far, that no person ought to be taxed who is not represented; but not to the extent insisted upon, to wit: that the question of taxation and representation ought to be the same. On the contrary, the question of representation depends upon the quantum of freedom, and, therefore, all, whether individual States or individual men,

who are equally free, have a right to equal representation; that to those who insist that he who pays the greatest share of taxes ought to have the greatest number of votes, it is a sufficient answer, to say: that this rule would be destructive of the liberty of the others, and would render them slaves to the more rich and wealthy; that if one man pays more taxes than another, it is because he has more wealth to be protected by Government, and he receives greater benefits from the Government; so, if one State pays more to the Federal Government, it is because, as a State, she enjoys greater blessings from it; she has more wealth protected by it, or a greater number of inhabitants whose rights are secured, and who share its advantages."

But it were useless to elucidate this question more elaborately. There is nothing but sound in the affirmative of the proposition, while the negative is pregnant with force and reason. Common honesty and fairness demand that the manhood of the blacks being recognized; that they should be awarded all the rights and privileges attaching to manhood; that the color of the skin should not debar a man from the polls, any more than should the color of eyes, or hair, or size of feet. The Republican watchword is, "Equal rights to all men."

But let us look reason, candor and honesty in the face, and ascertain, if possible, how true, genuine reconciliation can be brought about, and which of the political parties of the country and age is best calculated to perform the work.

And, first, let the inquiry be made as to how to commence the work? Republicans contend that it can only be consummated by commencing aright, viz.: by recognizing the equality of all men; by Americans becoming more homogeneous; by the mingling, on terms of amity, of Northern and Southern people, without odious distinction of section and inquiry as to color of blood, and nobility of ancestry. Through this commingling of the peoples of both sections of our Union, prejudices will be removed, and the "common brotherhood of man" be recognized; true chivalry will supersede the spurious article so long current; and instead of a man being considered noble because his father was noble or rich, he will be dependent, for character, upon himself; and instead

of being held chivalric because of ancestry, wealth, or any other accidental and really extraneous cause, he only will be esteemed as chivalric whose heart reaches out in love and sympathy for mankind, whose hand is ever ready to aid and strengthen the unfortunate, and whose foot is never put forth to trip a fellow-being in the race for subsistence or honor. When this is done, and the life of the Northern man is as secure at the South, as that of the Southern man is at the North, Northern capital will flow into Southern channels, the smoke of factories will float in huge volumes over Southern cities, and the music of the forge, trip-hammer and cheery voices of industrious mechanics and artizans, will mingle with the atmosphere of sections now hedging in isolated peoples.

Such relations are desirable, on economic grounds. This Government was never ordained for the benefit of office-holders, and the more amicable and reciprocal the relations of our people, the less officials will be required under the Government, and those needed will receive less pay for their services. Then, instead of the National Government drawing upon the resources of its citizens, it would exercise only paternal care and protection. The experiment is easy and simple; the outgrowth and effect would cause rejoicing throughout the civilized world. Those who fought against the Union for four years, and, at Appomattox, accepted the issues of the war as final, and renewed their allegiance to the flag, must not be denounced as "scalawags," and those who exchanged Northern for Southern homes, with the view of pursuing honorable vocations of life, must not be stigmatized as "carpet-baggers." In a word, the blackest as well as the whitest, the humblest as well as most opulent citizen, must be protected in his right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The Republican party secured to foreign-born citizens, who had voluntarily taken upon themselves the obligations of American citizenship, protection from hindrance, insult or injury, on re-visiting their native land, so that if an adopted citizen visits the country of his birth, and the authorities thereof claim him as their own, he has but to let his Minister know the fact,

who will invoke the aid of the cable to transmit the intelligence to "the powers that be," here, when the full strength of the Government will be put forth to secure the personal liberty of such citizen. The Republican party insists that its native-born citizens receive equal protection under the shadow of the flag which is the emblem of our nationality.

Pages might be consumed in touching the picture, and making bolder its outlines; but suggestion sufficient to induce calm reflection is all that is aimed at, and the second proposition indicated is now arrived at.

What political party is best calculated to bring about the desired condition of things? Surely, not the Democracy. When power was last vested in the Democratic party, the National Treasury was full, and, on retiring, they passed over to their successors the keys to empty money boxes. When its last President set out from his Pennsylvania home, for Washington, to be inaugurated, his route was pleasant, and free from danger; but when Abraham Lincoln undertook the trip, it was in disguise, and under cover of darkness, to avoid assassination, in avoiding which he but postponed and finally met it. The country gave the Democracy one Government; it turned over to the Republicans two governments, each having a President. The country gave the Democracy one flag; it handed over to its successor two flags—the one our fathers gave us, draped in dishonor. The country gave the Democracy a suitable navy, and munitions of war; the Democracy scattered the navy, leaving our shores defenceless, and plundered our arsenals, leaving us without sufficient guns to arm two regiments of men. Worse than all, they gave to us, in lieu of the peace given them, a terrible, fearful war. On vacating their places of trust, as guardians of the Temple of Liberty, they set the Temple on fire, which fire the Republican party extinguished, with oceans of blood. During the conflagration, skeletons of heroes passed from prisons to trenches and laid in heaps as massacred and piled at Fort Pillow; infected clothing poisoned the atmosphere and caused the death of non-combatants; and every scheme which demoniac ingenuity

could devise was brought into requisition. As well, therefore, might the angelic host have suggested the crowning of Lucifer "Son of the Morning," after his treason and fall, and the transfer of the trump from Gabriel to him, as for a man holding patriotic feelings towards his Government, to suggest that the reins of power be again reposed in Democratic hands. Those who so favor, would, had they lived in 1778, have advocated the sending across the briny chasm of a commission to Benedict Arnold as U. S. Minister to the Court of St. James. This is not a flaunting of the sanguinary linen, nor a shaking of the raw head and bloody bones, but words of truth and soberness.

Napoleon once said to his soldiers: "From the heights of yonder pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you." Republicans! from heights much greater and more dazzling than any which the pyramids of Egypt ever pierced, millions are looking down upon you. The Fathers of the Republic, the immortal Lincoln, and those who poured out, in red libations, their lives, that their country might live, are looking from out the windows of Heaven upon you. The cause they held so dear, while on earth, they have not forgotten, in their higher estate. Let the memory of their lives and sacrifices animate you to effort, and the consciousness of the purity of your cause nerve you to duty.

THE Republican party has not made, nor does it intend to make, war upon the Catholic Church. It holds, what many intelligent Catholics hold, that the Roman Catholic Church has no right to appropriate one dollar of the public school funds for the support of sectarian schools. It maintains the same doctrine toward all sects and creeds. The Roman Church has been the only one that claimed a division of the school funds. Opposition to this claim has brought about the issue between the Ultramontane branch of the Catholic Church and the Republican party. The Church has allied itself with the Democratic party to carry its point, and thus control a portion of the school money. The Republicans are a unit against the policy and the alliance. This is the whole question at issue.

RELATIONS OF THE STATE TO THE RAILWAY SYSTEM.

On the 25th of September last, an interesting celebration occurred at the town of Darlington, Durham, England, in honor of the semi-centennial of the opening of the first steam rail or tram-way. The biography by Samuel Smiles, of the Stephensons, father and son, gives an attractive account of the event :

"The railway, after being under construction for more than three years, was at length about to be opened. * * Opinions were pretty equally divided as to the railway, but as regarded the locomotive, the general belief was that it would 'never answer.' However, there the locomotive was—No. 1—delivered on to the line, and ready to draw the first train of wagons on the opening day.

"A great concourse of people assembled on the occasion. * * To give *eclat* to the opening, the directors of the company issued a programme of the proceedings, intimating the time at which the procession of wagons would pass certain points along the line. The proprietors assembled as early as six in the morning, at Brusselton fixed engine, where the working of the inclined planes was successfully rehearsed. A train of wagons, laden with corn and merchandise, was drawn up the western incline by the fixed engine, a length of 1,960 yards, in seven and a half minutes, and then lowered down the incline on the eastern side of the hill, 880 yards, in five minutes.

"At the foot of the incline the procession of vehicles was formed, consisting of the locomotive engine No. 1, driven by George Stephenson himself; after it, six wagons laden with coal and flour, then a covered coach, containing directors and proprietors, next, twenty-one coal wagons, fitted up for passengers, (with which they were crammed), and lastly, six more wagons laden with coal.

"Strange to say, a man on horseback, carrying a flag, with the motto of the company inscribed on it, *Periculum privatum utilitas publica*, headed the procession! * * It was not thought so dangerous a place after all. The locomotive was only supposed to be able to go at the rate of from four to six miles an

hour, and an ordinary horse could easily keep ahead of that.

"Off started the procession, with the horseman at its head. A great concourse of people stood along the line. Many of them tried to accompany it by running, and some gentlemen on horseback galloped across the field to keep up with the train. The railway descending with a gentle incline towards Darlington, the rate of speed was consequently variable. At a favorable part of the road, Stephenson determined to try the speed of the engine, and he called upon the horseman to get out of the way! * * The speed was at once raised to twelve miles an hour, and at a favorable part of the road, to fifteen miles."

Dr. Smiles then tells how the runners and horsemen were distanced, and further, that on arrival at Darlington, it was found that the passengers numbered 450, and with the weight of merchandise, etc., that the train weighed ninety tons. The train returned to Stockton, twelve miles, occupying three hours in the journey. "The day was kept throughout the district as a holiday; and horses, gigs, carts, and other vehicles filled with people, stood along the railway, as well as crowds of persons on foot, waiting to see the train pass. The whole population of Stockton turned out to receive the procession, and after a walk through the streets, the inevitable dinner at the Town Hall wound up the day's proceedings."

This was the humble beginning of a system so vast at the fiftieth anniversary of the first opening of a tram-way operated by steam power, that the figures are almost startling. In fifty years, from the twelve miles embraced by the Stockton and Darlington Railway, with its three locomotives for freight and haulage, and its rude passenger coaches drawn by horses, there were in Great Britain and Ireland,* on the first of January, 1874, 16,082 miles of railroad; being one mile to every seven square miles of territory. On the same date, the United States operated 74,171 miles, or one mile to every 39 square miles of territory.

*Martin's Year Book for 1875.

According to the same authority, there was in each continental division, the following railroad mileage :

North and South America.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.	Year	Number of miles	Proportion to area, one to square mile.
United States	1874	74,171	30
Chili	1874	620	211
Costa Rica	1873	82	315
Uruguay	1874	195	877
Honduras	1873	62	438
Argentina	1874	664	776
Canada	1874	3,478	1,001
Peru	1871	475	108
Paraguay	1873	44	2,345
Mexico	1874	327	3151
Brazil	1874	714	4,537
U. S. of Colombia	1873	65	6,600
Total,		80,897	

Europe.

Belgium	1872	1,892	6
Gt. Britain and Ireland	1874	16,082	7
Germany	1874	12,701	16
Switzerland	1871	820	18
France	1874	10,872	19
Netherlands	1872	1,012	19
Italy	1874	4,237	23
Austria-Hungary	1873	8,990	26
Denmark	1872	530	23
Spain	1870	3,801	54
Portugal	1871	507	90
Sweden and Norway	1875	2,227	129
Russia	1874	10,560	171
Turkey*	1873	488	3,720
Total,		74,749	

Asia, Africa, and Australasia.

British India	1874	5,707	172
Egypt	1873	737	907
Australasia	1873	1,364	2,167
Coast of Good Hope	1874	134	5,000
Total,		7,942	

To recapitulate them, there was a total railroad mileage in the world, at the beginning of the year 1874, as follows :

MILES.

North and South America,	80,897.
Europe,	74,649.
Other quarters,	1,942.
	163,588.

Accurate data is not yet accessible for later constructions, but there is no doubt, that with the small branches running in Greece, the Channel Islands, Ceylon, Java, Japan, Singapore, and various other outlying points, as well as the additions made in the last twenty-one months to the mileage of the larger countries, that the present length

* A small proportion is located in Asiatic Turkey. Area is based on the entire proportion to empire.

exceeds 180,000 miles. It would be difficult to accurately estimate the capital invested, but it cannot be less, judging by the totals in the United States and Great Britain, than from fifteen or eighteen thousand million dollars. The total capital account for the United States was, at the close of 1873, \$3,159,423,057 ; for Great Britain and Ireland, at the same date, £588,320,308, or about \$2,941,601,540—probably \$3,000,000,000 at this date. The capital of the French railroads is not less than \$2,000,000,000, and that of Germany will be at least \$2,500,000,000—making for these four countries, a total length of 113,826 miles, an aggregate of \$10,601,034,597. The remaining sixty-seven thousand miles has cost, probably, three-fifths as much more, which would swell the total to about seventeen millions.

But the power of the railway system, in the countries where it is now of paramount importance, is by no means limited to what is embraced by the vast capital it represents. It is in its power to control the commerce of a country ; to develop its resources ; to strengthen its political unity ; to immediately and directly take toll of all production, and to very potently, though indirectly, shape the relations of legislation and administration, that this vast interest has become so formidable an element of modern life, affairs and government. It must be borne in mind, also, that the capital represented by the system, is practically concentrated into a very few hands. The number of those contributing by their means to the vast aggregate, cannot be large, when compared with the great number of those whose interests are to be affected by the lowering of a rate, or the dishonest management of any extended railway line. It may well be questioned, indeed, if the number of those investing in railroad stock, for instance, in a country like our own, forms, any way, as numerous a body as those who are employed in the conducting of the system itself.

On the other hand, the owners of stock or bonds, unless they are operators therein, or directly connected with the direction of the roads themselves, are the persons who practically know the least about the business. As railroads are now managed, they save lit-

tle, provided only dividends are regularly paid. The actual managers of railroad interests, here or elsewhere, are very few in number. Probably, less than a thousand men may be said to control the vast mileage and capital which has been presented. Of that number, a smaller portion are the potential persons. In this country, a score of men might be named, whose word, if combined, would practically give the law to the seventy-five thousand miles of railroad, that binds, materially, the Continental Union into one. In England the number is somewhat larger. But everywhere the economic law is the same. Consolidation of the system by countries, or sections thereof; concentration of management leading to economy of administration and consequent greater profit, and finally to the death of all competition, unless the same be artificially enforced or produced by governed regulations. In fact, the fifty years of railway life just closed, establishes conclusively, that the system in private hands, is a remarkable proof of the possibility of an empire within an empire.

The benefits derived from the scientific highway, both to commerce and culture, cannot be denied. To do what John Ruskin desires, and blot them out, would be to plunge the social life of man into a chaos, which could end only in retrogression, or man's conquest of some new force, adapted to locomotion and traffic, which could fitly replace what would have been lost. But the question to be considered lies deeper. It is, what are to be the future relations of the railroad corporations to the Government, not only of this, but other countries? No thoughtful person can deny for a moment, the greatness of this influence, and the enormous power it wields; nor can it be denied also, that this power is largely irresponsible, either to the voice of the people, called public opinion, or to its trustees and attorneys—the Government of the State itself. Its position, also—that of a toll-gatherer—much more than that of a common carrier—is also to be considered.

Without offering any special plan of supervision, control, public ownership, or the worth while to enquire,

what are the present relations of the railroad system to Government, or the State, in this and other countries? Premising, then, that there is no question among publicists, statesmen or administrators of this or other eras, identified with the inception and growth of any system of civilization, but that the community or State is primarily responsible for and sovereign over the highways of a country, and the authority for speaking of the railroad question as a matter of government polity, is easily understood and accepted. Lord Bacon speaks of the roads of a country as being its arteries; when the circulation is free, the general health is unimpaired.

Only two great nations have adopted, as a distinctive policy, the entire surrender, or practically so, of the construction, ownership, and, in a large and general sense, the complete control of their railroad systems, to private capital, interests, and management. These countries are the United States and Great Britain. Neither the General Government of this Union, nor the Imperial Administration of the Mother-Country, have as yet adopted the policy of State direction, supervision or ownership. In Great Britain, there is a direct inspection of the construction and permanent works, and a rigid code for the protection of life and property. But otherwise, the Government does not interfere with the management. Authority has to be obtained from Parliament to construct, and that body has required the companies to run cheap or "Parliamentary" trains, at stated intervals. Government has never laid out any general plan; it has given no subventions; it has, in fact, left railroad development to private demands and speculation, and given incorporations as prizes to the shrewdest lobbying.

In the United States, the State Governments have claimed and exercised the power of incorporation. A good deal of public money has been sunk in the form of subventions. Charters have been granted, as a rule, with reckless liberality. No authority has been exercised over location or construction, and not until very recently have any of the States attempted to exercise the regulative attributes of sovereignty, in relation

to this system. Other attributes, such as the power of incorporation, and the exercise of the right of eminent domain, have been abundantly used for the benefit of these private companies. They have been so used, because the railroad is virtually "a public trust, charged with remuneration for private capital invested." They have not, however, been used in any large degree as a restraining or supervising force.

The National Government has given large subsidies, and owns great interests in railroads which have been constructed through the territories. These grants have been given and sustained on the largest grounds of public policy—political, military, material, commercial, and for what is so essential in a land like ours, for purposes of internal development. But all these grants are now regarded as being too lax in terms, and as retaining for Government itself, too little available power for the just subordination of such great enterprises to the public interests.

All the early discussions, as well as the more recent ones in Congress, State Legislatures, and Constitutional Conventions, show, that in the United States, as in the British Parliament, the railroad system was in its earlier inception regarded from the standpoint of public convenience, as being a matter of direct Governmental concern, to be regulated by it from the same point of view, that places the common highways of a country under communal control. It was regarded as a matter of purely administrative convenience, whether or not, the Government should construct the works itself; or transfer them, with appropriate privileges to private enterprise. The two great Anglo-Saxon nations decided on the latter. Both are now considering, seriously, whether they were or not, wise in that decision. At any rate, they have given it a large and ample trial. One result is the vastness of the mileage which has been constructed.

But the State—Belgium—which at the outset took the opposite view, and declared the construction of the scientific highways of a country to be properly the work of the Government itself, ranks, though small in area, as first among all nations in the proportionate extent of its mileage. In 1833,

Belgium commenced its works of construction. The State laid out, built and now owns, the principal or trunk lines of communication. Up to 1844, it very sparingly encouraged private capital, in the construction of connecting and subsidiary roads. After the latter date, it became less rigid in its policy, and while still managing the chief lines, it allowed the corporation roads to grow rapidly, holding over them, however, the legal right to compel surrender by State purchase.

In 1860, private capital controlled 67 per cent. of the mileage, as against the Government trunk lines—forming 33 per cent. of the whole. Since this date, the private roads have become formidable competitors against the Government lines. Amalgamation, an inevitable consequence of railroad growth, has enabled powerful corporations to control the extension of their system. The Government competition is an excellent regulation, in, that it produces low and uniform rates, insures publicity, and does not allow of hasty construction. Since 1870, the State has resumed its original policy, and is now gradually absorbing the principal private roads.

France has adopted mixed principles. Up to 1842, the railroad system gained no marked foothold. At that date, the Government, to encourage private capital, divided France into six geographical divisions, and handed each over, for ninety-nine years, to a great corporation. A Government Department was established, and the whole system has been built up, and is now run under a system of rigid supervision. No interference with profit-making, beyond that of approving all changes in the tariff, either for freight or passengers, is attempted. The six original systems are known as the "Old Net-Work." To induce the construction of branch and connecting roads, a plan known as the "New Net-Work," was devised. A guarantee of interest for fifty years was given on certain amounts. The right of re-purchase, by the State, at the end of fifteen years, is also provided. Over one hundred million dollars has been so guaranteed. A Government director sits in all corporations. The leading principle is the absence of competition.

It is claimed that the State and the people are better served. Amalgamation is recognized. All tariffs are submitted to the Government, and then widely published.

In Germany, as now constituted, both private or corporate ownership, and that of the State, exists side by side, but all are under rigid military and administrative regulation and supervision. In Prussia, the Government is the sole or chief owner. In the other States of the Empire, roads have been built by Government subventions, in connection with, as well as by, private capital. The State, therefore, both owns and competes. The same principle that prevails in France and Belgium, of requiring publicity of all tariffs, is operative in all the German States, as well as generally throughout Europe. The effect is the same, everywhere—a decided tendency to producing uniformity of rates. The Government, as a competitor, finds itself, according to Belgian and German experience, always able to regulate, by reduction of rates. The difference of its position is so essential a factor in the problem, that it deserves to be made prominent. Capt. W. H. Tyler, R. E., the well known English Railway Inspector—an undisputed authority on all matters of theory and practice, in connection therewith—stated, in his evidence, taken by a joint committee of Parliament, in 1872, that the tendency of State management and ownership must be to promote the public convenience. That of corporate or private management must be to the making of profit. He also declared that, in his opinion, there were only two things to be done in the future: either to let the railways manage the State, or the State manage the railways.

To proceed with the present relations of Governments to this system. Russia owns all her railways. Their primary purpose is military and strategic—to facilitate the movement of troops, and enable the concentration thereof, for purposes of defence or attack. Of course, an immediate consequence of their construction, and the running of the same, is the large development of the country. Since the accession of the present Czar, private companies have been allowed to construct several important lines.

In the Empire of Austria-Hungary, the railways are under State supervision, but it is far less rigid than in the German Empire. The Austrian roads over the Noric, Carnic and Julian Alps, which are among the marvels of engineering, as well as offering to the traveller some of the most wondrous mountain scenery in the range of modern travel, were either built by the Government directly, or aided by large subventions. So with the roads that are now traversing the Hungarian and Slavonian provinces or States. The latter roads have been given to private corporations, supervised by the Imperial Government. The famous "Semmering" road, through Styria and Illyria, over the Noric Alps, to Trieste and the Adriatic, was formerly operated by the Government. It is now leased by a French company, for ninety-nine years. One of the conditions was, that the Government should never make any concession for a road from the lower Danube, through Hungary and Austrian Croatia, to Fiume, a famous Roman post and colony, on the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic, not many miles from Trieste. This action is a grave blunder, and largely tends to promote Slavonian disaffection in the Austrian Empire. Besides, it greatly hinders the development of one of the finest wheat regions in Europe.

But to return to the question of railway management. As in Germany proper, all railroad employes are regarded as Government officers, and are under military discipline. In Prussia and elsewhere in Germany where its "blood and iron" rule prevails, the conductors and guards are all veteran soldiers, generally commissioned officers; while down through every grade the military discipline prevails. They form a special corps. So exact are the requirements, that when a train is passing, every switchman, watchman, guard at a water tank or gate, even the track-repairers and laborers, are obliged to assume the position of "attention," and make the military salute, as the locomotive and carriages go thundering by. This is done, because their superior officers are always presumed to be on board. It gives an American a singular feeling to look from the window of a flying express train,

and catch a passing glimpse of a standing figure, rigid and stalwart, hand up to forehead, erect by some solitary gate or tank. In Austria, the same code prevails, but its enforcement is often so lax as to be a mere burlesque; as, for instance, when passing over some of the marvellous grades of the "Semmering," you look out and see a fat peasant woman standing by the gate or tank she and her husband attend, and holding, it may be, at a "present arms," a broomstick she has hastily picked up, on leaving the cottage to attend her post. Still, it must be confessed that the Austrian officials are much pleasanter to deal with than are the Prussians, especially for a stranger. The principal ones all speak French, and many of them English. They are decidedly courteous. The German railway employes as invariably speak French, and most of them English also, but they will not converse with you or answer inquiries, in either tongue. Only German is to be spoken, and this is according to orders. The Saxon officials are better than the Prussians, while the Bavarians—sometimes called the German Yankees—are even more obliging.

But this is aside. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the roads have been built, as a rule, by private corporations, largely aided by Government subventions. The State maintains a more or less strict control over the management. Military necessity enters largely into the conditions. In Italy, the railroad employé is a State official, in a limited sense. All changes in the tariff have to be approved by the Government, and publicity of all rates is required to be made. In Turkey, and its vassal States of Servia and Roumania, the necessities of their exchequers have been, and are, such as to require very liberal inducements for capitalists to enter on the work of construction. But, underlying all, the principle remains, of these works being considered of a public character and proper to be controlled by the State. In Egypt, the Khedive is the chief stockholder. In British India, private enterprise having failed to raise the capital needed, the Indian Government first determined on guaranteeing interest, which it has done, for ninety-nine years, at the rate of five per cent. From 1849, up to 1872, the amount

thus guaranteed was £43,018,959, or about \$215,094,795. Of this, however, \$108,349,205 has been repaid out of the net earnings of the lines. The Government has a director in every board, and also reserved to itself the right to purchase the roads from the companies, at the end of twenty-five or fifty years, at the mean value of the shares for the three previous years, or of paying a proportionate annuity until the end of the ninety-nine years for which the guarantee is made; at which time the works, &c., will wholly revert to the Government. Since 1869, the Indian Government has adopted the policy of direct State ownership and construction. The vice-regal State has built since then, or has in process of construction, 1,415 miles of road. The only Japanese road, about thirty miles in length, is owned and maintained by the Mikado's Government. The roads in Australia, as well as on the American Continent, are under corporate control, in the main, though the Peruvian, Chilian, and Brazilian Governments have not abdicated their rights of sovereignty altogether, as is claimed to be the case in the great Anglo-Saxon communities.

All the leading nations are debating, with more or less earnestness, the question, What shall we do with the Railway Power? But the contest progresses more warmly and goes more deeply into the fundamental relations of government, as such, in the United States and in Great Britain, than elsewhere. Great organized materialities and wealth-making forces, like the railroad, telegraph, banking and insurance systems, are functions of modern life and activity, which stand in the attitude of the toll-gatherer, between producer and consumer, by virtue of offering facilities for transportation, exchange, intercommunication and prudential guarantees. They seem to present subject-matter for the closest consideration, in examining the conditions where private enterprise properly begins and ends, and where the government and community may properly execute, supervise, or wholly control.

In Great Britain, Parliament has several times undertaken a thorough examination of the railroad portion of this problem. It has solved that of the telegraph, by State pur-

chase and working. In 1840, under the Premiership of Sir Robert Peel, a Joint Committee of Inquiry was appointed. A more important committee was appointed in 1844, under the chairmanship of Mr. Gladstone, which sat a long time, and made a thorough examination of the infantile giant. That committee had among its members, the ablest public men of the country. The report was drafted by Mr. Gladstone, and took broad ground as to the right of the State to control the great avenues of intercommunication and transportation. It confessed that English statesmanship has been in error in its early transfer of the railroad system to private enterprise. But, making this avowal, it also concluded that it was not desirable, at that date, to change the policy. A bill was presented, looking to the preservation of competition, and the regulation of amalgamation by providing—

"1. If, after 21 years, any new railway has made 10 per cent. for three years, Treasury may reduce rates, but are to guarantee 10 per cent. The revised rates and the guarantee to continue for 21 years.

"2. After 15 years, Treasury may buy any new railway for 25 years' purchase of the average annual profits for the preceding three years; but if the profits are less than 10 per cent., the amount to be settled by arbitration.

"3. No railway less than five miles in length to be bought; and no branch to be bought without buying whole railway.

"4. Recites that the policy of revision or purchase is not to be prejudged; and that '*public resources*' are not to be employed to sustain undue competition with independent companies, and provides that no revision or purchase is

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sary. A later Parliamentary Committee did much to draw public attention to the system as a matter of general concern. An Act was passed in 1847, appointing a "Railway Commission," consisting of five members, with many of the powers granted to the extinct Railway Board. This body ceased to exist in 1851. The revival of speculation in railway construction, led to the appointment of a new committee, of which Mr. Cardwell was made chairman. It was in session a long time, and made in all, five reports, the last one being very elaborate, especially as to amalgamation and interchange of traffic. The result was the passage of a law, known in Great Britain as the "Cardwell Act,"—a very important one; in that it establishes these principles: (1) that every company should be compelled to afford to the public, in respect both of goods and of passengers, the full advantage of convenient interchange from one system of railway to another; and (2) that every company should make equal charges under the same circumstances. This Act is regarded as faulty, in that the remedy, in case of infraction, lies in an appeal from the injured party to the Court of Common Pleas, and not to a special tribunal with ample powers to hear, and grant relief, in a more summary manner. All English legislation provides for "running powers;" that is, that every company or person should have the right to run through freight cars and trains, on any line, connecting or not with their own, under proper regulation. The same principle has been embodied in the legislation of several American States. As a fact, however, it has always been practically inoperative. The question of interest, alone, decides the "through rating."

The idea at the basis of the early legislation was, that the railway corporations would be chiefly owners of the permanent ways, and that they and all others could and would be common carriers over them. Great Britain has gone along without any more rigid policy—the discussion, in the meanwhile, increasing in interest. In 1865, a Royal Commission was appointed to make a more thorough inquiry into the management, condition and relations of the

British railways to each other, the public and the State. The report of this Commission is very valuable for information but indeterminate as to policy. In 1872, a Joint Parliamentary Committee was again appointed, to inquire into a scheme of amalgamation, which was being urged by leading railroad men, and others, and by which it was proposed to divide Great Britain into about six districts, each, as in France, to be handed over to a separate corporation, amalgamated from those now operating the territory.

The report of this Committee is a very suggestive document. Inquiry was made into, not only the tendencies to amalgamation and non-competition, but, generally, the whole matter of management. The complaints made by those who were examined, are of a similar class to those presented so frequently at home, during the last five years. Discriminating rates, "ring" control, obstacles to through traffic, by or over other lines and corporations, the combination of lines supposed to be competing, and the absorption of the canal and other water routes. In a number of instances, also, the canals purchased by English railways have been closed.

But, to the general reader, the most interesting portion of the testimony relates to the opinions expressed by a number of prominent gentlemen, merchants, manufacturers, railroad directors and managers, engineers, and capitalists, identified with this interest, as to the proper relations that should exist between the State and the railway corporations; how far the matter of control or supervision should be carried; to what extent, if at all, the State should be interested in the ownership of railways; and as to the benefits or evils likely to arise from the direct public ownership thereof by the Government. It will surprise most Americans to learn, that not one among the several score of business men of great prominence, who were examined, doubted for a moment the right of the Imperial Government to become the owner of the entire system, or any part thereof. Some of them (not a majority) doubted the expediency of taking such action. There was not a dissident to the proposition, that it was not only the right, but the duty of Government, to

institute a more immediate control over the railways than that now existing. The extent and nature of such power, as well as the methods to be employed, was, of course, a matter on which diverse opinions existed. A brief *resume* of the views expressed on these topics, by the leading witnesses, will be of value in this connection.

Mr. C. Clark, Chairman of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, testified at length as to the evils of which business men complained. But passing that portion by, and coming to the more general issues, Mr. Clark gave it as his opinion that the railway system was properly controllable by the Government or State; equal or equitable charges would, he believed, be among the earliest results. In response to a question, Mr. Clark expressed the opinion that Government ownership and management would be more economical than that of the present corporations. He instanced the Post-Office Department as an illustration of State efficiency and economy. In his judgment, the danger from political influence and patronage would not be nearly as great as is apprehended. The work requires special training, in all its branches, and the nature of the functions exercised by a railway department must separate it from such active political control as is now feared. The following questions and answers illustrate the sentiments expressed by Mr. Clark:

"Supposing that the State got the railways, how would you look for protection for facilities for goods?"

"We have seen the action of the State with regard to the Post-Office and telegraph system, and certainly from what I have seen, especially as to the telegraph department, I have no fear as to the Government providing proper facilities for the traffic.

"Supposing for a moment that the telegraph had remained in the hands of private companies, do not you think now that they would see that it is to their interest to give greatly extended facilities?"

"No doubt they might probably have seen that it is to their interest to have given extended facilities, but nothing to be compared to the facilities the Government have given us.

"Do you think the same reasons would apply in the case of railways?"

"Perhaps not quite so speedily, but as soon as the Government were able to organize their staff."

Mr. Clark added that, under State administration, economically executed, a great reduction of rates would follow, and the traffic would be enormously increased. He compared corporation control with that of the State. The latter would be most advantageous, because it would abolish wasteful rivalry, consolidate rolling stock, do away with large expenditures for buildings, centralizing the machine shops, etc. In his opinion, the management of great operations by a private firm, when practicable, was the most economical. Amalgamation must inevitably lead to State control.

Mr. J. Patterson, a leading commission merchant, of Liverpool, with several other persons from the same port, coincided with Mr. Clark's views. Lieut.-Col. Gambell, a wealthy iron manufacturer, of Helen, near Liverpool, was opposed to State ownership, but thought the Government should legislate for the relief of towns and persons, from unequal treatment by the companies.

Sir William Wright, President of the Hull Dock Company, a prominent capitalist, and a man of recognized administrative skill, gave his views at great length. He desired to see the State master of all the railways, under the direction of a department, the chief of which should sit in the Cabinet, as "Railmaster-General." The State should control on the same principle that it now does the postal and telegraph systems. He favored a large scheme of amalgamation, on the ground that it was better than the present system, and would, in the end, facilitate transfer to the State. As to the effect of State ownership, in the matter of influence, Sir Wm Wright declared that the present Parliamentary influence of the railways was much greater than it would be with State control. There was no serious objection to the chief being a party minister—the staff would be permanent. In his opinion, one town would not be favored over another for

the operation by the State. Officials would not work less for the State; in fact, their positions being more secure, there would be more *esprit*. Shareholders have little influence under present conditions. They seldom know and cannot correct evils. A State railway official could not use his position any more wrongfully than one in the Postoffice. There are too many vigilant eyes on the watch. Competition is no safe-guard. The State, he said, in reply to a question, should work both for revenue and public benefit. The first is the chief, and usually the only aim of the corporate system. As to the purchase of the roads, it could be readily made. A valuation of the roads once effected, the shareholders could receive long time Government debentures or consols, instead of those of the railways they now hold. The Governments of Prussia, Russia and Switzerland are owners of their railway systems and work them profitably.

Mr. T. Wilson, a leading canal manager, favored the appointment of a Government Tribunal of Transportation and Inter-Communication. Mr. T. Pitts, Deputy Chairman of the Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, favored a plan of general amalgamation, with a Government Arbitration Board. Mr. J. Elliott, Civil Engineer, Southampton, opposed amalgamation because, if successful, it would make State control more difficult to obtain.

The views entertained by leading railway managers and directors must be of value in this connection. From a number of others, the following representative men have been selected: Mr. Boughton, General Manager of the Mid-Wales R. W.; Wm. Phillips Price, M. P., for Gloucester, and Chairman of the Midland Railway Company; Sir E. W. Watkins, well known in the United States as connected with the Erie Railway and its unfortunate English bondholders; Mr. H. S. Thompson, President of the Northeastern R. W. Company; and Mr. C. H. Parkes, for many years past the most prominent Parliamentary agent or attorney employed by the railway companies.

Mr. Boughton was emphatic in recommending the establishment of a Railway Tribunal, which should take cognizance of the tariff rates and fares, company disputes, the viola-

tion of "running powers," through-rating and carriages, with power to revise any rate or settle other grievances. He favored amalgamation on some general plan; thought all roads ought to have been constructed according to plans previously prepared by the Government; considers that money has been wasted because of the State's failure in this respect, and thinks a remedy can be found in the future by combining competition and State control. There should be a Government Department as well as Tribunal. It should embrace permanent and changeable membership, so as to have experience and progress combined. It should embrace legal and engineering talent with a representative of the administrative body or directory. The Minister should be responsible to Parliament, and annual reports should be made. Perhaps, appeals might lie to the Board of Trade from the Tribunal. He did not support State ownership, and favored the proposed amalgamation by districts. The companies would be few in number—an economic advantage. The Government should have the power to make the railways public highways to a certain extent.

Mr. Parkes also favored the establishment of a tribunal to revise rates and settle railway disputes. He thought the amalgamation of large companies was not economical. That of small companies was. It would be wise to hand over to large companies the management of all roads in any defined and related geographical section. The tendency is to State control.

Mr. W. P. Price, gave it as his opinion that the result of exclusive private enterprise and non-interference by the State, is confusion and chaos. One remedy is to reduce the number of administrations. This can only be done by the State. He thinks the difficulties of State control have been exaggerated. The rate question is the worst. Uniform rates are feasible only under State control. The present system is commercial in character, and run for purposes of profit-making. Mr. Price believed that one great difficulty to be encountered by the State would be in securing the services of proper persons. Statesmen and merchants are differently trained. That once secured, State

control would not be difficult. He supported the establishment of a tribunal to which he would give great powers, because Parliament has parted with what he deems Imperial concerns,—the highways which belong to the whole country. It would prevent abuses and would not make serious blunders. A Government Director would be esteemed a spy in any corporate board. The object should be, not to punish the dividend—i. e., the stockholder—for misconduct, but the management—i. e., the directors. Such a tribunal ought to have the usual powers to punish persons for contempt. He believed general amalgamation would facilitate State control. It would be a process of absorption.

Sir E. W. Watkins desired Parliament to arrange and enforce "running," or through rates. All questions arising therefrom, and all other of an inter-road character, should be left for settlement by a railway tribunal. He regarded unconditional amalgamation as an evil; was opposed to direct control or ownership by the State. Competition could be maintained by a system of grouping. Parliament should refuse to amalgamate two roads going to the same important points, or amalgamating them, allow a third road to run over both, fixing either their own rates, or having them made by the railway tribunal. Such a court should have both government and corporation members. The latter should elect a majority, and the government appoint a minority. He would not object to its having a majority. Through rates should be fixed by joint arrangement between Parliament and companies. The court or board to settle working disputes, should have no power over issues between the citizen and companies. The public should have ample protection and recourse in some other court. As a citizen and politician, Sir E. W. Watkins said he was opposed to State purchase; as a railway shareholder, he favored it very much. It would make his property more valuable, by ensuring him fixed dividends. Shareholders would get a good price, and the State would take the whole risk. An extravagant price would certainly be paid. As to amalgamation, he believed it would make State purchase less possible. Only connecting lines, he thought, should have "running powers."

Mr. H. S. Thompson thought that public opinion was a great check to abuses, as in the case of the General Post-Office. Large companies were more economic. He did not regard competition as a competent factor. Compulsory "running powers" do not work well. Believed State ownership would be very bad, politically; not efficient in a commercial sense: Had never considered the probable effects to result from a State ownership of the permanent way, allowing all private parties to operate or run over them, under protective regulations. Had only looked at the question from the carrier point of view. The original idea was that certain companies should make the roadway, and the public should use them. It had never worked. Parliament can regulate.

The opinions of Capt. W. H. Tyler, R. E., carry with them great weight. All students and observers of the railway system consider him an authority, even when disagreeing with his conclusions. Capt. Tyler filed a valuable report with the committee and discussed, *in extenso*, the several questions before them. He believed the official publication of all tariffs would be desirable, as would also an effective system of "running powers" and interchange of traffic. To put such matters in operation, a tribunal would be necessary. The better such machinery worked, the less it would have to do. Competition must die a natural death. The larger systems work best, but they get wooden. The roads will amalgamate whether Parliament opposes or not. Capt. Tyler does not believe State control would provide uniformity of rates. This must be regulated to some extent on commercial principles, distance, etc. He would make the railway council, or department suggested, very independent in character. There would of course be a presiding cabinet minister, but his party feelings would be of little account in deciding any policy. The political head could not be held as responsible, as in other departments; his action would, of necessity, be so much restricted by the dependence in which he would be placed, as regards the permanent administrative council and staff. In the manage-

ment, suggestions, and plans relating to termini, stations, fares, extensions, new lines, &c., would necessarily come from below, not from above. The decision would, undoubtedly, be made on the report of experts—men not likely to be influenced by party affiliations. The process would be from line officials through district councils, to the general council, then through the executive committee, to the Cabinet minister. Besides, Parliamentary inquiry and reports would be operative checks. The State could so reduce rates and extend facilities as to enable Great Britain, says Capt. Tyler, to successfully compete with all other countries. The indefinite extension of her commerce that could result, would be the greatest advantage to be gained. He was decided in expressing the opinion that the political influence of one great, or several large, railway companies, was greater and more detrimental than what would follow the Government system. The question of patronage is not a dangerous one. Railway work is hard work in all its branches. Men require to be trained thereto. They must go through the mill. Only competent persons could safely be selected. He did not believe the Civil Service system would work in connection with railways. Competition might possibly work as between grades and classes of employes, such as station-masters and book-keepers, &c., but not as between them and certain outsiders. Equal rates would be impracticable. He had considered, to some extent, the method of purchase, and thought it could be by bonds based on the security of the roads and their earnings—not on the general faith and security of the country. In buying the roads, the specific security to the corporate owners, should be the roads themselves.

These views are of importance, as it is safe to believe if the experiment is inaugurated by the British during Capt. Tyler's active life, that he will be made, as Mr. Scudamore was, at the transfer of the telegraphs, the organizing and executive chief of the new railway department.

With regard to the United States, the conditions are different. The discussion has not yet crystalized to anything like the

extent it is seen to have done in Great Britain. A large majority of the States make no reference whatever to the subject matter of private "corporations," railroads or otherwise, or only provide that special laws shall not be made for their incorporation. These are Kentucky, Delaware, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Louisiana, Kansas, Nevada, Oregon, Alabama, Arkansas, Rhode Island, Indiana, Wisconsin, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Minnesota, Michigan, California, Iowa, Maine, Vermont, Florida and Ohio. In the older States, except Maryland and Georgia, there are no provisions relating to this subject, except general declarations that monopolies are injurious to the people, and that private property must not be taken for use by corporations, etc., without compensation to be determined by a jury. In most of the "public land" States, their constitutions forbid the loaning of the State credit to works of internal improvements, banks, etc. In Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina, among others, provision is made for the use of such credit under stated conditions.

Of the other States, the Constitution of Georgia provides that the Legislature may grant private charters, and that the State may also make loans in aid of railroad construction, or build such road itself. The State is to have a first lien, except as to labor due and unpaid, on all the property interested.

Maryland, having largely aided the construction of both railways and canals, provides by the Constitution for a Board of Public Works, consisting of the Governor, State Comptroller and the Treasurer. This Board votes the stock owned by the State in the several corporations; all tolls and rates are to be submitted to its approval, and it also appoints the State Directors for each corporation. The State has parted with its stock and direct interest in the Baltimore and Ohio railway, and now controls only the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Delaware and Chesapeake, and the Susquehanna and Tide Water, Canals.

The remaining States have made, within a few years, (from 1870 down) stringent con-

stitutional declarations of the power of the State to control and supervise the railroads within their own borders. Before, however, the tendency to exercise more or less positive powers over the transportation system had assumed this form, several States had partially exercised some of those general powers of sovereignty, which must, in the nature of things, apply to these corporations in their public character. New York, in 1855, appointed a Board of Commissioners. Its first report is one of the most valuable yet made on the subject. Laws have been passed fixing maximum rates for passenger traffic, and the corporations are required to make annual reports to the State Engineer. Pennsylvania has always required, for purposes of taxation, annual reports as to tonnage, receipts, etc., to be made to the State by the various railroads. Ohio provided, in 1867, for the appointment of a Commissioner to inspect roads as to their safety, investigate complaints, enforce the railroad laws, compel reports from the companies, and to make one annually. Under a law of 1873, Ohio also exercises the power to revise and limit rates. Massachusetts first appointed Commissioners in 1869, with general powers to inspect and report, which they do annually. They have no power to enforce decisions, but do act very much as a board of arbitration and conciliation might deem necessary and proper, by publishing them. New Hampshire, Connecticut and Vermont, have also appointed Commissioners with limited powers to examine roads, and to require and make reports.

Since 1870, under general powers, or derived from new and specific provisions, the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, West Virginia and Nebraska, have appointed Commissioners or other officers, to enforce laws, more or less stringent, which have been adopted. The power to make, revise or regulate the rates of freight and travel, to require publicity of accounts, inspection of roads, &c., &c., is granted by the constitution and laws of the several States. Minnesota first appointed, in 1871, one Commissioner; in 1873, three were appointed. In Wisconsin and Illinois, the number is the same. In Nebraska, the incumbent is not yet named.

The character of recent constitutional requirements can be seen from the following summary of the railroad article in the new Constitution of Illinois, which is the first fruits of the Western agitation over the regulation of transportation companies. It requires :

First. That every railroad company doing business in the State shall maintain a public office within the limits of the State, where stock books and other important records shall be kept for public inspection.

Second. That "the rolling stock and other movable property belonging to any company shall be liable to execution and sale in the same manner as the private property of individuals."

Third. That "no railroad company shall consolidate its stock, property or franchises with any other railroad corporation using a parallel or competing line;" and in no case whatever, except upon public notice given, of at least sixty days, to all stockholders, in such manner as may be provided by law.

Fourth. That a majority of the directors of any railroad shall be citizens and residents of the State.

Fifth. That all railroads of the State shall be considered highways, and free to all persons for the transportation of their persons and property, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; and "that the General Assembly shall, from time to time, pass laws establishing reasonable maximum rates of charges for the transportation of passengers and freight on the different railroads of the State."

Sixth. That "no corporation shall issue any stock or bonds, except for money, labor or property actually received, and applied to the purposes for which such corporation was created;" that "all stock dividends and other fictitious increase of the capital stock or indebtedness of any such corporation shall be void;" and that "the capital stock of no road shall be increased for any purpose, except upon giving sixty days' notice in such manner as may be prescribed."

Seventh. That "the General Assembly shall pass laws to correct abuses and prevent unjust discrimination and extortion in the rates of freight and passenger tariffs on the different railroads in the State, and enforce such laws by adequate penalties to the extent, if necessary for that purpose, of forfeiture of property and franchises."

Eighth. That "the exercise of the right of eminent domain shall never be so construed as to prevent the taking, by the General Assembly, of the property and franchises of incorporated companies already organized, and subjecting them to the public necessity

the same as of individuals;" and that the "right of trial by jury shall be held inviolate in all trials of claims for compensation, when, in the exercise of said right of eminent domain, any incorporated company shall be interested either for or against the exercise of such right."

The provisions of the West Virginia Constitution of 1872, are somewhat similar in form and spirit. They provide, however, that the Legislature may allow of the consolidation or leasing of roads whose character are indicated in the fourth section of the above. The new Constitution of Nebraska prohibits subscriptions by municipalities to railroads, but allows donations of money when sanctioned by a majority vote; confers on the Legislature large powers over railroad management; declares railroads to be public highways, and authorizes the establishment of maximum rates of freight and transportation.

The new Constitution of Pennsylvania contains stringent provisions relative to railroads and their incorporation. But these provisions are aimed at the corruption which has characterized legislative dealing with the corporations, and are designed chiefly to restrain in that direction. Charters are to be rigidly limited in provisions, and forfeitures are to be enforced. In this sense the most ample sovereignty is proclaimed. The railroads are defined as public highways, and their operators subject to the common law requirement of "reasonable" rates as "common carriers."

A new Constitution is pending in the State of Missouri, with every probability, at the present writing, of being adopted. It is in many respects a remarkable instrument; especially in the restraining character of many sections. As an effort to embody sovereignty over the franchises created by the States, without interfering with the administrative and business details thereof, it is doubtless the most pronounced effort yet made in the United States.

In the "Bill of Rights," sections are incorporated declaring that no private property can be taken for public use without compensation, to be ascertained by a jury or board of commissioners, and the section proceeds to declare "that whenever an attempt is

made to take private property for a use alleged to be public, the question whether the contemplated use be really public, shall be a judicial question, and as such judicially determined, without regard to any legislative assertion that the use is public." It is also provided that the fee of land taken for railroad tracks, without consent of the owner thereof, shall remain in such owner, subject to the use for which it is taken.

The article on "corporations" provides as to "railroads" —

That it shall not be lawful to charge (except as to special excursion or commutation tickets) for freight or passengers a greater amount for the transportation of the same for a less distance than the amount charged for any greater distance, and suitable laws shall be passed to enforce this.

That any properly organized corporation shall have the right to construct roads from and to any point in the State, and to connect at the State line with other roads; also to "intersect, connect with, or cross any other railroad, and shall receive and transport each the other's passengers, tonnage and cars, loaded or empty, without delay or discrimination." That all railroads shall be considered public highways, and all companies "common carriers." That laws shall be passed establishing reasonable maximum rates of charges for the transportation of passengers and freight, and the same may be enforced by adequate penalties.

The same provisions in substance that are embodied in the Illinois Constitution, relative to the State officers of operating railroads, public access to stock books, reports to State auditor, etc., are repeated in the new Missouri instrument. Also, to the liability of seizure of rolling stock for debt; non-consolidation of competing or parallel roads.

Other sections maintain State control over roads which, though incorporated originally by the State, have been sold or leased to a corporation in some other State; provide that no retrospective law for the benefit of a railroad or other corporation, shall be passed: that existing roads shall not benefit by future legislation, except on condition of accepting all constitutional provisions applicable to railroads.

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Additional sections provide that no railroad director, officer, agent, or employé, shall be interested in any manner in the furnishing of materials and supplies, or in the business of a common carrier, either of freight or passengers, over the lines where-with they are connected. Discriminating charges are not to be made either to companies or individuals, by abatement or drawback, and penalties may be levied against all parties violating these provisions.

Elsewhere, in the legislative article, provisions are inserted, designed to materially restrict the operations of the railroad or corporation lobbies whose influence has been found so pernicious. The provisions prohibit the Legislature from giving, lending, or pledging, in any manner whatever, the credit of the State to any corporation, municipal or otherwise; to grant money or other thing of public value; or to authorize any municipal corporation to do any of the acts which itself is prohibited from doing, or to allow of the same becoming a stockholder in any road or other corporation, or association. It is also prohibited from subscribing, in the name of the State, to any such stock, except to secure loans heretofore made; it may not release, or alienate, or change the terms of any lien now held by any railroad; nor has it any power to release or extinguish any obligation or debt due the State by any corporation theretofore organized.

The Constitutional Convention in Alabama had before it, and finally adopted, an article on "corporations," the sections of which, in relation to railroads, declare that all such corporations are common carriers, and all roads and canals to be public highways. Authority for all corporations under general laws to construct roads in the State, to and from any competing points. The Legislature is directed to pass laws to correct abuses and prevent unjust discriminations. The issuing of free passes to members of the State Government or Legislature in any form is prohibited. Provisions are also embraced prohibiting the issuing of fictitious stock, or of any such evidences of indebtedness or capital, except for value received and labor done.

This summary completes the statement of the attitude assumed by the several States

towards the railway system. It will be seen that they run the gamut of nearly every step short of the final ones—direct State supervision; direct control by State ownership. Massachusetts stands at one end of the first positive policy; and Missouri now seems to be at the other and affirmative terminus of the same course. The Railroad Commissioners of the first-named State seem to be united, judging by their reports and the more liberal utterance of their chairman, Charles François Adams, Jr., in the conviction that under present conditions, the best results can be obtained by such a board as their own, who occupy towards the public and the railroads a position somewhat similar to that filled by courts of conciliation, as they are now organized in England and some other countries for the settlement of disputes between labor and capital. Mr. Adams is very sure that in a State where the railroad stock is largely owned by resident investors, and the directory are therefore more or less controlled by the sentiment around them, that the creation and direction of public opinion by such a State Board, will in nearly every instance be sufficient to remove evils and settle disputes on the side of equity. He makes for this method the claim that it is more American and democratic than any policy of force, and points to the strange and new conditions which the railroad system necessarily creates, as requiring for the present, at least, a wise tentativeness in dealing therewith.

Next to the practical results of such a course as is pursued by the Massachusetts Commission—which Mr. Adams claims has worked effectively, in every instance—will follow the conclusions it has heretofore expressed, as to the ultimate consequences. The theory has been advanced, in their reports, that a “natural law of political evolution, governing transportation by rail, may now be formulated.” This theory assumes that the European practice, of control through State ownership, is the final result of “natural law.” To reach it, the following evolutionary phases are to be passed through:

1. Non-interference by Government, and the regulation of traffic by private competition and public demands.

2. The enforcement or regulation of competition, by legislative interference.

3. Placing the roads under complete Executive supervision, as, for instance, in France.

4. The partial ownership of roads by the State, and its consequent appearance as competitor and regulator, as in Belgium.

5. State ownership and management, as in Prussia.

The Wisconsin Railroad Commissioners* take exception to these conclusions, as not applicable to America. As they have had a marked experience, the views expressed are worthy recapitulation. Their general conclusions are:

That the public character of railways is fully established.

That the consequent right, and the necessity of control, are nowhere in doubt.

That control is demanded by the public interests, in the interests of capital, also, and that the necessity for control is a growing one.

The question of methods is then one of kind and degree. Early legislation has been inadequate; not sufficiently protecting the public; and it has been too special in its character. Remedial measures are needed; and, in the judgment of the Wisconsin Board, State ownership is wholly inapplicable. Competition may yet be preserved and maintained. Water routes may be made permanent, through but partial restraint. State supervision is as yet tentative in character, and should be more fully tested. The aim “should be to leave * * the largest freedom of action, compatible with a proper security of the public interests.”

Wholesome restraints may be enforced by general enactments that look to—

Regulating railway charges, by establishing a maximum limitation of rates, or by fixing one of profits. Cheap fares are regarded with favor, and the power to revise freight tariffs is deemed essential.

Opinion seems adverse to the limitation of profits, on the ground that it would lead to covering up of real profits, remove an incentive to economy, encourage the increase of capital stock, and that, in any

* Report, 1874

event, such limitation would become, at last, a tax on productive industry.

A great advantage would be gained by requiring the publicity of all rates of freight; securing greater stability, uniformity in classification, and timely notice of changes. An interchange of traffic, and the prohibition of unjust discrimination, would be of great utility. The State may, also, properly require punctuality in the running of trains, rigid inspection of construction and operation, sharper police requirements, a uniform and public method of keeping railway accounts, full and more frequent reports, the publicity of contracts, and distinct limitations upon corporate powers, such as experience has, or may hereafter, determine to be necessary.

Having thus completed a review of the special position assumed by some of the States, and the more general attitude, borne by all, towards the railway system of the United States, it would not be proper to close this paper without some reference to the positions assumed in Congress, and the decisions made by the Supreme Court as to the Constitutional powers possessed by the General Government over the regulation of inter-State commerce, as well as postal and military communication between them.

The interpretation placed upon the power to regulate commerce between the States, as well as to establish postal and military roads, by the political school that advocates State Sovereignty, is well understood. As to first object, it is interpreted only to mean commerce in the sense of materials, not as to the means or methods of traffic and interchange. So far as it relates to means of commercial inter-communication and transportation, it is claimed as relating only to natural highways—the water courses and the vehicles employed thereon.

The Supreme Court has, however, given a much broader construction to the provisions under which control, as a matter of commerce, is claimed over the railways of the country.

In one of the earliest cases, (*Gibbon vs. Ogden*), Justice Marshall said: "*Commerce as the word is used in the Constitution, is a unit, every part of which is indicated by the term.*"

Associate Justice Johnson said, in the same case, that: "In the advancement of society, labor, *transportation*, intelligence, care, and the various mediums of exchange, become commodities, and enter into commerce; the *subject*, the *vehicle*, the *agent*, and their *various operations*, become the *objects of commercial regulation*."

In another decision—that of the passenger cases—the Court said that commerce included "transporting the merchandise from the seller to the buyer, to gain the freight."

In the case of the *United States vs. Combs*, Mr. Justice Story affirmed, the power to regulate did not stop with the water. "It does not stop at the mere boundary line of a State, nor is it confined to acts done on the water, or in the necessary course of navigation thereof."

Chief Justice Taney decided, in another case, (*Genessee Chief vs. Fitzhugh*), that admiralty jurisdiction was not co-extensive with the power to regulate commerce, the latter being "*as extensive upon land as upon water. The Constitution makes no distinction in that respect.*"

In the most recent case—that relating to the right of Pennsylvania to impose a tonnage tax on all freight passing over her railroads—which was brought into court by the Philadelphia and Reading railroad, the decision, as to the power of Congress, is most emphatic. The Court said: "*Beyond a question, the transportation of freight, or of the subjects of commerce, for the purpose of exchange or sale, is a constituent of commerce itself.*"

In the Mississippi River Bridge case, at Clinton, Iowa, Mr. Justice Miller decided that:

"When roads become parts of the great highways of our Union, acting an important part in a commerce which embraces many States, * * * there can be no doubt that to regulate them, is to regulate commerce, both with foreign nations and among the States, and to refuse to do this, is a refusal to discharge one of the most important duties of the Federal Government."

Congress has, in limited degree, but quite logically and directly, acted in the line of the principles thus announced. It has passed a number of general acts, affecting railroads. The principal of these acts are

chase and working. In 1840, under the Premiership of Sir Robert Peel, a Joint Committee of Inquiry was appointed. A more important committee was appointed in 1844, under the chairmanship of Mr. Gladstone, which sat a long time, and made a thorough examination of the infantile giant. That committee had among its members, the ablest public men of the country. The report was drafted by Mr. Gladstone, and took broad ground as to the right of the State to control the great avenues of intercommunication and transportation. It confessed that English statesmanship has been in error in its early transfer of the railroad system to private enterprise. But, making this avowal, it also concluded that it was not desirable, at that date, to change the policy. A bill was presented, looking to the preservation of competition, and the regulation of amalgamation by providing—

“1. If, after 21 years, any new railway has made 10 per cent. for three years, Treasury may reduce rates, but are to guarantee 10 per cent. The revised rates and the guarantee to continue for 21 years.

“2. After 15 years, Treasury may buy any new railway for 25 years’ purchase of the average annual profits for the preceding three years; but if the profits are less than 10 per cent., the amount to be settled by arbitration.

“3. No railway less than five miles in length to be bought; and no branch to be bought without buying whole railway.

“4. Recites that the policy of revision or purchase is not to be prejudged; and that *‘public resources’ are not to be employed to sustain undue competition with independent companies*, and provides that no revision or purchase is to take place without an act of Parliament authorizing the guarantee or purchase, and determining how it is to be done.”

The report of 1844 also led to the creation of a Board, subordinate to the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom, whose duty it was to report upon new railway schemes and bills, with reference to their position and comparative advantage to the public, and especially with reference to questions of extension of lines, amalgamation and competition. This Board was, however, abolished in 1845 owing to the railway opposition, the Board of Trade being left to make such general regulations as it might deem neces-

sary. A later Parliamentary Committee did much to draw public attention to the system as a matter of general concern. An Act was passed in 1847, appointing a “Railway Commission,” consisting of five members, with many of the powers granted to the extinct Railway Board. This body ceased to exist in 1851. The revival of speculation in railway construction, led to the appointment of a new committee, of which Mr. Cardwell was made chairman. It was in session a long time, and made in all, five reports, the last one being very elaborate, especially as to amalgamation and interchange of traffic. The result was the passage of a law, known in Great Britain as the “Cardwell Act,”—a very important one; in that it establishes these principles: (1) that every company should be compelled to afford to the public, in respect both of goods and of passengers, the full advantage of convenient interchange from one system of railway to another; and (2) that every company should make equal charges under the same circumstances. This Act is regarded as faulty, in that the remedy, in case of infraction, lies in an appeal from the injured party to the Court of Common Pleas, and not to a special tribunal with ample powers to hear, and grant relief, in a more summary manner. All English legislation provides for “running powers;” that is, that every company or person should have the right to run through freight cars and trains, on any line, connecting or not with their own, under proper regulation. The same principle has been embodied in the legislation of several American States. As a fact, however, it has always been practically inoperative. The question of interest, alone, decides the “through rating.”

The idea at the basis of the early legislation was, that the railway corporations would be chiefly owners of the permanent ways, and that they and all others could and would be common carriers over them. Great Britain has gone along without any more rigid policy—the discussion, in the meanwhile, increasing in interest. In 1865, a Royal Commission was appointed to make a more thorough inquiry into the management, condition and relations of the

British railways to each other, the public and the State. The report of this Commission is very valuable for information but indeterminate as to policy. In 1872, a Joint Parliamentary Committee was again appointed, to inquire into a scheme of amalgamation, which was being urged by leading railroad men, and others, and by which it was proposed to divide Great Britain into about six districts, each, as in France, to be handed over to a separate corporation, amalgamated from those now operating the territory.

The report of this Committee is a very suggestive document. Inquiry was made into, not only the tendencies to amalgamation and non-competition, but, generally, the whole matter of management. The complaints made by those who were examined, are of a similar class to those presented so frequently at home, during the last five years. Discriminating rates, "ring" control, obstacles to through traffic, by or over other lines and corporations, the combination of lines supposed to be competing, and the absorption of the canal and other water routes. In a number of instances, also, the canals purchased by English railways have been closed.

But, to the general reader, the most interesting portion of the testimony relates to the opinions expressed by a number of prominent gentlemen, merchants, manufacturers, railroad directors and managers, engineers, and capitalists, identified with this interest, as to the proper relations that should exist between the State and the railway corporations; how far the matter of control or supervision should be carried; to what extent, if at all, the State should be interested in the ownership of railways; and as to the benefits or evils likely to arise from the direct public ownership thereof by the Government. It will surprise most Americans to learn, that not one among the several score of business men of great prominence, who were examined, doubted for a moment the right of the Imperial Government to become the owner of the entire system, or any part thereof. Some of them (not a majority) doubted the expediency of taking such action. There was not a dissentient to the proposition, that it was not only the right, but the duty of Government, to

institute a more immediate control over the railways than that now existing. The extent and nature of such power, as well as the methods to be employed, was, of course, a matter on which diverse opinions existed. A brief *resume* of the views expressed on these topics, by the leading witnesses, will be of value in this connection.

Mr. C. Clark, Chairman of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, testified at length as to the evils of which business men complained. But passing that portion by, and coming to the more general issues, Mr. Clark gave it as his opinion that the railway system was properly controllable by the Government or State; equal or equitable charges would, he believed, be among the earliest results. In response to a question, Mr. Clark expressed the opinion that Government ownership and management would be more economical than that of the present corporations. He instanced the Post-Office Department as an illustration of State efficiency and economy. In his judgment, the danger from political influence and patronage would not be nearly as great as is apprehended. The work requires special training, in all its branches, and the nature of the functions exercised by a railway department must separate it from such active political control as is now feared. The following questions and answers illustrate the sentiments expressed by Mr. Clark:

"Supposing that the State got the railways, how would you look for protection for facilities for goods?"

"We have seen the action of the State with regard to the Post-Office and telegraph system, and certainly from what I have seen, especially as to the telegraph department, I have no fear as to the Government providing proper facilities for the traffic.

"Supposing for a moment that the telegraph had remained in the hands of private companies, do not you think now that they would see that it is to their interest to give greatly extended facilities?"

"No doubt they might probably have seen that it is to their interest to have given extended facilities, but nothing to be compared to the facilities the Government have given us.

"Do you think the same reasons would apply in the case of railways?"

"Perhaps not quite so speedily, but as soon as the Government were able to organize their staff."

Mr. Clark added that, under State administration, economically executed, a great reduction of rates would follow, and the traffic would be enormously increased. He compared corporation control with that of the State. The latter would be most advantageous, because it would abolish wasteful rivalry, consolidate rolling stock, do away with large expenditures for buildings, centralizing the machine shops, etc. In his opinion, the management of great operations by a private firm, when practicable, was the most economical. Amalgamation must inevitably lead to State control.

Mr. J. Patterson, a leading commission merchant, of Liverpool, with several other persons from the same port, coincided with Mr. Clark's views. Lieut.-Col. Gambell, a wealthy iron manufacturer, of Helen, near Liverpool, was opposed to State ownership, but thought the Government should legislate for the relief of towns and persons, from unequal treatment by the companies.

Sir William Wright, President of the Hull Dock Company, a prominent capitalist, and a man of recognized administrative skill, gave his views at great length. He desired to see the State master of all the railways, under the direction of a department, the chief of which should sit in the Cabinet, as "Railmaster-General." The State should control on the same principle that it now does the postal and telegraph systems. He favored a large scheme of amalgamation, on the ground that it was better than the present system, and would, in the end, facilitate transfer to the State. As to the effect of State ownership, in the matter of influence, Sir Wm. Wright declared that the present Parliamentary influence of the railways was much greater than it would be with State control. There was no serious objection to the chief being a party minister—the staff would be permanent. In his opinion, one town would not be favored over another for party reasons. Public opinion, in a representative government, has, in the end, always put down favoritism. The Prussian State roads are well worked. The system secures administrative efficiency and unity, and the economy is very great. The complexity of interest involved is no barrier to

the operation by the State. Officials would not work less for the State; in fact, their positions being more secure, there would be more *esprit*. Shareholders have little influence under present conditions. They seldom know and cannot correct evils. A State railway official could not use his position any more wrongfully than one in the Postoffice. There are too many vigilant eyes on the watch. Competition is no safe-guard. The State, he said, in reply to a question, should work both for revenue and public benefit. The first is the chief, and usually the only aim of the corporate system. As to the purchase of the roads, it could be readily made. A valuation of the roads once effected, the shareholders could receive long time Government debentures or consols, instead of those of the railways they now hold. The Governments of Prussia, Russia and Switzerland are owners of their railway systems and work them profitably.

Mr. T. Wilson, a leading canal manager, favored the appointment of a Government Tribunal of Transportation and Inter-Communication. Mr. T. Pitts, Deputy Chairman of the Plymouth Chamber of Commerce, favored a plan of general amalgamation, with a Government Arbitration Board. Mr. J. Elliott, Civil Engineer, Southampton, opposed amalgamation because, if successful, it would make State control more difficult to obtain.

The views entertained by leading railway managers and directors must be of value in this connection. From a number of others, the following representative men have been selected: Mr. Boughton, General Manager of the Mid-Wales R. W.; Wm. Phillips Price, M. P., for Gloucester, and Chairman of the Midland Railway Company; Sir E. W. Watkins, well known in the United States as connected with the Erie Railway and its unfortunate English bondholders; Mr. H. S. Thompson, President of the Northeastern R. W. Company; and Mr. C. H. Parkes, for many years past the most prominent Parliamentary agent or attorney employed by the railway companies.

Mr. Boughton was emphatic in recommending the establishment of a Railway Tribunal, which should take cognizance of the tariff rates and fares, company disputes, the viola-

tion of "running powers," through-rating and carriages, with power to revise any rate or settle other grievances. He favored amalgamation on some general plan; thought all roads ought to have been constructed according to plans previously prepared by the Government; considers that money has been wasted because of the State's failure in this respect, and thinks a remedy can be found in the future by combining competition and State control. There should be a Government Department as well as Tribunal. It should embrace permanent and changeable membership, so as to have experience and progress combined. It should embrace legal and engineering talent with a representative of the administrative body or directory. The Minister should be responsible to Parliament, and annual reports should be made. Perhaps, appeals might lie to the Board of Trade from the Tribunal. He did not support State ownership, and favored the proposed amalgamation by districts. The companies would be few in number—an economic advantage. The Government should have the power to make the railways public highways to a certain extent.

Mr. Parkes also favored the establishment of a tribunal to revise rates and settle railway disputes. He thought the amalgamation of large companies was not economical. That of small companies was. It would be wise to hand over to large companies the management of all roads in any defined and related geographical section. The tendency is to State control.

Mr. W. P. Price, gave it as his opinion that the result of exclusive private enterprise and non-interference by the State, is confusion and chaos. One remedy is to reduce the number of administrations. This can only be done by the State. He thinks the difficulties of State control have been exaggerated. The rate question is the worst. Uniform rates are feasible only under State control. The present system is commercial in character, and run for purposes of profit-making. Mr. Price believed that one great difficulty to be encountered by the State would be in securing the services of proper persons. Statesmen and merchants are differently trained. That once secured, State

control would not be difficult. He supported the establishment of a tribunal to which he would give great powers, because Parliament has parted with what he deems Imperial concerns,—the highways which belong to the whole country. It would prevent abuses and would not make serious blunders. A Government Director would be esteemed a spy in any corporate board. The object should be, not to punish the dividend—i. e., the stockholder—for misconduct, but the management—i. e., the directors. Such a tribunal ought to have the usual powers to punish persons for contempt. He believed general amalgamation would facilitate State control. It would be a process of absorption.

Sir E. W. Watkins desired Parliament to arrange and enforce "running," or through rates. All questions arising therefrom, and all other of an inter-road character, should be left for settlement by a railway tribunal. He regarded unconditional amalgamation as an evil; was opposed to direct control or ownership by the State. Competition could be maintained by a system of grouping. Parliament should refuse to amalgamate two roads going to the same important points, or amalgamating them, allow a third road to run over both, fixing either their own rates, or having them made by the railway tribunal. Such a court should have both government and corporation members. The latter should elect a majority, and the government appoint a minority. He would not object to its having a majority. Through rates should be fixed by joint arrangement between Parliament and companies. The court or board to settle working disputes, should have no power over issues between the citizen and companies. The public should have ample protection and recourse in some other court. As a citizen and politician, Sir E. W. Watkins said he was opposed to State purchase; as a railway shareholder, he favored it very much. It would make his property more valuable, by ensuring him fixed dividends. Shareholders would get a good price, and the State would take the whole risk. An extravagant price would certainly be paid. As to amalgamation, he believed it would make State purchase less possible. Only connecting lines, he thought, should have "running powers."

Mr. H. S. Thompson thought that public opinion was a great check to abuses, as in the case of the General Post-Office. Large companies were more economic. He did not regard competition as a competent factor. Compulsory "running powers" do not work well. Believed State ownership would be very bad, politically; not efficient in a commercial sense. Had never considered the probable effects to result from a State ownership of the permanent way, allowing all private parties to operate or run over them, under protective regulations. Had only looked at the question from the carrier point of view. The original idea was that certain companies should make the roadway, and the public should use them. It had never worked. Parliament can regulate.

The opinions of Capt. W. H. Tyler, R. E., carry with them great weight. All students and observers of the railway system consider him an authority, even when disagreeing with his conclusions. Capt. Tyler filed a valuable report with the committee and discussed, *in extenso*, the several questions before them. He believed the official publication of all tariffs would be desirable, as would also an effective system of "running powers" and interchange of traffic. To put such matters in operation, a tribunal would be necessary. The better such machinery worked, the less it would have to do. Competition must die a natural death. The larger systems work best, but they get wooden. The roads will amalgamate whether Parliament opposes or not. Capt. Tyler does not believe State control would provide uniformity of rates. This must be regulated to some extent on commercial principles, distance, etc. He would make the railway council, or department suggested, very independent in character. There would of course be a presiding cabinet minister, but his party feelings would be of little account in deciding any policy. The political head could not be held as responsible, as in other departments; his action would, of necessity, be so much restricted by the dependence in which he would be placed, as regards the permanent administrative council and staff. In the manage-

ment, suggestions, and plans relating to termini, stations, fares, extensions, new lines, &c., would necessarily come from below, not from above. The decision would, undoubtedly, be made on the report of experts—men not likely to be influenced by party affiliations. The process would be from line officials through district councils, to the general council, then through the executive committee, to the Cabinet minister. Besides, Parliamentary inquiry and reports would be operative checks. The State could so reduce rates and extend facilities as to enable Great Britain, says Capt. Tyler, to successfully compete with all other countries. The indefinite extension of her commerce that could result, would be the greatest advantage to be gained. He was decided in expressing the opinion that the political influence of one great, or several large, railway companies, was greater and more detrimental than what would follow the Government system. The question of patronage is not a dangerous one. Railway work is hard work in all its branches. Men require to be trained thereto. They must go through the mill. Only competent persons could safely be selected. He did not believe the Civil Service system would work in connection with railways. Competition might possibly work as between grades and classes of employes, such as station-masters and book-keepers, &c., but not as between them and certain outsiders. Equal rates would be impracticable. He had considered, to some extent, the method of purchase, and thought it could be by bonds based on the security of the roads and their earnings—not on the general faith and security of the country. In buying the roads, the specific security to the corporate owners, should be the roads themselves.

These views are of importance, as it is safe to believe if the experiment is inaugurated by the British during Capt. Tyler's active life, that he will be made, as Mr. Scudamore was, at the transfer of the telegraphs, the organizing and executive chief of the new railway department.

With regard to the United States, the conditions are different. The discussion has not yet crystalized to anything like the

extent it is seen to have done in Great Britain. A large majority of the States make no reference whatever to the subject matter of private "corporations," railroads or otherwise, or only provide that special laws shall not be made for their incorporation. These are Kentucky, Delaware, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Louisiana, Kansas, Nevada, Oregon, Alabama, Arkansas, Rhode Island, Indiana, Wisconsin, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Minnesota, Michigan, California, Iowa, Maine, Vermont, Florida and Ohio. In the older States, except Maryland and Georgia, there are no provisions relating to this subject, except general declarations that monopolies are injurious to the people, and that private property must not be taken for use by corporations, etc., without compensation to be determined by a jury. In most of the "public land" States, their constitutions forbid the loaning of the State credit to works of internal improvements, banks, etc. In Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina, among others, provision is made for the use of such credit under stated conditions.

Of the other States, the Constitution of Georgia provides that the Legislature may grant private charters, and that the State may also make loans in aid of railroad construction, or build such road itself. The State is to have a first lien, except as to labor due and unpaid, on all the property interested.

Maryland, having largely aided the construction of both railways and canals, provides by the Constitution for a Board of Public Works, consisting of the Governor, State Comptroller and the Treasurer. This Board votes the stock owned by the State in the several corporations; all tolls and rates are to be submitted to its approval, and it also appoints the State Directors for each corporation. The State has parted with its stock and direct interest in the Baltimore and Ohio railway, and now controls only the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Delaware and Chesapeake, and the Susquehanna and Tide Water, Canals.

The remaining States have made, within a few years, (from 1870 down) stringent con-

stitutional declarations of the power of the State to control and supervise the railroads within their own borders. Before, however, the tendency to exercise more or less positive powers over the transportation system had assumed this form, several States had partially exercised some of those general powers of sovereignty, which must, in the nature of things, apply to these corporations in their public character. New York, in 1855, appointed a Board of Commissioners. Its first report is one of the most valuable yet made on the subject. Laws have been passed fixing maximum rates for passenger traffic, and the corporations are required to make annual reports to the State Engineer. Pennsylvania has always required, for purposes of taxation, annual reports as to tonnage, receipts, etc., to be made to the State by the various railroads. Ohio provided, in 1867, for the appointment of a Commissioner to inspect roads as to their safety, investigate complaints, enforce the railroad laws, compel reports from the companies, and to make one annually. Under a law of 1873, Ohio also exercises the power to revise and limit rates. Massachusetts first appointed Commissioners in 1869, with general powers to inspect and report, which they do annually. They have no power to enforce decisions, but do act very much as a board of arbitration and conciliation might deem necessary and proper, by publishing them. New Hampshire, Connecticut and Vermont, have also appointed Commissioners with limited powers to examine roads, and to require and make reports.

Since 1870, under general powers, or derived from new and specific provisions, the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, West Virginia and Nebraska, have appointed Commissioners or other officers, to enforce laws, more or less stringent, which have been adopted. The power to make, revise or regulate the rates of freight and travel, to require publicity of accounts, inspection of roads, &c., &c., is granted by the constitution and laws of the several States. Minnesota first appointed, in 1871, one Commissioner; in 1873, three were appointed. In Wisconsin and Illinois, the number is the same. In Nebraska, the incumbent is not yet named.

The character of recent constitutional requirements can be seen from the following summary of the railroad article in the new Constitution of Illinois, which is the first fruits of the Western agitation over the regulation of transportation companies. It requires.

First. That every railroad company doing business in the State shall maintain a public office within the limits of the State, where stock books and other important records shall be kept for public inspection.

Second. That "the rolling stock and other movable property belonging to any company shall be liable to execution and sale in the same manner as the private property of individuals."

Third. That "no railroad company shall consolidate its stock, property or franchises with any other railroad corporation using a parallel or competing line;" and in no case whatever, except upon public notice given, of at least sixty days, to all stockholders, in such manner as may be provided by law.

Fourth. That a majority of the directors of any railroad shall be citizens and residents of the State.

Fifth. That all railroads of the State shall be considered highways, and free to all persons for the transportation of their persons and property, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; and "that the General Assembly shall, from time to time, pass laws establishing reasonable maximum rates of charges for the transportation of passengers and freight on the different railroads of the State."

Sixth. That "no corporation shall issue any stock or bonds, except for money, labor or property actually received, and applied to the purposes for which such corporation was created," that "all stock dividends and other fictitious increase of the capital stock or indebtedness of any such corporation shall be void;" and that "the capital stock of no road shall be increased for any purpose, except upon giving sixty days' notice in such manner as may be prescribed."

Seventh. That "the General Assembly shall pass laws to correct abuses and prevent unjust discrimination and extortion in the rates of freight and passenger tariffs on the different railroads in the State, and enforce such laws by adequate penalties to the extent, if necessary for that purpose, of forfeiture of property and franchises."

Eighth. That "the exercise of the right of eminent domain shall never be so construed as to prevent the taking, by the General Assembly, of the property and franchises of incorporated companies already organized, and subjecting them to the public necessity

the same as of individuals;" and that the "right of trial by jury shall be held inviolate in all trials of claims for compensation, when, in the exercise of said right of eminent domain, any incorporated company shall be interested either for or against the exercise of such right."

The provisions of the West Virginia Constitution of 1872, are somewhat similar in form and spirit. They provide, however, that the Legislature may allow of the consolidation or leasing of roads whose character are indicated in the fourth section of the above. The new Constitution of Nebraska prohibits subscriptions by municipalities to railroads, but allows donations of money when sanctioned by a majority vote; confers on the Legislature large powers over railroad management; declares railroads to be public highways, and authorizes the establishment of maximum rates of freight and transportation.

The new Constitution of Pennsylvania contains stringent provisions relative to railroads and their incorporation. But these provisions are aimed at the corruption which has characterized legislative dealing with the corporations, and are designed chiefly to restrain in that direction. Charters are to be rigidly limited in provisions, and forfeitures are to be enforced. In this sense the most ample sovereignty is proclaimed. The railroads are defined as public highways, and their operators subject to the common law requirement of "reasonable" rates as "common carriers."

A new Constitution is pending in the State of Missouri, with every probability, at the present writing, of being adopted. It is in many respects a remarkable instrument; especially in the restraining character of many sections. As an effort to embody sovereignty over the franchises created by the States, without interfering with the administrative and business details thereof, it is doubtless the most pronounced effort yet made in the United States.

In the "Bill of Rights," sections are incorporated declaring that no private property can be taken for public use without compensation, to be ascertained by a jury or board of commissioners, and the section proceeds to declare "that whenever an attempt is

made to take private property for a use alleged to be public, the question whether the contemplated use be really public, shall be a judicial question, and as such judicially determined, without regard to any legislative assertion that the use is public." It is also provided that the fee of land taken for railroad tracks, without consent of the owner thereof, shall remain in such owner, subject to the use for which it is taken.

The article on "corporations" provides as to "railroads" —

That it shall not be lawful to charge (except as to special excursion or commutation tickets) for freight or passengers a greater amount for the transportation of the same for a less distance than the amount charged for any greater distance, and suitable laws shall be passed to enforce this.

That any properly organized corporation shall have the right to construct roads from and to any point in the State, and to connect at the State line with other roads; also to "intersect, connect with, or cross any other railroad, and shall receive and transport each the other's passengers, tonnage and cars, loaded or empty, without delay or discrimination." That all railroads shall be considered public highways, and all companies "common carriers." That laws shall be passed establishing reasonable maximum rates of charges for the transportation of passengers and freight, and the same may be enforced by adequate penalties.

The same provisions in substance that are embodied in the Illinois Constitution, relative to the State officers of operating railroads, public access to stock books, reports to State auditor, etc., are repeated in the new Missouri instrument. Also, to the liability of seizure of rolling stock for debt; non-consolidation of competing or parallel roads.

Other sections maintain State control over roads which, though incorporated originally by the State, have been sold or leased to a corporation in some other State; provide that no retrospective law for the benefit of a railroad or other corporation, shall be passed; that existing roads shall not benefit by future legislation, except on condition of accepting all constitutional provisions applicable to railroads.

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Additional sections provide that no railroad director, officer, agent, or employé, shall be interested in any manner in the furnishing of materials and supplies, or in the business of a common carrier, either of freight or passengers, over the lines where-with they are connected. Discriminating charges are not to be made either to companies or individuals, by abatement or drawback, and penalties may be levied against all parties violating these provisions.

Elsewhere, in the legislative article, provisions are inserted, designed to materially restrict the operations of the railroad or corporation lobbies whose influence has been found so pernicious. The provisions prohibit the Legislature from giving, lending, or pledging, in any manner whatever, the credit of the State to any corporation, municipal or otherwise; to grant money or other thing of public value; or to authorize any municipal corporation to do any of the acts which itself is prohibited from doing, or to allow of the same becoming a stockholder in any road or other corporation, or association. It is also prohibited from subscribing, in the name of the State, to any such stock, except to secure loans heretofore made; it may not release, or alienate, or change the terms of any lien now held by any railroad; nor has it any power to release or extinguish any obligation or debt due the State by any corporation theretofore organized.

The Constitutional Convention in Alabama had before it, and finally adopted, an article on "corporations," the sections of which, in relation to railroads, declare that all such corporations are common carriers, and all roads and canals to be public highways. Authority for all corporations under general laws to construct roads in the State, to and from any competing points. The Legislature is directed to pass laws to correct abuses and prevent unjust discriminations. The issuing of free passes to members of the State Government or Legislature in any form is prohibited. Provisions are also embraced prohibiting the issuing of fictitious stock, or of any such evidences of indebtedness or capital, except for value received and labor done.

This summary completes the statement of the attitude assumed by the several States

towards the railway system. It will be seen that they run the gamut of nearly every step short of the final ones—direct State supervision; direct control by State ownership. Massachusetts stands at one end of the first positive policy; and Missouri now seems to be at the other and affirmative terminus of the same course. The Railroad Commissioners of the first-named State seem to be united, judging by their reports and the more liberal utterance of their chairman, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in the conviction that under present conditions, the best results can be obtained by such a board as their own, who occupy towards the public and the railroads a position somewhat similar to that filled by courts of conciliation, as they are now organized in England and some other countries for the settlement of disputes between labor and capital. Mr. Adams is very sure that in a State where the railroad stock is largely owned by resident investors, and the directors are therefore more or less controlled by the sentiment around them, that the creation and direction of public opinion by such a State Board, will in nearly every instance be sufficient to remove evils and settle disputes on the side of equity. He makes for this method the claim that it is more American and democratic than any policy of force, and points to the strange and new conditions which the railroad system necessarily creates, as requiring for the present, at least, a wise tentativeness in dealing therewith.

Next to the practical results of such a course as is pursued by the Massachusetts Commission—which Mr. Adams claims has worked effectively, in every instance—will follow the conclusions it has heretofore expressed, as to the ultimate consequences. The theory has been advanced, in their reports, that a "natural law of political evolution, governing transportation by rail, may now be formulated." This theory assumes that the European practice, of control
the final result
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to be passed
ernment, and
vate competi-

2. The enforcement or regulation of competition, by legislative interference.

3. Placing the roads under complete Executive supervision, as, for instance, in France.

4. The partial ownership of roads by the State, and its consequent appearance as competitor and regulator, as in Belgium.

5. State ownership and management, as in Prussia.

The Wisconsin Railroad Commissioners* take exception to these conclusions, as not applicable to America. As they have had a marked experience, the views expressed are worthy recapitulation. Their general conclusions are:

That the public character of railways is fully established.

That the consequent right, and the necessity of control, are nowhere in doubt.

That control is demanded by the public interests, in the interests of capital, also, and that the necessity for control is a growing one.

The question of methods is then one of kind and degree. Early legislation has been inadequate; not sufficiently protecting the public; and it has been too special in its character. Remedial measures are needed; and, in the judgment of the Wisconsin Board, State ownership is wholly inapplicable. Competition may yet be preserved and maintained. Water routes may be made permanent, through but partial restraint. State supervision is as yet tentative in character, and should be more fully tested. The aim "should be to leave * * the largest freedom of action, compatible with a proper security of the public interests."

Wholesome restraints may be enforced by general enactments that look to—

Regulating railway charges, by establishing a maximum limitation of rates, or by fixing one of profits. Cheap fares are regarded with favor, and the power to revise freight tariffs is deemed essential.

Opinion seems adverse to the limitation of profits, on the ground that it would lead to covering up of real profits, remove an incentive to economy, encourage the increase of capital stock, and that, in any

* Report, 1874

event, such limitation would become, at last, a tax on productive industry.

A great advantage would be gained by requiring the publicity of all rates of freight; securing greater stability, uniformity in classification, and timely notice of changes. An interchange of traffic, and the prohibition of unjust discrimination, would be of great utility. The State may, also, properly require punctuality in the running of trains, rigid inspection of construction and operation, sharper police requirements, a uniform and public method of keeping railway accounts, full and more frequent reports, the publicity of contracts, and distinct limitations upon corporate powers, such as experience has, or may hereafter, determine to be necessary.

Having thus completed a review of the special position assumed by some of the States, and the more general attitude, borne by all, towards the railway system of the United States, it would not be proper to close this paper without some reference to the positions assumed in Congress, and the decisions made by the Supreme Court as to the Constitutional powers possessed by the General Government over the regulation of inter-State commerce, as well as postal and military communication between them.

The interpretation placed upon the power to regulate commerce between the States, as well as to establish postal and military roads, by the political school that advocates State Sovereignty, is well understood. As to first object, it is interpreted only to mean commerce in the sense of materials, not as to the means or methods of traffic and interchange. So far as it relates to means of commercial inter-communication and transportation, it is claimed as relating only to natural highways—the water courses and the vehicles employed thereon.

The Supreme Court has, however, given a much broader construction to the provisions under which control, as a matter of commerce, is claimed over the railways of the country.

In one of the earliest cases, (*Gibbon vs. Ogden*,) Justice Marshall said: "*Commerce as the word is used in the Constitution, is a unit, every part of which is indicated by the term.*"

Associate Justice Johnson said, in the same case, that: "In the advancement of society, labor, *transportation*, intelligence, care, and the various mediums of exchange, become commodities, and enter into commerce; the subject, the *vehicle*, the *agent*, and their *various operations*, become the objects of commercial regulation."

In another decision—that of the passenger cases—the Court said that commerce included "transporting the merchandise from the seller to the buyer, to gain the freight."

In the case of the *United States vs. Combs*, Mr. Justice Story affirmed, the power to regulate did not stop with the water. "It does not stop at the mere boundary line of a State, nor is it confined to acts done on the water, or in the necessary course of navigation thereof."

Chief Justice Taney decided, in another case, (*Genessee Chief vs. Fitzhugh*,) that admiralty jurisdiction was not co-extensive with the power to regulate commerce, the latter being "*as extensive upon land as upon water. The Constitution makes no distinction in that respect.*"

In the most recent case—that relating to the right of Pennsylvania to impose a tonnage tax on all freight passing over her railroads—which was brought into court by the Philadelphia and Reading railroad, the decision, as to the power of Congress, is most emphatic. The Court said: "*Beyond a question, the transportation of freight, or of the subjects of commerce, for the purpose of exchange or sale, is a constituent of commerce itself.*"

In the Mississippi River Bridge case, at Clinton, Iowa, Mr. Justice Miller decided that:

"When roads become parts of the great highways of our Union, acting an important part in a commerce which embraces many States, * * * there can be no doubt that to regulate them, is to regulate commerce, both with foreign nations and among the States, and to refuse to do this, is a refusal to discharge one of the most important duties of the Federal Government."

Congress has, in limited degree, but quite logically and directly, acted in the line of the principles thus announced. It has passed a number of general acts, affecting railroads. The principal of these acts are

that of July 15, 1866, passed at the instance of the railroads themselves, which authorized companies, chartered by the States, to carry passengers, freights, &c., over any road connecting the several States, and to allow them to connect so as to form continuous lines of transportation. Another measure, directly affirming the power of Congress, is that known as the "cattle law," passed in 1872-3, by which regulations are made for more humane treatment of cattle *in transitu*.

A more recent act protects the rights of settlers on such public lands as are included within any railroad grants. Disputes have constantly occurred, generally ending to the disadvantage of the settler, who may have occupied a homestead in good faith, supposing it to be public land, and afterward found a railroad claiming it. Hereafter, the latter must leave the settler alone, and receive other land in lieu of the quarter section he occupies.

Another requires the land-grant railroads to take out patents for such lands as have been transferred to them, in pursuance of their grants. This is for the purpose of enabling the several States to tax this property. By other acts, the Government sought to make more secure its interest in the Pacific Railroads. Two important committees examined and reported to the Forty-Third Congress upon the general question. The Senate committee (Windom's) reported the following, among other recommendations, to be carried out by Congressional enactment :

1. That all railway companies, freight lines, and other common carriers, engaged in transporting passengers or freights from one State into or through another, be required, under proper penalties, to make publication, at every point of shipment from one State to another, of their rates and fares, embracing all particulars, and that they be prohibited from increasing such rates above the limit named in the publication, without reasonable notice to the public, to be prescribed by law.

2. That combinations and consolidations with parallel or competing lines, are such evils as to demand prompt and vigorous measures for their prevention.

3. That all such companies, engaged in inter-State traffic, should be required, under proper laws, to receipt for *quantity*, and to deliver the same at its destination.

4. That all railway companies and freight organizations, receiving freights in one State to be delivered in another, and whose lines touch at any river or lake port, be prohibited from charging more, to or from such port, than for any greater distance on the same line.

5. Congress to provide for a Bureau of Commerce, which shall require all such corporations engaged in inter-State transportation, to make a report, under oath, once each year, which should embrace, among other facts, the following, viz. : 1st. The rates and fares charged, from all points of shipment on its line in one State, to all points of destination in another State, including classifications and distances, and all drawbacks, deductions and discriminations ; 2d. A full and detailed statement of receipts and expenditures, including the compensation paid to officers, agents, and employes of the company ; 3d. The amount of stock and bonds issued, the price at which they were sold, and the disposition made of the funds received from such sale ; 4th. The amount and value of commodities transported during the year, as nearly as the same can be ascertained, together with such other facts as may be required by the head of such bureau, under the authority of law.

6. To regulate this great interest, the National or State Governments, or both combined, ought to own some of the trunk railroads, and regulate by competition.

7. To that end, the committee proposed the construction of several lines of freight railroad.

A committee of the House, of which Mr. Creary, of Iowa, was chairman, proposed a bill, which passed that body, in the session of 1873-4, providing for the appointment of a Board of Railway Commissioners, who should have extensive powers of regulation and revision.

No positive action was then taken, except to create a bureau or division in the Bureau of Statistics, the United States Treasury, which is charged with the gathering and reporting of statistics relating to inter-State commerce.

The endeavor has been made, in the foregoing, to present to the reader a clear and consecutive account :

1st. Of the magnitude of the world's railway system ;

2d. The power it has, or may exercise, in public affairs ;

3d. The present relations of the leading States and their governments, to the railway system ;

4th. The opinions entertained by prominent railroad men, engineers, and other experts ;

5th. The measures now being discussed, for the regulation or control of the system, here or elsewhere.

In this effort, reasonable success has, it is believed, been achieved ; and the result must prove of interest, as well as of value, alike to the general student and the specialist.

OUR FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Shall our Public School System be changed ? Shall a division of the public funds be permitted, and a pro rata amount allowed to be expended under the direction of the Catholic Church ? These are practical questions now under discussion, and every citizen should seek to form a correct judgment thereon.

The position of the Republican party on this important question is not one of hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, but to the policy, which a certain branch of that Church has seen fit to adopt toward our Free School System. That policy is not defensive but aggressive in its character, and seeks, by an alliance with the Democratic party, to overthrow a system already established, a system that has worked well for many years, a system that is devoid of all sectarianism, unobjectionable to the various religious sects and creeds, beneficial alike to the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, Jew and Pagan, and should be equally beneficial to the children of our Roman Catholic citizens. It is purely a secular system, intended to extend to all equal advantages in acquiring a good English education. The Republican party seeks to preserve this system from all religious interference, whether it comes from Protestant or Catholic influences. It clings to our free school system as to the rock of National safety, believing that any departure from it that will sanction a division of the Public School Funds, will be the entering wedge to disrupt the system, destroying its common benefits, and through this, work untold injury to our free institutions.

SHALL THE SYSTEM BE CHANGED ?

This is the vital question for the American people to answer, and this is the question now at issue in some of the leading States. It is not a religious question ; it is

simply a political one that has entered largely into our politics. To discuss it, does not, of necessity, require an attack on, or a defence of the Catholic religion. If the Catholic Church is given prominence in the discussion, it is because no other Church seeks to change the system. All other sects and creeds are satisfied with it, as the very best system that can be devised for the education of the young, and the Republican party, in its present attitude on this question, simply says in effect : What is good for Protestant children cannot be injurious to Catholic children. What is satisfactory to all churches except the Catholic, cannot be changed at its command.

THE EFFECTS OF A CHANGE.

Supposing we should grant the demands of the Catholic Church, and give to the priests a pro rata portion of the School Money, what then ? We have granted it as an act of justice ; therefore, justice demands that the division of the School Money be continued, until every sect and creed has its share, leaving a small balance for the support of the schools belonging to the heathen outside the pale of the Church. Thus a great common blessing becomes, through a mistaken policy, so diluted in its distribution, that its character as a blessing is lost, and only the chosen few enjoy what the genius of our Government intended for the many. Therefore, to permit one dollar of the Public School Funds to be used for sectarian instruction, whether in the Catholic or Protestant faith, would be the beginning of an abuse that would end in the destruction of the Free School System. The whole system would be, in its practical effects, like the governments of South America, so broken up in petty divisions, each jealous of the other, as to totally destroy the majesty of government and make it little better than

a public curse. Therefore, it becomes the duty of every citizen, whether Catholic or Protestant, to oppose the inception of any movement that has for its object the introduction of religious training in our schools, or the division of the Public School Funds, to be used in the interest of any particular sect or creed. Religious instruction belongs to the home circle; to the Church; to the Sunday School; to schools and seminaries supported by private contributions; to those organizations which are independent of public support, and which form no part of the machinery of State Government. To go beyond this, and enter the public schools, is to invite an antagonism that will not only injure the State, but seriously cripple the cause of religion itself.

THE RIGHTS OF THE STATE.

Catholic opposition to our Free School System is based on an erroneous idea of the functions of the State, and the relationship of the citizen thereto. The Catholic taxpayer objects to paying the school tax, because his children cannot receive, in the public schools, instruction in the Catholic faith. He might, with equal propriety, object to paying the tax levied for public charity, because the benefits are not confined to Catholics, or because the faith of the Roman Church is not impressed on every man, woman and child assisted by the fund. He might, with equal force, object to the tax levied for the support of hospitals, because the skill employed is not confined to Catholics, or the rites of the Church are not administered by the same hand that relieves suffering humanity. He might, with equal justice, object to paying a dollar of public tax, unless the amount collected is expended under the supervision of the Church, for its interests, by the hands of its duly appointed guardians.

To admit this principle of self-interest, in the expenditure of public moneys, would be to elevate the private interests of the citizen above the public interests of the State; it would be subversive of good government, because it would destroy that equity of administration that is essential to the peace and welfare of the State. Therefore, aside

from the bad effects that would develop themselves in the school system, there is a dangerous principle underlying the claim for a division of the public funds, which, if not promptly denied by the emphatic voice of the people, will, sooner or later, undermine our form of government, and destroy our Republic.

THE CATHOLIC POLICY.

The policy of the Ultramontane branch of the Catholic Church appears to be the eventual control of the public schools of the United States, so as to make the Free Schools an important auxiliary in the growth of the Catholic Church. Its opposition to the present system has been slowly unfolding itself. First, its objection was to the comments made on the Bible by the teacher. The comments ceased, in deference to the objection raised. Then the Bible itself was objected to, and in many large cities, this, too, has been removed, so that no possible objection could be raised by the parents of Catholic children. But no sooner has the Bible been thrown from the window, than the priest with his catechism appears at the door. The comments have ceased, the Bible has gone, and now the priesthood unfold the next move by demanding that Catholic children shall have Catholic teachers and Catholic instruction, and this at the public expense. This is the present demand. Shall it be granted? If it is, the next move will be for the control of all the schools, through Democratic legislation, whenever and wherever possible. The issue is a plain one; it is not a religious one, but purely political; the Republican party standing on the defensive, to protect the Free School System, as it now exists—the Democratic party, under the influence of the Catholic policy, trying to change the system by giving to the Catholics a pro rata portion of the public funds, to be expended in the support of sectarian schools. To decide the question, it is not necessary to go into the past history of the Catholic Church, to show that, as a governing power, it is inconsistent with civil and religious liberty. Nor is it necessary to touch upon the character of the religion out of which this policy grows. It may be the best form

public school. To depart from this time-honored practice, will be to open the door to abuses that will destroy the only safeguard of the State, the education of the young. To guard it against all encroachments, from without or within, is to preserve the purity of our free institutions and the simplicity of our form of government. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and to guard with jealous care our Free School System, becomes the sacred duty of every true American citizen.

On its face, and under the first flash of thought, the argument carries with it at least the appearance of plausibility. But when we examine the conditions under which the volume of currency was increased, and the causes which augmented and again reduced the premium on gold, the logic of the argument vanishes, like a morning mist before the rising sun. A brief reference only to the more prominent of these conditions and causes is required. But, first, it will be well to present to the reader a

Table showing the amount of paper currency in circulation, the value in currency of \$100 in gold, and the value in gold of \$100 in currency, in July, each year, from 1862 to 1875, inclusive.

Year.	Total currency in circulation.	Value in currency of \$100 in gold.	Value in gold of \$100 in currency.
1862	\$332,794,000	\$115 .5	\$86 .6
1863	297,736,000	130 .6	76 .6
1864	512,072,000	258 .1	38 .7
1865	628,692,000	142 .1	70 .4
1866	708,031,000	151 .6	66
1867	693,090,000	139 .4	71 .7
1868	678,745,000	142 .7	70 .1
1869	676,508,000	136 .1	73 .5
1870	683,878,000	116 .8	85 .6
1871	721,582,000	112 .4	89
1872	731,355,000	114 .3	87 .5
1873	740,799,000	115 .7	86 .4
1874	777,538,000	110	91
1875	769,840,119	114 .8	87 .2

These figures can be accepted as correct. Those showing the yearly increase of paper currency, are taken from the records of the Comptroller of the Currency. The columns showing the value of gold in currency, and currency in gold, are from the daily record made by E. B. Elliott, Esq., Actuary of the U. S. Treasury.

Now, why has the premium on gold fallen, under an increase of paper currency? The answer is:

First. Because the Government has been faithful, and scrupulously exact in the fulfillment of all its promises. Its financial obligations have, in every case, been met and discharged; principal and interest are paid, as they fall due, and, generally, before they mature. Treaties with foreign Powers have been faithfully observed, and no Government, State, or individual can advance a single case of dereliction on the part of the United States Government.

Second. The price of gold was at its highest, in 1864. Gold was, in July of that year, at 258; greenbacks were then worth 38 cents on the dollar. And why? The preservation of the Union was then a matter of doubt—not so much by the Government, but by the doubting Thomases; and there were many of them, at home and abroad. In July of the following year, the gold price fell to 142, and greenbacks rose to 70. Why? The Government had closed the

war. The Union was saved. Confidence was restored. But the debt burthen was enormous; and so, necessarily, were the Government expenditures. The fall in the price of gold, from 258, in 1864, to 142, in 1865, was really more than the financial condition of the Government reasonably warranted. The great fall in the gold premium was caused, partly, by the joy at the restoration of peace. This is seen in the fact that, in the following year, the price of gold went up to 151; but it fell, in 1867, to 139; in 1869, to 136; in 1870, to 116; and, in 1874, to 110.

Third. This large decrease in the price of gold, from year to year, and the corresponding appreciation of greenbacks, while the volume of currency continued to increase, is due, largely, to the continued integrity of the Government, in the fulfillment of its obligations.

Fourth. It is due, also, to the reduction of the public expenditures, from the enormous sum of \$1,297,555,224, in 1865, to \$274,623,392, in 1875, a period of ten years—an achievement probably without a parallel.

Fifth. It is due to the reduction of the public debt, to the extent of \$550,000,000, and a reduction of \$40,000,000, per annum, in the interest on the debt.

Sixth. It is due to a reduction of over \$300,000,000 in the taxes, and the abolishment of the personal income tax.

Seventh. It is due to the funding of \$500,000,000 of the public debt at 5 per cent., or one per cent. less than was formerly paid.

Eighth. It is due largely to the favoring influence of a generous Providence, in blessing the people with a succession of abundant harvests, affording a large surplus, over home consumption, with which to meet and discharge foreign obligations.

"But," say the Democratic inflationists, "how is it that the price of gold was at 110 in 1874, and is now up to 117?" The answer is plain to every intelligent mind. There is but one reply to the inquiry. It is owing to the consummate folly of the inflationists themselves, and to no other cause. The cry for "more money"—for "an indefinite amount of paper currency"—has

alarmed capital, disturbed the money market at home and abroad, and threatens the country with ultimate repudiation.

Give Ohio to the Democracy and the price of gold will go up to 120; give them Pennsylvania, too, and it will reach 125; give them the Presidential election, under the inflation platforms of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and it will bound up to 150.

On the other hand, the past record of the Government, under Republican rule, is a

safe and ample guarantee that the country will be guided on to the resumption of specie payments, within the time specified in the Finance Act of Congress, of January 14, 1875.

Which do the people prefer? Democracy, and gold at 150, with prospective repudiation; or Republicanism, with greenbacks at par with gold, and all the pledges of the Government faithfully carried out, in the future as in the past? It is for the people to solve this all-engrossing problem.

HOW ALABAMA'S ABANDONMENT OF SECESSION IS INTERPRETED.

Among mathematicians and statistical students, it is an accepted axiom, that, when you find an abrupt angle, a sudden decline or rise in a comparative statement or table, dealing with some general class of figures, an inquiry must be at once made into the cause. The same rule will hold good in other fields—the political, for instance. The Alabama Constitutional Convention, recently in session, seems to have suddenly faced about by the adoption of the following, as a section of the "Bill of Rights," in the new instrument they have prepared:

"The people of this State accept as final the established fact, that from the Federal Union there can be no secession of any State."

As the calling of this Convention was a Democratic policy, its election is their victory also. The studious observer of the Southern Democracy, could not but reasonably expect to see Alabama adopt, on this important issue, either silence, as in the case of Arkansas and Tennessee, almost open adherence, as in the case of Missouri, or an evasion, as in that of West Virginia. The States named have undergone the process of Democratic restoration, and what has been done therein, might reasonably be regarded as an evidence of what might be expected elsewhere.

The Mobile Register, the leading Bourbon journal of the South, comments with singular perspicuity, from its stand point, on the section just adopted. It shows how little real worth there is in the beating about the bush this illustrates, and illustrates, also,

that the pestilent doctrine of State Sovereignty is still powerful:

Assuming that our Convention had an impossible nut to crack, we have to admit that this style of achieving it is about the best that could have been adopted. Don Quixote de la Mancha assailed the wind mill valorously, but the story leaves us no room to doubt that the wind mill survived the attack. If the Convention had said that from the "new nation" there can be no secession, we should have comprehended that Napoleon's "strongest battalions" had settled an important principle of autonomy. But we are confronted with a flat contradiction, when we are told that from the "Federal Union there can be no secession of any State." A "Federal Union," means a "league" of States, and a "league" necessarily implies a voluntary act of a free State or sovereignty. If the Federal Union was originally a forced Union, our fathers strangely misused and mistook the force of language. Federal is derived from the Latin *Fœdus*, a league, and its essential quality is agreement or consent. The word "Union," too, adds force to the idea of "consent." Now, if the late war has changed all this doctrine, why not acknowledge it openly, and call "a spade" "a spade." If it be true that a principle may be beaten out between sledge-hammer and anvil by sheer force, and that it cannot be called a principle a moment longer than the hearts and minds of men are hammered into accord by the same agency of force, then our General Government was changed by the war from a representative State Government, into one of central and consolidated powers. To ignore the right of secession, it is first necessary to adopt this doctrine. For to talk about State Rights after you have ignored State remedies, is a solecism in language and an absurdity in fact. But is it true in point of fact "that there can be no

secession of any State from,"—we will not say the "Federal Union"—but the present Washington Government? Let us see: "Brother Jonathan" and "Johnny Reb." fell out and fought over a question of government. Brother J. was the strongest, and in the end "Johnny Reb." was beaten. Brother Jonathan laid down the law as he had established it—the sledge-hammer and anvil law. "Johnny Reb.," not satisfied with being obliged to submit to it, against all his beliefs and habits of thought, must needs go to work to help Brother Jonathan define his new principle of government, and what a pretty mess he makes of it is seen in our bill of rights *olla podrida* of force and consent. But does the bayonet of Brother Jonathan, backed by the ingenious interpretation of the Alabama Convention, make the new principle permanent or "establish the fact that there can be no secession of any State?" In the whirligig of time, suppose New England, headed by that most independent, daring and restless of the States, *Massachusetts*, should take it into her head that she would be better off outside of this nameless Government that Mr. Grant now rules, and New England could persuade Brother Jonathan to back her in the fancy. True, the Alabama Constitution, with this section of her bill of rights in it, will be on record against the right and power of New England, but that will not deprive her of the power. Our recent experience does not justify faith in the inviolability of parchment constitutions. But what have the people of Alabama and of the South, who fought so hard to maintain the State Rights principles of the Government, to do with this question? If they submit to the laws of war and to the *stare decisis* of arms, until arms shall reverse the judgment have they not done their whole duty in the premises? Are they called on to change their opinions and go back upon principles they believed to be vital to the liberties and happiness of the *whole* people of the United States? Otherwise why lug the case into court, *coram non judice*, unless it was because they were looking out to see "what Mrs. Grundy would say?" Isn't it enough to have to eat humble pie, with the best appetite that the duty and honor of the defeated side can command, without rolling it as a sweet morsel under the tongue, and smacking our lips and pronouncing it "good." Now there are men in that Convention of long settled pro-Union principles who could vote for this section cheerfully and conscientiously. But there are others who can only give such a vote after swallowing the convictions of a lifetime, and with them a lot of dirt most repulsive to a sound and wholesome moral and political digestion. And what makes it

passing strange is, that there was not the least necessity for sitting down to such a noisome banquet of humble pie. And yet, in a body composed of the notables of our State, this section was "adopted *unanimously*." Not one member with a memory ten years old.

POPULAR EDUCATION.—Education is the handmaid of Liberty. Without intelligence, true freedom cannot long exist; it degenerates into license, and this soon leads to anarchy and ruin. An ignorant people cannot be trusted with self-government. They require a strong power to keep them within the bounds of law and order. This power they will not willingly create themselves. It must be created for them, and this necessarily leads to despotism. The hope of our country is in the growth and perpetuity of our Free School System. The State has no other defense. Without it, the State has new dangers to face daily. Religion becomes bigotry, and freedom dispensed by religious bigotry is worse than mockery. The State must guard with zealous care the government of its public schools. No sectarian influence should be allowed to interfere with that liberty of thought which prevails in our public schools. The young mind should be unfettered in its growth, so that its development may be strong and healthy.

The efforts made by the Catholic Church, or by any religious denomination, to control, in their interest, the public schools, should be frowned down by all good citizens, whether they belong to the Church or not. To permit these efforts to succeed, is to lay the foundation for future trouble. If one creed obtains control, another will be clamoring for it. Strife will follow; this will lead to bitterness of feeling, and finally end in the complete overthrow of the Free School System. Our Catholic citizens are as deeply interested in opposing any religious interference with our school system as those of other denominations. They should raise their voices against the movement, and if the question depends upon the ballot, they should so use that as to preserve, in all its usefulness and purity, the system of popular education that has already proven an inestimable benefit to our people.

POLITICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE XLIVTH CONGRESS.

Below will be found a carefully classified list of the Members of the 44th Congress, with their political leanings. When (c) follows a Member's name, it signifies that his right to a seat in Congress is contested. The list is complete so far as certificates of election have been received and filed at Washington :

DEMOCRATS.

ALABAMA.

Names.	P O. Address.
Jeremiah N. Williams, (c)	Clayton
Paul Bradford	Talladega
John H. Caldwell	Jacksonville
Goldsmith W. Hewitt	Birmingham
Burwell B. Lewis	Tuscaloosa
Wm. H. Forney	Jacksonville

ARKANSAS.

L. C. Gause	Jacksonport
Wm. F. Slemmons	Monticillo
Wm. W. Wilshire	Little Rock
Thomas M. Gunter	Fayetteville

CONNECTICUT.

George M. Landers	New Britain
James Phelps	New Haven
Wm. H. Barnum	Lime Rock

DELAWARE.

James Williams	Kenton
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GEORGIA.

Julian Hartridge	Savannah
Wm. E. Smith	Albany
Philip Cook	Americus
Henry R. Harris	Greenville
Milton A. Candler	Atlanta
James H. Blount	Macon
Wm. H. Felton	Cartersville
Alex. H. Stephens	Crawfordsville
Ben. H. Hill	

ILLINOIS.

Bernard G. Canfield	Chicago
C. H. Harrison (c)	Chicago
Alex. Campbell	Laselle
John C. Bagby	Rushville
Scott Wike	Pittsfield
Wm. M. Springer	Springfield
Adlair E. Stevenson	Bloomington
John R. Eden	Sullivan
W. A. J. Sparks	Carlisle
Wm. R. Morrison	Waterloo
William Hartzell	Chester
Wm. B. Anderson	Mt. Vernon

INDIANA.

Benoni S. Fuller	Boonville
James D. Williams	Wheatland
Michael C. Kerr	New Albany
Jeptha D. New	Vernon

Wm. S. Holman	Aurora
Franklin Landers	Indianapolis
Wm. S. Haymond	Monticillo
Andrew H. Hamilton	Fort Wayne

IOWA.

Lucien L. Ainsworth	West Union
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KANSAS.

John R. Goodin	Humboldt
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KENTUCKY.

Andrew R. Boone	Mayfield
John Young Brown	Henderson
Charles W. Milliken	Franklin
J. Proctor Knott	Lebanon
Edward Y. Parsons	Louisville
Thomas L. Jones	Newport
J. C. S. Blackburne	Versailles
Milton J. Durham	Danville
John B. Clarke	Augusta

LOUISIANA.

Randall L. Gibson	New Orleans
E. John Ellis	New Orleans
Wm. M. Levy (c)	Natchitoches

MARYLAND.

Philip F. Thomas	Easton
Charles B. Roberts	Westminster
Wm. J. O'Brien	Baltimore
Thomas Swann	Baltimore
Eli J. Henkle	Brooklyn
William Walsh	Cumberland

MASSACHUSETTS.

Charles P. Thompson	Gloucester
John K. Tarbox	Lawrence
Wm. W. Warren	Boston
Chester W. Chapin	Springfield

MICHIGAN.

Alpheus S. Williams	Detroit
Allen Potter	Kalamazoo
George H. Durand	Flint

MISSOURI.

Edward C. Kehr	St. Louis
Erastus Wells	St. Louis
Wm. H. Stone	St. Louis
Robert A. Hatcher	New Madrid
Richard P. Bland	Lebanon
Charles H. Morgan	Lamar
John F. Phillips	Sedalia
Benjamin J. Franklin	Kansas City
David Rea	Savannah
R. A. DeBolt	Trenton
John B. Clark	Fayette
John M. Clover	Lagrange
Astell H. Buckner	St. Charles

NEW JERSEY.

Miles Ross	New Brunswick
Robert Hamilton	Newton
Augustus W. Cutter	Morristown
Frederick H. Peese	Newark
Augustus H. Hardenbergh	Jersey City

NEW YORK.

Henry B. Metcalf Richmond
 John G. Schumaker Brooklyn
 Archibald M. Bliss "
 Edwin R. Meede New York
 S. S. Cox "
 Smith Ely, Jr "
 Eliza Ward "
 Fernando Wood "
 Abram S. Hewitt "
 N. Holmes Odell White Plains
 John O. Whitehouse Poughkeepsie
 George M. Bebee Monticello
 John H. Bagley, Jr. Catskill
 Scott Lord Utica
 Charles C. B. Walker Corning
 Aug. F. Allen (dead) Jamestown

NORTH CAROLINA.

Jesse J. Yeates Murfreesboro
 Alfred M. Waddell Wilmington
 Joseph J. Davis Louisburg
 Alfred M. Scales Greensboro
 Thos. S. Ashe Wades
 Wm. M. Robbins Statesville
 Robt. B. Vance Asheville

OHIO.

Milton Sayler Cincinnati
 Henry B. Banung "
 John S. Savage Wilmington
 John A. McMahon Dayton
 Amos V. Rice Ottawa
 Frank H. Hurd Toledo
 Lawrence T. Neal Circleville
 E. F. Toppleton Delaware
 John L. Vance Gallipolis
 Ansel T. Walling Circleville
 Milton J. Sonthard Zanesville

..... Ashland
 Cleveland

PA.

..... Pendleton

PENNA.

..... Philadelphia
 "
 Reading
 Easton
 Scranton
 Pottsville
 Towanda
 Altoona
 Chambersburg
 York
 Lock Haven
 Greensburg
 Pittsburg
 Alleghany City
 Brookville
 West Greenville
 Franklin

TENNESSEE.

Wm. McFarland Morristown
 Geo. G. Dibrell Sparta
 John M. Fite Carthage
 John M. Bright Fayetteville
 John F. House Clarksville
 Washington C. Whitthorne Columbia
 John D. C. Atkins Paris
 Wm. P. Caldwell Gardners
 H. Casey Young Memphis

TEXAS.

John H. Reagan Palestine
 David B. Culberson Jefferson
 James W. Throckmorton McKinney
 Roger Q. Mills Corsicana
 John Hancock Austin
 Gustave Schleicher Cuero

VIRGINIA.

Beverly B. Douglass Aylette's
 John Goode, Jr (c) Norfolk
 Gilbert C. Walker Richmond
 Geo. C. Cobell Danville
 John Randolph Tucker Lexington
 John T. Harris Harrisburg
 Eppa Hunton Warrenton
 Wm. Terry Wytheville

WEST VIRGINIA.

Benjamin Wilson Wilsonburg
 Chas. J. Faulkner Martinburg
 Frank Hereford Union

WISCONSIN.

Wm. Pitt Lynde Milwaukee
 Samuel D. Burchard Beaver Dam
 Alanson M. Kimball Pine River
 Geo. W. Cate Amherst

REPUBLICANS.

ALABAMA.

James Haralson, (c) Selma
 Chas. Hays Haysville

CONNECTICUT.

Henry H. Starkweather Norwich

FLORIDA.

Josiah T. Walls Gainesville
 Wm. J. Purman Tallahassee

ILLINOIS.

Chas. B. Farwell Chicago
 Stephen A. Hurlburt Belvidere
 Horatio C. Burchard Freeport
 Thos. J. Henderson Princeton
 Greenbury L. Fort Lacon
 Richard H. Whiting (c) Peoria
 Joseph G. Cannon Tuscola

INDIANA.

Milton S. Robinson Anderson
 Morton C. Hunter Bloomington
 Thos. J. Cason Lebanon
 Jos. L. Evans Noblesville
 John H. Baker (c) Goshen

IOWA.

W. McCrary.....Keokuk
J. Tufts.....Milton Junction
O. Pratt.....Charles City
Wilson.....Buckingham
S. Sampson.....Sigourney
A. Kasson.....Des Moines
W. McDill.....Afton
Oliver.....Onawa

KANSAS.

W. A. Phillips.....Salina
R. Brown.....Hutchinson

KENTUCKY.

John D. White (c).....Manchester

LOUISIANA.

Clester B. Darrall (c).....Brashear
Frank Morey (c).....Monroe
Chas. E. Nash.....Washington

MAINE.

John H. Burleigh.....South Berwick
Wm. P. Frye.....Lewiston
James G. Blaine.....Augusta
Eugene Hale.....Ellsworth

MASSACHUSETTS.

James Buffington (dead).....Fall River
Benj. W. Harris.....East Bridgewater
Henry L. Pierce.....Boston
Rufus L. Frost (c).....Chelsea
Geo. F. Hoar.....Worcester

MINNESOTA.

Mark H. Dunnell.....Owatonna
Horace B. Strait.....Shakopee
Wm. S. King.....Minneapolis

NEBRASKA.

Lorenzo Crounse.....Ft. Calhoun

NEVADA.

Wm. Woodburn.....Virginia City

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Henry W. Blair.....Plymouth

NEW JERSEY.

Clement H. Sinnickson.....Salem
Samuel A. Dobbins.....Mt. Holly

NEW YORK.

Simeon B. Chittenden.....Brooklyn
Chas. H. Adams.....Cohoes
Martin J. Townsend.....Troy
Andrew Williams.....Plattsburg
Wm. A. Wheeler.....Malone
Henry H. Hawthorne.....Saratoga Springs
Samuel F. Miller.....Franklin
George A. Bagley.....Watertown
Wm. H. Baker.....Constantia
Elias W. Leavenworth.....Syracuse
Clinton D. McDougall.....Auburn

Elbridge G. Lapham.....Canandaigua
Thomas C. Platt.....Owego
John M. Davy.....Rochester
George G. Hoskins.....Attica
Lyman K. Bass.....Buffalo

NORTH CAROLINA.

John A. Hyman.....Warrenton

OHIO.

William Lawrence.....Bellefontaine
Charles Foster.....Fostoria
Nelson H. Van Vorbes.....Athens
Lorenzo Danford.....St. Clairville
L. D. Woodworth.....Youngstown
James Monroe.....Oberlin
James A. Garfield.....Hiram

PENNSYLVANIA.

Chapman Freeman.....Philadelphia
Charles O'Neill....."
William D. Kelley....."
Washington Townsend.....West Chester
Allan Wood, Jr.....Conshohocken
A. Kerr Smith.....Lancaster
Winthrop W. Ketchum.....Wilkesbarre
John B. Packer.....Sunbury
Sobieski Ross.....Cowdersport
John W. Wallace.....New Castle

RHODE ISLAND.

Benjamin T. Eames.....Providence
Latimer W. Ballou.....Woonsocket

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Joseph H. Rainey (c).....Georgetown
E. W. M. Mackey (c).....Charleston
Solomon L. Hoge.....Columbia
Alex. S. Wallace.....Yorkville
Robert Small.....Beaufort

TENNESSEE.

Jacob M. Thornburg.....Knoxville

VERMONT.

Charles H. Joyce.....Rutland
Dudley C. Denison.....Royalton
George W. Hendee.....Morrisville

VIRGINIA.

William H. H. Stowell.....Burkeville

WISCONSIN.

Charles G. Williams.....Janesville
Lucien B. Caswell.....Ft. Atkinson
Henry S. Magoon.....Darlington
A. M. Kimball.....Pine River
Jeremiah M. Rusk.....Viroqua

LIBERALS.

Benjamin A. Willis.....New York

INDEPENDENTS.

N. P. Banks.....Waltham, Mass.
Julius H. Seelye.....Amherst, "

that of July 15, 1866, passed at the instance of the railroads themselves, which authorized companies, chartered by the States, to carry passengers, freights, &c., over any road connecting the several States, and to allow them to connect so as to form continuous lines of transportation. Another measure, directly affirming the power of Congress, is that known as the "cattle law," passed in 1872-3, by which regulations are made for more humane treatment of cattle *in transitu*.

A more recent act protects the rights of settlers on such public lands as are included within any railroad grants. Disputes have constantly occurred, generally ending to the disadvantage of the settler, who may have occupied a homestead in good faith, supposing it to be public land, and afterward found a railroad claiming it. Hereafter, the latter must leave the settler alone, and receive other land in lieu of the quarter section he occupies.

Another requires the land-grant railroads to take out patents for such lands as have been transferred to them, in pursuance of their grants. This is for the purpose of enabling the several States to tax this property. By other acts, the Government sought to make more secure its interest in the Pacific Railroads. Two important committees examined and reported to the Forty-Third Congress upon the general question. The Senate committee (Windom's) reported the following, among other recommendations, to be carried out by Congressional enactment :

1. That all railway companies, freight lines, and other common carriers, engaged in transporting passengers or freights from one State into or through another, be required, under proper penalties, to make publication, at every point of shipment from one State to another, of their rates and fares, embracing all particulars, and that they be prohibited from increasing such rates above the limit named in the publication, without reasonable notice to the public, to be prescribed by law.

2. That combinations and consolidations with parallel or competing lines, are such evils as to demand prompt and vigorous measures for their prevention.

3. That all such companies, engaged in inter-State traffic, should be required, under proper laws, to receipt for *quantity*, and to deliver the same at its destination.

4. That all railway companies and freight organizations, receiving freights in one State to be delivered in another, and whose lines touch at any river or lake port, be prohibited from charging more, to or from such port, than for any greater distance on the same line.

5. Congress to provide for a Bureau of Commerce, which shall require all such corporations engaged in inter-State transportation, to make a report, under oath, once each year, which should embrace, among other facts, the following, viz.: 1st. The rates and fares charged, from all points of shipment on its line in one State, to all points of destination in another State, including classifications and distances, and all drawbacks, deductions and discriminations; 2d. A full and detailed statement of receipts and expenditures, including the compensation paid to officers, agents, and employes of the company; 3d. The amount of stock and bonds issued, the price at which they were sold, and the disposition made of the funds received from such sale; 4th. The amount and value of commodities transported during the year, as nearly as the same can be ascertained, together with such other facts as may be required by the head of such bureau, under the authority of law.

6. To regulate this great interest, the National or State Governments, or both combined, ought to own some of the trunk railroads, and regulate by competition.

7. To that end, the committee proposed the construction of several lines of freight railroad.

A committee of the House, of which Mr. Creary, of Iowa, was chairman, proposed a bill, which passed that body, in the session of 1873-4, providing for the appointment of a Board of Railway Commissioners, who should have extensive powers of regulation and revision.

No positive action was then taken, except to create a bureau or division in the Bureau of Statistics, the United States Treasury, which is charged with the gathering and reporting of statistics relating to inter-State commerce.

The endeavor has been made, in the foregoing, to present to the reader a clear and consecutive account :

1st. Of the magnitude of the world's railway system ;

2d. The power it has, or may exercise, in public affairs ;

3d. The present relations of the leading States and their governments, to the railway system ;

4th. The opinions entertained by prominent railroad men, engineers, and other experts ;

5th. The measures now being discussed, for the regulation or control of the system, here or elsewhere.

In this effort, reasonable success has, it is believed, been achieved ; and the result must prove of interest, as well as of value, alike to the general student and the specialist.

OUR FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Shall our Public School System be changed ? Shall a division of the public funds be permitted, and a pro rata amount allowed to be expended under the direction of the Catholic Church ? These are practical questions now under discussion, and every citizen should seek to form a correct judgment thereon.

The position of the Republican party on this important question is not one of hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, but to the policy, which a certain branch of that Church has seen fit to adopt toward our Free School System. That policy is not defensive but aggressive in its character, and seeks, by an alliance with the Democratic party, to overthrow a system already established, a system that has worked well for many years, a system that is devoid of all sectarianism, unobjectionable to the various religious sects and creeds, beneficial alike to the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, Jew and Pagan, and should be equally beneficial to the children of our Roman Catholic citizens. It is purely a secular system, intended to extend to all equal advantages in acquiring a good English education. The Republican party seeks to preserve this system from all religious interference, whether it comes from Protestant or Catholic influences. It clings to our free school system as to the rock of National safety, believing that any departure from it that will sanction a division of the Public School Funds, will be the entering wedge to disrupt the system, destroying its common benefits, and through this, work untold injury to our free institutions.

SHALL THE SYSTEM BE CHANGED ?

This is the vital question for the American people to answer, and this is the question now at issue in some of the leading States. It is not a religious question ; it is

simply a political one that has entered largely into our politics. To discuss it, does not, of necessity, require an attack on, or a defence of the Catholic religion. If the Catholic Church is given prominence in the discussion, it is because no other Church seeks to change the system. All other sects and creeds are satisfied with it, as the very best system that can be devised for the education of the young, and the Republican party, in its present attitude on this question, simply says in effect : What is good for Protestant children cannot be injurious to Catholic children. What is satisfactory to all churches except the Catholic, cannot be changed at its command.

THE EFFECTS OF A CHANGE.

Supposing we should grant the demands of the Catholic Church, and give to the priests a pro rata portion of the School Money, what then ? We have granted it as an act of justice ; therefore, justice demands that the division of the School Money be continued, until every sect and creed has its share, leaving a small balance for the support of the schools belonging to the heathen outside the pale of the Church. Thus a great common blessing becomes, through a mistaken policy, so diluted in its distribution, that its character as a blessing is lost, and only the chosen few enjoy what the genius of our Government intended for the many. Therefore, to permit one dollar of the Public School Funds to be used for sectarian instruction, whether in the Catholic or Protestant faith, would be the beginning of an abuse that would end in the destruction of the Free School System. The whole system would be, in its practical effects, like the governments of South America, so broken up in petty divisions, each jealous of the other, as to totally destroy the majesty of government and make it little better than

a public curse. Therefore, it becomes the duty of every citizen, whether Catholic or Protestant, to oppose the inception of any movement that has for its object the introduction of religious training in our schools, or the division of the Public School Funds, to be used in the interest of any particular sect or creed. Religious instruction belongs to the home circle; to the Church; to the Sunday School; to schools and seminaries supported by private contributions; to those organizations which are independent of public support, and which form no part of the machinery of State Government. To go beyond this, and enter the public schools, is to invite an antagonism that will not only injure the State, but seriously cripple the cause of religion itself.

THE RIGHTS OF THE STATE.

Catholic opposition to our Free School System is based on an erroneous idea of the functions of the State, and the relationship of the citizen thereto. The Catholic taxpayer objects to paying the school tax, because his children cannot receive, in the public schools, instruction in the Catholic faith. He might, with equal propriety, object to paying the tax levied for public charity, because the benefits are not confined to Catholics, or because the faith of the Roman Church is not impressed on every man, woman and child assisted by the fund. He might, with equal force, object to the tax levied for the support of hospitals, because the skill employed is not confined to Catholics, or the rites of the Church are not administered by the same hand that relieves suffering humanity. He might, with equal justice, object to paying a dollar of public tax, unless the amount collected is expended under the supervision of the Church, for its interests, by the hands of its duly appointed guardians.

To admit this principle of self-interest, in the expenditure of public moneys, would be to elevate the private interests of the citizen above the public interests of the State; it would be subversive of good government, because it would destroy that equity of administration that is essential to the peace and welfare of the State. Therefore, aside

from the bad effects that would develop themselves in the school system, there is a dangerous principle underlying the claim for a division of the public funds, which, if not promptly denied by the emphatic voice of the people, will, sooner or later, undermine our form of government, and destroy our Republic.

THE CATHOLIC POLICY.

The policy of the Ultramontane branch of the Catholic Church appears to be the eventual control of the public schools of the United States, so as to make the Free Schools an important auxiliary in the growth of the Catholic Church. Its opposition to the present system has been slowly unfolding itself. First, its objection was to the comments made on the Bible by the teacher. The comments ceased, in deference to the objection raised. Then the Bible itself was objected to, and in many large cities, this, too, has been removed, so that no possible objection could be raised by the parents of Catholic children. But no sooner has the Bible been thrown from the window, than the priest with his catechism appears at the door. The comments have ceased, the Bible has gone, and now the priesthood unfold the next move by demanding that Catholic children shall have Catholic teachers and Catholic instruction, and this at the public expense. This is the present demand. Shall it be granted? If it is, the next move will be for the control of all the schools, through Democratic legislation, whenever and wherever possible. The issue is a plain one; it is not a religious one, but purely political; the Republican party standing on the defensive, to protect the Free School System, as it now exists—the Democratic party, under the influence of the Catholic policy, trying to change the system by giving to the Catholics a pro rata portion of the public funds, to be expended in the support of sectarian schools. To decide the question, it is not necessary to go into the past history of the Catholic Church, to show that, as a governing power, it is inconsistent with civil and religious liberty. Nor is it necessary to touch upon the character of the religion out of which this policy grows. It may be the best form

of religion or the worst the world ever saw. It may advance civilization, or it may retard its growth. All this has nothing to do with the question before the American people: "Shall religious interference be tolerated in our Free School System?" Thus far, it has been decided that it will not be tolerated, either in the interest of the Protestant or Catholic religion. Thus far, it has been decided that all shades of religion shall be treated alike, by strict impartiality in the education of all who seek the benefits of the

public school. To depart from this time-honored practice, will be to open the door to abuses that will destroy the only safeguard of the State, the education of the young. To guard it against all encroachments, from without or within, is to preserve the purity of our free institutions and the simplicity of our form of government. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and to guard with jealous care our Free School System, becomes the sacred duty of every true American citizen.

THE LATEST DEMOCRATIC DODGE.

The Democrats of Ohio and Pennsylvania, in their respective political platforms, declare:

"That the contraction of the currency heretofore made by the Republican party, and the further contraction proposed by it, with a view to the forced resumption of specie payment, have already brought disaster to the business of the country, and threaten it with general bankruptcy and ruin."

And then they say:

"We demand that this policy be abandoned, and that the volume of currency be made and kept equal to the wants of trade."

The charge of contraction was promptly met by official figures, showing that there had been no "contraction" beyond the voluntary surrender by the banks of a few million dollars in currency, since the passage of the law in January last, providing for free banking and the resumption of specie payments. It was also shown, that no "contraction in the future" was contemplated. From this official evidence, that no reduction of currency has been made in the past, and that none is provided for or contemplated in the future, the deduction is easily made that the charge of "ruin and disaster from contraction" had no foundation in fact; and that the demand "that this policy be abandoned," was merely an attempted ruse to deceive the public.

The prompt publication of the following figures showing that the volume of currency has been steadily increasing, gave the public an opportunity of detecting the Democratic misstatement of the facts in the case, and

forced the advocates of inflation to avoid that point, as far as possible, in their public speeches and in the Democratic press.

Circulation of Paper Currency, 1861 to 1875.

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Y

1861
1862
1863
1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
1869
1870
1871
1872
1873
1874
1875

Unwilling, however, to acknowledge their error, they parry the blow that strikes the inflation plank from their platform, by declaring that—

"If the currency has been increasing in volume, and the premium on gold decreasing, a continuation of these conditions will soon bring the currency to par with gold, and specie payments will be reached."

On its face, and under the first flash of thought, the argument carries with it at least the appearance of plausibility. But when we examine the conditions under which the volume of currency was increased, and the causes which augmented and again reduced the premium on gold, the logic of the argument vanishes, like a morning mist before the rising sun. A brief reference only to the more prominent of these conditions and causes is required. But, first, it will be well to present to the reader a

Table showing the amount of paper currency in circulation, the value in currency of \$100 in gold, and the value in gold of \$100 in currency, in July, each year, from 1862 to 1875, inclusive.

Year.	Total currency in circulation.	Value in currency of \$100 in gold.	Value in gold of \$100 in currency.
1862	\$332,794,000	\$115 .5	\$86 .6
1863	297,736,000	130 .6	76 .6
1864	502,072,000	258 .1	38 .7
1865	628,692,000	142 .1	70 .4
1866	708,031,000	151 .6	66
1867	693,090,000	139 .4	71 .7
1868	678,745,000	142 .7	70 .1
1869	676,508,000	136 .1	73 .5
1870	683,878,000	116 .8	85 .6
1871	721,582,000	112 .4	89
1872	731,355,000	114 .3	87 .5
1873	740,799,000	115 .7	86 .4
1874	777,538,000	110	91
1875	769,840,119	114 .8	87 .2

These figures can be accepted as correct. Those showing the yearly increase of paper currency, are taken from the records of the Comptroller of the Currency. The columns showing the value of gold in currency, and currency in gold, are from the daily record made by E. B. Elliott, Esq., Actuary of the U. S. Treasury.

Now, why has the premium on gold fallen, under an increase of paper currency? The answer is:

First. Because the Government has been faithful, and scrupulously exact in the fulfillment of all its promises. Its financial obligations have, in every case, been met and discharged; principal and interest are paid, as they fall due, and, generally, before they mature. Treaties with foreign Powers have been faithfully observed; and no Government, State, or individual can advance a single case of dereliction on the part of the United States Government.

Second. The price of gold was at its highest, in 1864. Gold was, in July of that year, at 258; greenbacks were then worth 38 cents on the dollar. And why? The preservation of the Union was then a matter of doubt—not so much by the Government, but by the doubting Thomases; and there were many of them, at home and abroad. In July of the following year, the gold price fell to 142, and greenbacks rose to 70. Why? The Government had closed the

war. The Union was saved. Confidence was restored. But the debt burthen was enormous; and so, necessarily, were the Government expenditures. The fall in the price of gold, from 258, in 1864, to 142, in 1865, was really more than the financial condition of the Government reasonably warranted. The great fall in the gold premium was caused, partly, by the joy at the restoration of peace. This is seen in the fact that, in the following year, the price of gold went up to 151; but it fell, in 1867, to 139; in 1869, to 136; in 1870, to 116; and, in 1874, to 110.

Third. This large decrease in the price of gold, from year to year, and the corresponding appreciation of greenbacks, while the volume of currency continued to increase, is due, largely, to the continued integrity of the Government, in the fulfillment of its obligations.

Fourth. It is due, also, to the reduction of the public expenditures, from the enormous sum of \$1,297,555,224, in 1865, to \$274,623,392, in 1875, a period of ten years—an achievement probably without a parallel.

Fifth. It is due to the reduction of the public debt, to the extent of \$550,000,000, and a reduction of \$40,000,000, per annum, in the interest on the debt.

Sixth. It is due to a reduction of over \$300,000,000 in the taxes, and the abolishment of the personal income tax.

Seventh. It is due to the funding of \$500,000,000 of the public debt at 5 per cent., or one per cent. less than was formerly paid.

Eighth. It is due largely to the favoring influence of a generous Providence, in blessing the people with a succession of abundant harvests, affording a large surplus, over home consumption, with which to meet and discharge foreign obligations.

“But,” say the Democratic inflationists, “how is it that the price of gold was at 110 in 1874, and is now up to 117?” The answer is plain to every intelligent mind. There is but one reply to the inquiry. It is owing to the consummate folly of the inflationists themselves, and to no other cause. The cry for “more money”—for “an indefinite amount of paper currency”—has

alarmed capital, disturbed the money market at home and abroad, and threatens the country with ultimate repudiation.

Give Ohio to the Democracy and the price of gold will go up to 120; give them Pennsylvania, too, and it will reach 125; give them the Presidential election, under the inflation platforms of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and it will bound up to 150.

On the other hand, the past record of the Government, under Republican rule, is a

safe and ample guarantee that the country will be guided on to the resumption of specie payments, within the time specified in the Finance Act of Congress, of January 14, 1875.

Which do the people prefer? Democracy, and gold at 150, with prospective repudiation; or Republicanism, with greenbacks at par with gold, and all the pledges of the Government faithfully carried out, in the future as in the past? It is for the people to solve this all-engrossing problem.

HOW ALABAMA'S ABANDONMENT OF SECESSION IS INTERPRETED.

Among mathematicians and statistical students, it is an accepted axiom, that, when you find an abrupt angle, a sudden decline or rise in a comparative statement or table, dealing with some general class of figures, an inquiry must be at once made into the cause. The same rule will hold good in other fields—the political, for instance. The Alabama Constitutional Convention, recently in session, seems to have suddenly faced about by the adoption of the following, as a section of the "Bill of Rights," in the new instrument they have prepared:

"The people of this State accept as final the established fact, that from the Federal Union there can be no secession of any State."

As the calling of this Convention was a Democratic policy, its election is their victory also. The studious observer of the Southern Democracy, could not but reasonably expect to see Alabama adopt, on this important issue, either silence, as in the case of Arkansas and Tennessee, almost open adherence, as in the case of Missouri, or an evasion, as in that of West Virginia. The States named have undergone the process of Democratic restoration, and what has been done therein, might reasonably be regarded as an evidence of what might be expected elsewhere.

The Mobile Register, the leading Bourbon journal of the South, comments with singular perspicuity, from its stand point, on the section just adopted. It shows how little real worth there is in the beating about the bush this illustrates, and illustrates, also,

that the pestilent doctrine of State Sovereignty is still powerful:

Assuming that our Convention had an impossible nut to crack, we have to admit that this style of achieving it is about the best that could have been adopted. Don Quixote de la Mancha assailed the wind mill valorously, but the story leaves us no room to doubt that the wind mill survived the attack. If the Convention had said that from the "new nation" there can be no secession, we should have comprehended that Napoleon's "strongest battalions" had settled an important principle of autonomy. But we are confronted with a flat contradiction, when we are told that from the "Federal Union there can be no secession of any State." A "Federal Union," means a "league" of States, and a "league" necessarily implies a voluntary act of a free State or sovereignty. If the Federal Union was originally a forced Union, our fathers strangely misused and mistook the force of language. Federal is derived from the Latin *Fœdus*, a league, and its essential quality is agreement or consent. The word "Union," too, adds force to the idea of "consent." Now, if the late war has changed all this doctrine, why not acknowledge it openly, and call "a spade" "a spade." If it be true that a principle may be beaten out between sledge-hammer and anvil by sheer force, and that it cannot be called a principle a moment longer than the hearts and minds of men are hammered into accord by the same agency of force, then our General Government was changed by the war from a representative State Government, into one of central and consolidated powers. To ignore the right of secession, it is first necessary to adopt this doctrine. For to talk about State Rights after you have ignored State remedies, is a solecism in language and an absurdity in fact. But is it true in point of fact "that there can be no

secession of any State from,"—we will not say the "Federal Union"—but the present Washington Government? Let us see: "Brother Jonathan" and "Johnny Reb." fell out and fought over a question of government. Brother J. was the strongest, and in the end "Johnny Reb." was beaten. Brother Jonathan laid down the law as he had established it—the sledge-hammer and anvil law. "Johnny Reb.," not satisfied with being obliged to submit to it, against all his beliefs and habits of thought, must needs go to work to help Brother Jonathan define his new principle of government, and what a pretty mess he makes of it is seen in our bill of rights *olla podrida* of force and consent. But does the bayonet of Brother Jonathan, backed by the ingenious interpretation of the Alabama Convention, make the new principle permanent or "establish the fact that there can be no secession of any State?" In the whirligig of time, suppose New England, headed by that most independent, daring and restless of the States, *Massachusetts*, should take it into her head that she would be better off outside of this nameless Government that Mr. Grant now rules, and New England could persuade Brother Jonathan to back her in the fancy. True, the Alabama Constitution, with this section of her bill of rights in it, will be on record against the right and power of New England, but that will not deprive her of the power. Our recent experience does not justify faith in the inviolability of parchment constitutions. But what have the people of Alabama and of the South, who fought so hard to maintain the State Rights principles of the Government, to do with this question? If they submit to the laws of war and to the *stare decisis* of arms, until arms shall reverse the judgment have they not done their whole duty in the premises? Are they called on to change their opinions and go back upon principles they believed to be vital to the liberties and happiness of the whole people of the United States? Otherwise why lug the case into court, *coram non judice*, unless it was because they were looking out to see "what Mrs. Grundy would say?" Isn't it enough to have to eat humble pie, with the best appetite that the duty and honor of the defeated side can command, without rolling it as a sweet morsel under the tongue, and smacking our lips and pronouncing it "good." Now there are men in that Convention of long settled pro-Union principles who could vote for this section cheerfully and conscientiously. But there are others who can only give such a vote after swallowing the convictions of a lifetime, and with them a lot of dirt most repulsive to a sound and wholesome moral and political digestion. And what makes it

passing strange is, that there was not the least necessity for sitting down to such a noisome banquet of humble pie. And yet, in a body composed of the notables of our State, this section was "adopted *unanimously*." Not one member with a memory ten years old.

POPULAR EDUCATION.—Education is the handmaid of Liberty. Without intelligence, true freedom cannot long exist; it degenerates into license, and this soon leads to anarchy and ruin. An ignorant people cannot be trusted with self-government. They require a strong power to keep them within the bounds of law and order. This power they will not willingly create themselves. It must be created for them, and this necessarily leads to despotism. The hope of our country is in the growth and perpetuity of our Free School System. The State has no other defense. Without it, the State has new dangers to face daily. Religion becomes bigotry, and freedom dispensed by religious bigotry is worse than mockery. The State must guard with zealous care the government of its public schools. No sectarian influence should be allowed to interfere with that liberty of thought which prevails in our public schools. The young mind should be unfettered in its growth, so that its development may be strong and healthy.

The efforts made by the Catholic Church, or by any religious denomination, to control, in their interest, the public schools, should be frowned down by all good citizens, whether they belong to the Church or not. To permit these efforts to succeed, is to lay the foundation for future trouble. If one creed obtains control, another will be clamoring for it. Strife will follow; this will lead to bitterness of feeling, and finally end in the complete overthrow of the Free School System. Our Catholic citizens are as deeply interested in opposing any religious interference with our school system as those of other denominations. They should raise their voices against the movement, and if the question depends upon the ballot, they should so use that as to preserve, in all its usefulness and purity, the system of popular education that has already proven an inestimable benefit to our people.

POLITICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE XLIVTH CONGRESS.

Below will be found a carefully classified list of the Members of the 44th Congress, with their political leanings. When (c) follows a Member's name, it signifies that his right to a seat in Congress is contested. The list is complete so far as certificates of election have been received and filed at Washington :

DEMOCRATS.

ALABAMA.

Names.	P O. Address.
Jeremiah N. Williams, (c)	Clayton
Paul Bradford	Talladega
John H. Caldwell	Jacksonville
Goldsmith W. Hewitt	Birmingham
Burwell B. Lewis	Tuscaloosa
Wm. H. Forney	Jacksonville

ARKANSAS.

L. C. Gause	Jacksonport
Wm. F. Slemmons	Monticillo
Wm. W. Wilshire	Little Rock
Thomas M. Gunter	Fayetteville

CONNECTICUT.

George M. Landers	New Britain
James Phelps	New Haven
Wm. H. Barnum	Lime Rock

DELAWARE.

James Williams	Kenton
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GEORGIA.

Julian Hartridge	Savannah
Wm. E. Smith	Albany
Philip Cook	Americus
Henry R. Harris	Greenville
Milton A. Candler	Atlanta
James H. Blount	Macon
Wm. H. Felton	Cartersville
Alex. H. Stephens	Crawfordsville
Ben. H. Hill	

ILLINOIS.

Bernard G. Canfield	Chicago
C. H. Harrison (c)	Chicago
Alex. Campbell	Laselle
John C. Bagby	Rushville
Scott Wike	Pittsfield
Wm. M. Springer	Springfield
Adlair E. Stevenson	Bloomington
John R. Eden	Sullivan
W. A. J. Sparks	Carlisle
Wm. R. Morrison	Waterloo
William Hartzell	Chester
Wm. B. Anderson	Mt. Vernon

INDIANA.

Benoni S. Fuller	Boonville
James D. Williams	Wheatland
Michael C. Kerr	New Albany
Jephtha D. New	Vernon

Wm. S. Holman	Aurora
Franklin Landers	Indianapolis
Wm. S. Haymond	Monticillo
Andrew H. Hamilton	Fort Wayne

IOWA.

Lucien L. Ainsworth	West Union
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KANSAS.

John R. Goodin	Humboldt
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KENTUCKY.

Andrew R. Boone	Mayfield
John Young Brown	Henderson
Charles W. Milliken	Franklin
J. Proctor Knott	Lebanon
Edward Y. Parsons	Louisville
Thomas L. Jones	Newport
J. C. S. Blackburne	Versailles
Milton J. Durham	Danville
John B. Clarke	Augusta

LOUISIANA.

Randall L. Gibson	New Orleans
E. John Ellis	New Orleans
Wm. M. Levy (c)	Natchitoches

MARYLAND.

Philip F. Thomas	Easton
Charles B. Roberts	Westminster
Wm. J. O'Brien	Baltimore
Thomas Swann	Baltimore
Eli J. Henkle	Brooklyn
William Walsh	Cumberland

MASSACHUSETTS.

Charles P. Thompson	Gloucester
John K. Tarbox	Lawrence
Wm. W. Warren	Boston
Chester W. Chapin	Springfield

MICHIGAN.

Alpheus S. Williams	Detroit
Allen Potter	Kalamazoo
George H. Durand	Flint

MISSOURI.

Edward C. Kehr	St. Louis
Erastus Wells	St. Louis
Wm. H. Stone	St. Louis
Robert A. Hatcher	New Madrid
Richard P. Bland	Lebanon
Charles H. Morgan	Lamar
John F. Phillips	Sedalia
Benjamin J. Franklin	Kansas City
David Rea	Savannah
R. A. DeBolt	Trenton
John B. Clark	Fayette
John M. Clover	Lagrange
Astell H. Buckner	St. Charles

NEW JERSEY.

Miles Ross	New Brunswick
Robert Hamilton	Newton
Augustus W. Cutter	Morristown
Frederick H. Peese	Newark
Augustus H. Hardenbergh	Jersey City

NEW YORK.

Henry B. Metcalf.....Richmond
 John G. Schumaker.....Brooklyn
 Archibald M. Bliss....."
 Edwin R. Meede.....New York
 S. S. Cox....."
 Smith Ely, Jr....."
 Elija Ward....."
 Fernando Wood....."
 Abram S. Hewitt....."
 N. Holmes Odell.....White Plains
 John O. Whitehouse.....Poughkeepsie
 George M. Bebee.....Monticello
 John H. Bagley, Jr.....Catskill
 Scott Lord.....Utica
 Charles C. B. Walker.....Corning
 Aug. F. Allen (dead).....Jamestown

NORTH CAROLINA.

Jesse J. Yeates.....Murphreesboro.
 Alfred M. Waddell.....Wilmington
 Joseph J. Davis.....Louisburg
 Alfred M. Scales.....Greenboro
 Thos. S. Ashe.....Wades
 Wm. M. Robbins.....Statesville
 Robt. B. Vance.....Ashville

OHIO.

Milton Sayler.....Cincinnati
 Henry B. Banning....."
 John S. Savage.....Wilmington
 John A. McMahon.....Dayton
 Americus V. Rice.....Ottawa
 Frank H. Hurd.....Toledo
 Lawrence T. Neal.....Chillicothe
 E. F. Poppleton.....Delaware
 John L. Vance.....Gallipolis
 Ansel T. Walling.....Circleville
 Milton J. Southard.....Zanesville
 Jacob P. Cowan.....Ashland
 Henry B. Payne.....Cleveland

OREGON.

Geo. A. La Dow (dead).....Pendleton

PENNSYLVANIA.

Samuel J. Randall.....Philadelphia
 John Robbins....."
 Hiester Clymer.....Reading
 Wm. Matchler.....Easton
 Francis D. Collins.....Scranton
 James B. Reilly.....Pottsville
 Joseph Powell.....Towanda
 John Reilly.....Altoona
 Wm. S. Stenger.....Chambersburg
 Levi Marsh.....York
 Levi Mackey.....Lock Haven
 Jacob Turney.....Greensburg
 James H. Hopkins.....Pittsburg
 Alex. G. Cochrane.....Alleghany City
 Geo. A. Jinks.....Brookville
 James Sheakly.....West Greenville
 Albert G. Egbert.....Franklin

TENNESSEE.

Wm. McFarland.....Morristown
 Geo. G. Dibrell.....Sparta
 John M. Fite.....Carthage
 John M. Bright.....Fayetteville
 John F. House.....Clarksville
 Washington C. Whitthorne.....Columbia
 John D. C. Atkins.....Paris
 Wm. P. Caldwell.....Gardner
 H. Casey Young.....Memphis

TEXAS.

John H. Reagan.....Palestine
 David B. Culberson.....Jefferson
 James W. Throckmorton.....McKinney
 Roger Q. Mills.....Corsicana
 John Hancock.....Austin
 Gustave Schleicher.....Cuero

VIRGINIA.

Beverly B. Douglass.....Aylette's
 John Goode, Jr (c).....Norfolk
 Gilbert C. Walker.....Richmond
 Geo. C. Cobell.....Danville
 John Randolph Tucker.....Lexington
 John T. Harris.....Harrisburg
 Eppa Hunton.....Warrenton
 Wm. Terry.....Wytheville

WEST VIRGINIA.

Benjamin Wilson.....Wilsonburg
 Chas. J. Faulkner.....Martinburg
 Fank Hereford.....Union

WISCONSIN.

Wm. Pitt Lynde.....Milwaukee
 Samuel D. Burchard.....Beaver Dam
 Alanson M. Kimball.....Pine River
 Geo. W. Cate.....Amherst

REPUBLICANS.

ALABAMA.

James Haralson, (c).....Selma
 Chas. Hays.....Haysville

CONNECTICUT.

Henry H. Starkweather.....Norwich

FLORIDA.

Josiah T. Walls.....Gainsville
 Wm. J. Purman.....Tallahasse

ILLINOIS.

Chas. B. Farwell.....Chicago
 Stephen A. Hurlburt.....Belvidere
 Horatio C. Burchard.....Freeport
 Thos. J. Henderson.....Princeton
 Greenbury L. Fort.....Lacon
 Richard H. Whiting (c).....Peoria
 Joseph G. Cannon.....Tuscola

INDIANA.

Milton S. Robinson.....Anderson
 Morton C. Hunter.....Bloomington
 Thos. J. Cason.....Lebanon
 Jos. L. Evans.....Noblesville
 John H. Baker (c).....Goshen

POLITICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

IOWA.

Geo. W. McCrary..... Keokuk
John Q. Tufts..... Milton Junction
Henry O. Pratt..... Charles City
James Wilson..... Buckingham
Ezekiel S. Sampson..... Sigourney
John A. Kasson..... Des Moines
James W. McDall..... Afton
Addison Oliver..... Onawa

KANSAS.

Wm. A. Phillips..... Salina
Wm. R. Brown..... Hutchinson

KENTUCKY.

John D. White (c)..... Manchester

LOUISIANA.

Chester B. Darrall (c)..... Brashear
Frank Morey (c)..... Monroe
Chas. E. Nash..... Washington

MAINE.

John H. Burleigh..... South Berwick
Wm. P. Frye..... Lewiston
James G. Blaine..... Augusta
Eugene Hale..... Ellsworth

MASSACHUSETTS.

James Buffington (dead)..... Fall River
Benj. W. Harris..... East Bridgewater
Henry L. Pierce..... Boston
Rufus L. Frost (c)..... Chelsea
Geo. F. Hoar..... Worcester

MINNESOTA.

Mark H. Dunnell..... Owatonna
Horace B. Strait..... Shakopee
Wm. S. King..... Minneapolis

NEBRASKA.

Lorenzo Crounse..... Ft. Calhoun

NEVADA.

Wm. Woodburn..... Virginia City

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Henry W. Blair..... Plymouth

NEW JERSEY.

Clement H. Sinnickson..... Salem
Samuel A. Dobbins..... Mt. Holly

NEW YORK.

Simeon B. Cliftenden..... Brooklyn
Chas. H. Adams..... Cohoes
Martin J. Townsend..... Troy
Andrew Williams..... Plattsburg
Wm. A. Wheeler..... Malone
Henry H. Hawthorne..... Saratoga Springs
Samuel F. Miller..... Franklin
George A. Bagley..... Watertown
Wm. H. Baker..... Constantia
Elias W. Leavenworth..... Syracuse
Clinton D. McDougall..... Auburn

Elbridge G. Lapham..... Can
Thomas C. Platt.....
John M. Davy.....
George G. Hoskins.....
Lyman K. Bass.....

NORTH CAROLINA.

John A. Hyman..... W

OHIO.

William Lawrence..... Bell
Charles Foster.....
Nelson H. Van Vorhes.....
Lorenzo Danford..... St.
L. D. Woodworth..... Yo
James Monroe.....
James A. Garfield.....

PENNSYLVANIA.

Chapman Freeman..... Phi
Charles O'Neill.....
William D. Kelley.....
Washington Townsend..... Wes
Allan Wood, Jr..... Cons
A. Kerr Smith.....
Winthrop W. Ketchum..... Wi
John B. Packer.....
Sobieski Ross..... Cov
John W. Wallace..... Ne

RHODE ISLAND.

Benjamin T. Fames..... Pr
Latimer W. Ballou..... Wo

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Joseph H. Rainey (c)..... Ge
R. W. M. Mackey (c)..... Cl
Solomon L. Hoge..... C
Alex. S. Wallace.....
Robert Small.....

TENNESSEE.

Jacob M. Thornburg..... F

VERMONT.

Charles H. Joyce.....
Dudley C. Denison.....
George W. Hendee..... M

VIRGINIA.

William H. H. Stowell..... B

WISCONSIN.

Charles G. Williams..... J.
Lucien B. Caswell..... Ft.
Henry S. Magoon..... Da
A. M. Kimball..... Pi
Jeremiah M. Rusk.....

LIBERALS.

Benjamin A. Willis..... N

INDEPENDENTS.

N. P. Banks..... Walthe
Julius H. Seelye..... Amherst

ALABAMA UNDER DEMOCRACY.

A Constitutional Convention has recently adjourned in Alabama. Its chief work has been, under the instrument framed, to reduce the school fund, and make the Supreme Court an elective body. It was under control of the Democracy. In the present condition of the South, the subject of public education is of paramount importance. The following table, compiled from the ninth census, illustrates this :

STATES.	Total population of all ages, over 10.....	Total number that can read and write, over 10.....	Percentage of males.....	Percentage of females.....
Eleven South'n States.				
Alabama.....	706,802	283,012	53.18	55.13
Arkansas.....	341,737	133,339	39.02	38.08
Florida.....	131,119	71,803	52.79	53.74
Georgia.....	835,929	468,593	54.80	57.22
Louisiana.....	526,392	276,158	51.15	53.75
Mississippi.....	581,206	313,310	52.49	55.30
N. Carolina..	769,629	397,690	49.34	53.79
S. Carolina...	503,763	290,379	56.84	58.34
Tennessee....	890,872	364,697	37.42	44.31
Texas.....	571,075	221,703	37.18	40.60
Virginia	890,056	445,893	49.44	50.77
	6,658,579	3,386,577		

The school population of Alabama, (all between the ages of five and seventeen,) by the same census was 342,976, of whom 181,787, were white, and 161,156 colored, children. According to the reports of the National Bureau of Education, there was :

In 1869, a school fund of.....	\$524,621.68
In 1870, "	500,409.18
In 1871, "	581,389.29
In 1872, "	640,627.83

In the same years, the attendance was as follows :

	Children.
1869, (estimated by Dr. Sears, Gen'l Agent Peabody Fund).....	160,000
1871, (State Reports, 86,976 whites, and 54,336 colored)	141,312

The average attendance was about 107,666. These figures denote the result, under Republican rule, or rather at its beginnings. Since then, the State has passed under Democratic control. What is its record, in this important particular ? Let the facts reply !

The school fund has been reduced. The school attendance is much less. The num-

ber of schools has decreased. The supervision has deteriorated, and the pay of teachers has not only been lessened, but made irregular in its receipt. The total reduction of the school fund, under Democratic legislation, has reached \$227,017. The attendance has decreased over one-third.

The Constitutional Convention has carried out this Bourbon policy. The following is the *Mobile Register's* synopsis of the Article on Education, as adopted, in all its main features :

1. Separate schools are furnished for the white and colored children, and neither race is permitted to attend the schools of the other.
2. The school fund is to be derived from the following sources : Any lands, money or other property that may be given by any individual, or by the State, for school purposes ; all escheats and equivalents for exemption from military duty ; a poll tax of \$1.50 ; the interest on the 16th section and surplus revenue fund ; not less than \$100,000 annually to be appropriated by the General Assembly, but which must be increased from time to time, as the condition of the Treasury and resources of the State will permit.
3. The expenses of disbursement of school fund, not to exceed four per cent.
4. Trustees for the State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate.
5. The University and A. and M. College shall not be removed from present location.
6. A Superintendent of Public Instruction to be appointed.
7. The duties of County Superintendent to be performed by township trustees.

Under this, the present Board of Education is abolished. It is perhaps as well, as being a piece of cumbersome machinery. The object in establishing it was to have some influential and active citizen in every Congressional District officially interested in the establishment of a system, new to all and against which the prejudices of many were pre-arrayed. The providing for a State Superintendent is an unexpected concession to modern ideas ; but the return to the township trustee superintendency, is a fatal error. It is enthroning inefficiency, and indifference and prejudice, over all the local details—those which are most important. There can

be no doubt but that the larger proportion of such white persons as are in the main likely to be selected for school trustees, will be at heart hostile or indifferent. They, like the scholars, need education.

The whole tendency of Democratic administration is, to impair the Free School System. Time corrects the evils their prejudices create; but then there is a fatal loss, any way. The Democrats got possession of Alabama, in 1873. The following report of the schools, for the nine months of the present year, will show, conclusively, the retrograde spirit which now controls:

TOTAL NUMBER ENROLLED.

	Whites	Colored.	Total.
First quarter.....	5,954	4,687	10,641
Second quarter.....	24,095	23,794	47,889
Third quarter.....	45,705	32,868	78,573

	Whites.	Colored.	Total.
First quar'r, schools taught	171	94	265
Sec'd quar'r, schools taught	810	573	1,383
Third quar'r, schools taught	1,540	948	2,488

	Whites.	Colored.	Total.
First quarter, No. teachers.	203	105	318
Sec'd quarter, No. teachers,	866	622	1,488
Third quar'r, No. teachers,	1,689	973	2,671

Average pay of teachers per month for three quarters, \$32.68.

Number of days taught for three quarters, 125.

Amount paid teachers—white schools, \$141,579; colored, \$132,745.

Number of counties in which schools were taught—23 first quarter; 37 second quarter; 65 third quarter.

Compare the best quarter of 1875 with the figures of attendance, given for 1869 and 1871, and also with the number of children in the State, of school age, in 1874. Hon. Joseph Speed, State Superintendent, then stated the number of white children at 233,333; colored children, 172,506; total, 405,839. The present attendance shows a decrease from 1871, of 29,093 pupils, as to average attendance, and of 62,739 less enrollment. It appears that, under Democratic management, the State owes the school fund over \$500,000. This indebtedness has grown up in less than three years. These facts all tend to establish that Democratic rule is the rule of ignorance.

The following paragraph is from an address just issued by a committee of the Democratic majority of the Convention, to the people of Alabama. It affords both confession and defense of the Bourbon policy of destroying the efficiency of the School System:

In relation to the Public Schools the Convention has made the most salutary changes.

The great complaint has been that there were too many unnecessary officers, and too much useless machinery employed, to handle the school fund, and that the money thus expended should be saved for teaching the children. The Convention abolished the School Board, and thereby abolished the expense of another Legislature to do what could be safely required of the General Assembly. The impoverished condition of the people, and the immense burden of State, and county, and city taxation, which they are now unable to carry, compelled your delegates to refuse to pile up any more weight, until the people recovered their strength, unloaded, and had time to rest and collect the means to devote to Public Schools. The Convention acted on these principles in providing, as it did in the new Constitution, for the support of Public Schools. It was estimated that from the sources specified in the new Constitution, the amount that could be certainly raised for school purposes, would be about three hundred and two thousand dollars. If the people and the tax collectors do their duty, the provisions of the new Constitution will produce more money for the support of Public Schools than has heretofore been expended in actual teaching. The Convention has saved at least fifty thousand dollars per annum in abolishing the School Board, and limiting the amount to be paid for officers to four per centum of the school fund, thus leaving ninety-six per centum to pay teachers. The poll tax collected in each county is to be kept in each county, and applied there to Public Schools. The failure to collect more of the poll tax is chargeable to the tax collectors. There are in the State over two hundred thousand voters, and the amount of poll taxes collected has not reached more than seventy-five thousand dollars per annum. As each county would be entitled to its own poll tax, the people in each township, and especially the Trustees, will give special attention to the payment of the poll tax, and it is believed that this change will add at least seventy-five thousand dollars per annum to the school fund. If any fear that the new Constitution has impaired the Public Schools, in not providing a sufficient fund to support them, exists, such apprehension must be dispelled by the first section of the twelfth article, which provides that "the General Assembly shall establish, organize, and maintain a system of Public Schools throughout the State, for the equal benefit of all children between the ages of seven and twenty-one years." The Convention gave every dollar that could be spared at this time for Public Schools, and if it is found that the system is likely to suffer for want of more money, the General Assembly has the full authority to appropriate

a public curse. Therefore, it becomes the duty of every citizen, whether Catholic or Protestant, to oppose the inception of any movement that has for its object the introduction of religious training in our schools, or the division of the Public School Funds, to be used in the interest of any particular sect or creed. Religious instruction belongs to the home circle; to the Church; to the Sunday School; to schools and seminaries supported by private contributions; to those organizations which are independent of public support, and which form no part of the machinery of State Government. To go beyond this, and enter the public schools, is to invite an antagonism that will not only injure the State, but seriously cripple the cause of religion itself.

THE RIGHTS OF THE STATE.

Catholic opposition to our Free School System is based on an erroneous idea of the functions of the State, and the relationship of the citizen thereto. The Catholic taxpayer objects to paying the school tax, because his children cannot receive, in the public schools, instruction in the Catholic faith. He might, with equal propriety, object to paying the tax levied for public charity, because the benefits are not confined to Catholics, or because the faith of the Roman Church is not impressed on every man, woman and child assisted by the fund. He might, with equal force, object to the tax levied for the support of hospitals, because the skill employed is not confined to Catholics, or the rites of the Church are not administered by the same hand that relieves suffering humanity. He might, with equal justice, object to paying a dollar of public tax, unless the amount collected is expended under the supervision of the Church, for its interests, by the hands of its duly appointed guardians.

To admit this principle of self-interest, in the expenditure of public moneys, would be to elevate the private interests of the citizen above the public interests of the State; it would be subversive of good government, because it would destroy that equity of administration that is essential to the peace and welfare of the State. Therefore, aside

from the bad effects that would develop themselves in the school system, there is a dangerous principle underlying the claim for a division of the public funds, which, if not promptly denied by the emphatic voice of the people, will, sooner or later, undermine our form of government, and destroy our Republic.

THE CATHOLIC POLICY.

The policy of the Ultramontane branch of the Catholic Church appears to be the eventual control of the public schools of the United States, so as to make the Free Schools an important auxiliary in the growth of the Catholic Church. Its opposition to the present system has been slowly unfolding itself. First, its objection was to the comments made on the Bible by the teacher. The comments ceased, in deference to the objection raised. Then the Bible itself was objected to, and in many large cities, this, too, has been removed, so that no possible objection could be raised by the parents of Catholic children. But no sooner has the Bible been thrown from the window, than the priest with his catechism appears at the door. The comments have ceased, the Bible has gone, and now the priesthood unfold the next move by demanding that Catholic children shall have Catholic teachers and Catholic instruction, and this at the public expense. This is the present demand. Shall it be granted? If it is, the next move will be for the control of all the schools, through Democratic legislation, whenever and wherever possible. The issue is a plain one; it is not a religious one, but purely political; the Republican party standing on the defensive, to protect the Free School System, as it now exists—the Democratic party, under the influence of the Catholic policy, trying to change the system by giving to the Catholics a pro rata portion of the public funds, to be expended in the support of sectarian schools. To decide the question, it is not necessary to go into the past history of the Catholic Church, to show that, as a governing power, it is inconsistent with civil and religious liberty. Nor is it necessary to touch upon the character of the religion out of which this policy grows. It may be the best form

public school. To depart from this time-honored practice, will be to open the door to abuses that will destroy the only safeguard of the State, the education of the young. To guard it against all encroachments, from without or within, is to preserve the purity of our free institutions and the simplicity of our form of government. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and to guard with jealous care our Free School System, becomes the sacred duty of every true American citizen.

forced the advocates of inflation to avoid that point, as far as possible, in their public speeches and in the Democratic press.

Circulation of Paper Currency, 1861 to 1875.

[illegible]

Unwilling, however, to acknowledge their error, they parry the blow that strikes the inflation plank from their platform, by declaring that—

"If the currency has been increasing in volume, and the premium on gold decreasing, a continuation of these conditions will soon bring the currency to par with gold, and specie payments will be reached."

On its face, and under the first flash of thought, the argument carries with it at least the appearance of plausibility. But when we examine the conditions under which the volume of currency was increased, and the causes which augmented and again reduced the premium on gold, the logic of the argument vanishes, like a morning mist before the rising sun. A brief reference only to the more prominent of these conditions and causes is required. But, first, it will be well to present to the reader a

Table showing the amount of paper currency in circulation, the value in currency of \$100 in gold, and the value in gold of \$100 in currency, in July, each year, from 1862 to 1875, inclusive.

Year.	Total currency in circulation.	Value in currency of \$100 in gold.	Value in gold of \$100 in currency.
1862	\$332,794,000	\$115 .5	\$86 .6
1863	297,736,000	130 .6	76 .6
1864	502,072,000	258 .1	38 .7
1865	2,000	142 .1	70 .4
1866	1,000	151 .6	66
1867	0,000	139 .4	71 .7
1868	5,000	142 .7	70 .1
1869	8,000	136 .1	73 .5
1870	8,000	116 .8	85 .6
1871	2,000	112 .4	89
1872	731,355,000	114 .3	87 .5
1873	740,799,000	115 .7	86 .4
1874	777,538,000	110	91
1875	769,840,119	114 .8	87 .2

These figures can be accepted as correct. Those showing the yearly increase of paper currency, are taken from the records of the Comptroller of the Currency. The columns showing the value of gold in currency, and currency in gold, are from the daily record made by E. B. Elliott, Esq., Actuary of the U. S. Treasury.

Now, why has the premium on gold fallen, under an increase of paper currency? The answer is—

First. Because the Government has been faithful, and scrupulously exact in the fulfillment of all its promises. Its financial obligations have, in every case, been met and discharged; principal and interest are paid, as they fall due, and, generally, before they mature. Treaties with foreign Powers have been faithfully observed; and no Government, State, or individual can advance a single case of dereliction on the part of the United States Government.

Second. The price of gold was at its highest, in 1864. Gold was, in July of that year, at 258, greenbacks were then worth 38 cents on the dollar. And why? The preservation of the Union was then a matter of doubt—not so much by the Government, but by the doubting Thomases; and there were many of them, at home and abroad. In July of the following year, the gold price fell to 142, and greenbacks rose to 70. Why? The Government had closed the

war. The Union was saved. Confidence was restored. But the debt burthen was enormous; and so, necessarily, were the Government expenditures. The fall in the price of gold, from 258, in 1864, to 142, in 1865, was really more than the financial condition of the Government reasonably warranted. The great fall in the gold premium was caused, partly, by the joy at the restoration of peace. This is seen in the fact that, in the following year, the price of gold went up to 151; but it fell, in 1867, to 139; in 1869, to 136; in 1870, to 116; and, in 1874, to 110.

Third. This large decrease in the price of gold, from year to year, and the corresponding appreciation of greenbacks, while the volume of currency continued to increase, is due, largely, to the continued integrity of the Government, in the fulfillment of its obligations.

Fourth. It is due, also, to the reduction of the public expenditures, from the enormous sum of \$1,297,555,224, in 1865, to \$274,623,392, in 1875, a period of ten years—an achievement probably without a parallel.

Fifth. It is due to the reduction of the public debt, to the extent of \$550,000,000, and a reduction of \$40,000,000, per annum, in the interest on the debt.

Sixth. It is due to a reduction of over \$300,000,000 in the taxes, and the abolishment of the personal income tax.

Seventh. It is due to the funding of \$500,000,000 of the public debt at 5 per cent., or one per cent. less than was formerly paid.

Eighth. It is due largely to the favoring influence of a generous Providence, in blessing the people with a succession of abundant harvests, affording a large surplus, over home consumption, with which to meet and discharge foreign obligations.

"But," say the Democratic inflationists, "how is it that the price of gold was at 110 in 1874, and is now up to 117?" The answer is plain to every intelligent mind. There is but one reply to the inquiry. It is owing to the consummate folly of the inflationists themselves, and to no other cause. The cry for "more money"—for "an indefinite amount of paper currency"—has

alarmed capital, disturbed the money market at home and abroad, and threatens the country with ultimate repudiation.

Give Ohio to the Democracy and the price of gold will go up to 120; give them Pennsylvania, too, and it will reach 125; give them the Presidential election, under the inflation platforms of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and it will bound up to 150.

On the other hand, the past record of the Government, under Republican rule, is a

safe and ample guarantee that the country will be guided on to the resumption of specie payments, within the time specified in the Finance Act of Congress, of January 14, 1875.

Which do the people prefer? Democracy, and gold at 150, with prospective repudiation; or Republicanism, with greenbacks at par with gold, and all the pledges of the Government faithfully carried out, in the future as in the past? It is for the people to solve this all-engrossing problem.

HOW ALABAMA'S ABANDONMENT OF SECESSION IS INTERPRETED.

Among mathematicians and statistical students, it is an accepted axiom, that, when you find an abrupt angle, a sudden decline or rise in a comparative statement or table, dealing with some general class of figures, an inquiry must be at once made into the cause. The same rule will hold good in other fields—the political, for instance. The Alabama Constitutional Convention, recently in session, seems to have suddenly faced about by the adoption of the following, as a section of the "Bill of Rights," in the new instrument they have prepared:

"The people of this State accept as final the established fact, that from the Federal Union there can be no secession of any State."

As the calling of this Convention was a Democratic policy, its election is their victory also. The studious observer of the Southern Democracy, could not but reasonably expect to see Alabama adopt, on this important issue, either silence, as in the case of Arkansas and Tennessee, almost open adherence, as in the case of Missouri, or an evasion, as in that of West Virginia. The States named have undergone the process of Democratic restoration, and what has been done therein, might reasonably be regarded as an evidence of what might be expected elsewhere.

The Mobile Register, the leading Bourbon journal of the South, comments with singular perspicuity, from its stand point, on the section just adopted. It shows how little real worth there is in the beating about the bush this illustrates, and illustrates, also,

that the pestilent doctrine of State Sovereignty is still powerful:

Assuming that our Convention had an impossible nut to crack, we have to admit that this style of achieving it is about the best that could have been adopted. Don Quixote de la Mancha assailed the wind mill valorously, but the story leaves us no room to doubt that the wind mill survived the attack. If the Convention had said that from the "new nation" there can be no secession, we should have comprehended that Napoleon's "strongest battalions" had settled an important principle of autonomy. But we are confronted with a flat contradiction, when we are told that from the "Federal Union there can be no secession of any State." A "Federal Union," means a "league" of States, and a "league" necessarily implies a voluntary act of a free State or sovereignty. If the Federal Union was originally a forced Union, our fathers strangely misused and mistook the force of language. Federal is derived from the Latin *Fœdus*, a league, and its essential quality is agreement or consent. The word "Union," too, adds force to the idea of "consent." Now, if the late war has changed all this doctrine, why not acknowledge it openly, and call "a spade" "a spade." If it be true that a principle may be beaten out between sledge-hammer and anvil by sheer force, and that it cannot be called a principle a moment longer than the hearts and minds of men are hammered into accord by the same agency of force, then our General Government was changed by the war from a representative State Government, into one of central and consolidated powers. To ignore the right of secession, it is first necessary to adopt this doctrine. For to talk about State Rights after you have ignored State remedies, is a solecism in language and an absurdity in fact. But is it true in point of fact "that there can be no

secession of any State from,"—we will not say the "Federal Union"—but the present Washington Government? Let us see: "Brother Jonathan" and "Johnny Reb." fell out and fought over a question of government. Brother J. was the strongest, and in the end "Johnny Reb." was beaten. Brother Jonathan laid down the law as he had established it—the sledge-hammer and anvil law. "Johnny Reb.," not satisfied with being obliged to submit to it, against all his beliefs and habits of thought, must needs go to work to help Brother Jonathan define his new principle of government, and what a pretty mess he makes of it is seen in our bill of rights *olla podrida* of force and consent. But does the bayonet of Brother Jonathan, backed by the ingenious interpretation of the Alabama Convention, make the new principle permanent or "establish the fact that there can be no secession of any State?" In the whirligig of time, suppose New England, headed by that most independent, daring and restless of the States, *Massachusetts*, should take it into her head that she would be better off outside of this nameless Government that Mr. Grant now rules, and New England could persuade Brother Jonathan to back her in the fancy. True, the Alabama Constitution, with this section of her bill of rights in it, will be on record against the right and power of New England, but that will not deprive her of the power. Our recent experience does not justify faith in the inviolability of parchment constitutions. But what have the people of Alabama and of the South, who fought so hard to maintain the State Rights principles of the Government, to do with this question? If they submit to the laws of war and to the *stare decisis* of arms, until arms shall reverse the judgment have they not done their whole duty in the premises? Are they called on to change their opinions and go back upon principles they believed to be vital to the liberties and happiness of the *whole* people of the United States? Otherwise why lug the case into court, *coram non judice*, unless it was because they were looking out to see "what Mrs. Grundy would say?" Isn't it enough to have to eat humble pie, with the best appetite that the duty and honor of the defeated side can command, without rolling it as a sweet morsel under the tongue, and smacking our lips and pronouncing it "good." Now there are men in that Convention of long settled pro-Union principles who could vote for this section cheerfully and conscientiously. But there are others who can only give such a vote after swallowing the convictions of a lifetime, and with them a lot of dirt most repulsive to a sound and wholesome moral and political digestion. And what makes it

passing strange is, that there was not the least necessity for sitting down to such a noisome banquet of humble pie. And yet, in a body composed of the notables of our State, this section was "adopted *unanimously*." Not one member with a memory ten years old.

POPULAR EDUCATION.—Education is the handmaid of Liberty. Without intelligence, true freedom cannot long exist; it degenerates into license, and this soon leads to anarchy and ruin. An ignorant people cannot be trusted with self-government. They require a strong power to keep them within the bounds of law and order. This power they will not willingly create themselves. It must be created for them, and this necessarily leads to despotism. The hope of our country is in the growth and perpetuity of our Free School System. The State has no other defense. Without it, the State has new dangers to face daily. Religion becomes bigotry, and freedom dispensed by religious bigotry is worse than mockery. The State must guard with zealous care the government of its public schools. No sectarian influence should be allowed to interfere with that liberty of thought which prevails in our public schools. The young mind should be unfettered in its growth, so that its development may be strong and healthy.

The efforts made by the Catholic Church, or by any religious denomination, to control, in their interest, the public schools, should be frowned down by all good citizens, whether they belong to the Church or not. To permit these efforts to succeed, is to lay the foundation for future trouble. If one creed obtains control, another will be clamoring for it. Strife will follow; this will lead to bitterness of feeling, and finally end in the complete overthrow of the Free School System. Our Catholic citizens are as deeply interested in opposing any religious interference with our school system as those of other denominations. They should raise their voices against the movement, and if the question depends upon the ballot, they should so use that as to preserve, in all its usefulness and purity, the system of popular education that has already proven an inestimable benefit to our people.

POLITICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE XLIVTH CONGRESS.

Below will be found a carefully classified list of the Members of the 44th Congress, with their political leanings. When (c) follows a Member's name, it signifies that his right to a seat in Congress is contested. The list is complete so far as certificates of election have been received and filed at Washington :

DEMOCRATS.

ALABAMA.

Names.	P O. Address.
Jeremiah N. Williams, (c)	Clayton
Paul Bradford	Talladega
John H. Caldwell	Jacksonville
Goldsmith W. Hewitt	Birmingham
Barwell B. Lewis	Tuscaloosa
Wm. H. Forney	Jacksonville

ARKANSAS.

L. C. Gause	Jacksonport
Wm. F. Slemons	Monticillo
Wm. W. Wilshire	Little Rock
Thomas M. Gunter	Fayetteville

CONNECTICUT.

George M. Landers	New Britain
James Phelps	New Haven
Wm. H. Barnum	Lime Rock

DELAWARE.

James Williams	Kenton
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GEORGIA.

Julian Hartridge	Savannah
Wm. E. Smith	Albany
Philip Cook	Americus
Henry R. Harris	Greenville
Milton A. Candler	Atlanta
James H. Blount	Macon
Wm. H. Felton	Cartersville
Alex. H. Stephens	Crawfordsville
Ben. H. Hill	

ILLINOIS.

Bernard G. Canfield	Chicago
C. H. Harrison (c)	Chicago
Alex. Campbell	Laselle
John C. Bagby	Rushville
Scott Wike	Pittsfield
Wm. M. Springer	Springfield
Adlair E. Stevenson	Bloomington
John R. Eden	Sullivan
W. A. J. Sparks	Carlisle
Wm. R. Morrison	Waterloo
William Hartzell	Chester
Wm. B. Anderson	Mt. Vernon

INDIANA.

Benoni S. Fuller	Boonville
James D. Williams	Wheatland
Michael C. Kerr	New Albany
Jeptha D. New	Vernon

Wm. S. Holman	Aurora
Franklin Landers	Indianapolis
Wm. S. Haymond	Monticillo
Andrew H. Hamilton	Fort Wayne

IOWA.

Lucien L. Ainsworth	West Union
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KANSAS.

John R. Goodin	Humboldt
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KENTUCKY.

Andrew R. Boone	Mayfield
John Young Brown	Henderson
Charles W. Milliken	Franklin
J. Proctor Knott	Lebanon
Edward Y. Parsons	Louisville
Thomas L. Jones	Newport
J. C. S. Blackburne	Versailles
Milton J. Durham	Danville
John B. Clarke	Augusta

LOUISIANA.

Randall L. Gibson	New Orleans
E. John Ellis	New Orleans
Wm. M. Levy (c)	Natchitoches

MARYLAND.

Philip F. Thomas	Easton
Charles B. Roberts	Westminster
Wm. J. O'Brien	Baltimore
Thomas Swann	Baltimore
Eli J. Henkle	Brooklyn
William Walsh	Cumberland

MASSACHUSETTS.

Charles P. Thompson	Gloucester
John K. Tarbox	Lawrence
Wm. W. Warren	Boston
Chester W. Chapin	Springfield

MICHIGAN.

Alpheus S. Williams	Detroit
Allen Potter	Kalamazoo
George H. Durand	Flint

MISSOURI.

Edward C. Kehr	St. Louis
Erastus Wells	St. Louis
Wm. H. Stone	St. Louis
Robert A. Hatcher	New Madrid
Richard P. Bland	Lebanon
Charles H. Morgan	Lamar
John F. Phillips	Sedalia
Benjamin J. Franklin	Kansas City
David Rea	Savannah
R. A. DeBolt	Trenton
John B. Clark	Fayette
John M. Clover	Lagrange
Astell H. Buckner	St. Charles

NEW JERSEY.

Miles Ross	New Brunswick
Robert Hamilton	Newton
Augustus W. Cutter	Morristown
Frederick H. Peese	Newark
Augustus H. Hardenbergh	Jersey City

NEW YORK.

Henry B. Metcalf.....Richmond
 John G. Schumaker.....Brooklyn
 Archibald M. Bliss....."
 Edwin R. Meede.....New York
 S. S. Cox....."
 Smith Ely, Jr....."
 Eliza Ward....."
 Fernando Wood....."
 Abram S. Hewitt....."
 N. Holmes Odell.....White Plains
 John O. Whitehouse.....Poughkeepsie
 George M. Bebee.....Monticello
 John H. Bagley, Jr.....Catskill
 Scott Lord.....Utica
 Charles C. B. Walker.....Corning
 Aug. F. Allen (dead).....Jamestown

NORTH CAROLINA.

Jesse J. Yeates.....Murphreesboro.
 Alfred M. Waddell.....Wilmington
 Joseph J. Davis.....Louisburg
 Alfred M. Scales.....Greensboro
 Thos. S. Ashe.....Wades
 Wm. M. Robbins.....Statesville
 Robt. B. Vance.....Ashville

OHIO.

Milton Saylor.....Cincinnati
 Henry B. Banning....."
 John S. Savage.....Wilmington
 John A. McMahon.....Dayton
 Americus V. Rice.....Ottawa
 Frank H. Hurd.....Toledo
 Lawrence T. Neal.....Chillicothe
 E. F. Poppleton.....Delaware
 John L. Vance.....Gallipolis
 Ansel T. Walling.....Circleville
 Milton J. Southard.....Zanesville
 Jacob P. Cowan.....Ashland
 Henry B. Payne.....Cleveland

OREGON.

Geo. A. La Dow (dead).....Pendleton

PENNSYLVANIA.

Samuel J. Randall.....Philadelphia
 John Robbins....."
 Hester Clymer.....Reading
 Wm. Matchler.....Easton
 Francis D. Collins.....Scranton
 James B. Reilly.....Pottsville
 Joseph Powell.....Towanda
 John Reilly.....Altoona
 Wm. S. Stenger.....Chambersburg
 Levi Marsh.....York
 Levi Mackey.....Lock Haven
 Jacob Jurney.....Greensburg
 James H. Hopkins.....Pittsburg
 Alex. G. Cochrane.....Alleghany City
 Geo. A. Jinks.....Brookville
 James Sheakly.....West Greenville
 Albert G. Egbert.....Franklin

TENNESSEE.

Wm. McFarland.....Morristown
 Geo. G. Dibrell.....Sparta
 John M. Fite.....Carthage
 John M. Bright.....Fayetteville
 John F. House.....Clarksville
 Washington C. Whitthorne.....Columbia
 John D. C. Atkins.....Paris
 Wm. P. Caldwell.....Gardner
 H. Casey Young.....Memphis

TEXAS.

John H. Reagan.....Palestine
 David B. Culberson.....Jefferson
 James W. Throckmorton.....McKinney
 Roger Q. Mills.....Corsicana
 John Hancock.....Austin
 Gustave Schleicher.....Cuero

VIRGINIA.

Beverly B. Douglass.....Aylette's
 John Goode, Jr (c).....Norfolk
 Gilbert C. Walker.....Richmond
 Geo. C. Cobell.....Danville
 John Randolph Tucker.....Lexington
 John T. Harris.....Harrisburg
 Eppa Hunton.....Warrenton
 Wm. Terry.....Wytheville

WEST VIRGINIA.

Benjamin Wilson.....Wilsonburg
 Chas. J. Faulkner.....Martinburg
 Frank Hereford.....Union

WISCONSIN.

Wm. Pitt Lynde.....Milwaukee
 Samuel D. Burchard.....Beaver Dam
 Alanson M. Kimball.....Pine River
 Geo. W. Cate.....Amherst

REPUBLICANS.

ALABAMA.

James Haralson, (c).....Selma
 Chas. Hays.....Haysville

CONNECTICUT.

Henry H. Starkweather.....Norwich

FLORIDA.

Josiah T. Walls.....Gainesville
 Wm. J. Purman.....Tallahassee

ILLINOIS.

Chas. B. Farwell.....Chicago
 Stephen A. Hurlburt.....Belvidere
 Horatio C. Burchard.....Freeport
 Thos. J. Henderson.....Princeton
 Greenbury L. Fort.....Lacon
 Richard H. Whiting (c).....Peoria
 Joseph G. Cannon.....Tuscola

INDIANA.

Milton S. Robinson.....Anderson
 Morton C. Hunter.....Bloomington
 Thos. J. Cason.....Lebanon
 Jos. L. Evans.....Noblesville
 John H. Baker (c).....Goshen

IOWA.

Geo. W. McCrary.....Keokuk
 John Q. Tufts.....Milton Junction
 Henry O. Pratt.....Charles City
 James Wilson.....Buckingham
 Ezekiel S. Sampson.....Sigourney
 John A. Kasson.....Des Moines
 James W. McDill.....Afton
 Addison Oliver.....Onawa

KANSAS.

Wm. A. Phillips.....Salina
 Wm. R. Brown.....Hutchinson

KENTUCKY.

John D. White (c).....Manchester

LOUISIANA.

Chester B. Darrall (c).....Brashear
 Frank Morey (c).....Monroe
 Chas. E. Nash.....Washington

MAINE.

John H. Burleigh.....South Berwick
 Wm. P. Frye.....Lewiston
 James G. Blaine.....Augusta
 Eugene Hale.....Ellsworth

MASSACHUSETTS.

James Buffington (dead).....Fall River
 Benj. W. Harris.....East Bridgewater
 Henry L. Pierce.....Boston
 Rufus L. Frost (c).....Chelsea
 Geo. F. Hoar.....Worcester

MINNESOTA.

Mark H. Dunnell.....Owatonna
 Horace B. Strait.....Shakopee
 Wm. S. King.....Minneapolis

NEBRASKA.

Lorenzo Crounse.....Ft. Calhoun

NEVADA.

Wm. Woodburn.....Virginia City

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Henry W. Blair.....Plymouth

NEW JERSEY.

Clement H. Sinnickson.....Salem
 Samuel A. Dobbins.....Mt. Holly

NEW YORK.

Simeon B. Chittenden.....Brooklyn
 Chas. H. Adams.....Cohoes
 Martin J. Townsend.....Troy
 Andrew Williams.....Plattsburg
 Wm. A. Wheeler.....Malone
 Henry H. Hawthorne.....Saratoga Springs
 Samuel F. Miller.....Franklin
 George A. Bagley.....Watertown
 Wm. H. Baker.....Constantia
 Elias W. Leavenworth.....Syracuse
 Clinton D. McDougall.....Auburn

Elbridge G. Lapham.....Canandaigua
 Thomas C. Platt.....Owego
 John M. Davy.....Rochester
 George G. Hoskins.....Attica
 Lyman K. Bass.....Buffalo

NORTH CAROLINA.

John A. Hyman.....Warrenton

OHIO.

William Lawrence.....Bellefontaine
 Charles Foster.....Fostoria
 Nelson H. Van Vorhes.....Athens
 Lorenzo Danford.....St. Clairville
 L. D. Woodworth.....Youngstown
 James Monroe.....Oberlin
 James A. Garfield.....Hiram

PENNSYLVANIA.

Chapman Freeman.....Philadelphia
 Charles O'Neill....."
 William D. Kelley....."
 Washington Townsend.....West Chester
 Allan Wood, Jr.....Conshohocken
 A. Kerr Smith.....Lancaster
 Winthrop W. Ketchum.....Wilkesbarre
 John B. Packer.....Sunbury
 Sobieski Ross.....Cowdersport
 John W. Wallace.....New Castle

RHODE ISLAND.

Benjamin T. Eames.....Providence
 Latimer W. Ballou.....Woonsocket

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Joseph H. Rainey (c).....Georgetown
 E. W. M. Mackey (c).....Charleston
 Solomon L. Hoge.....Columbia
 Alex. S. Wallace.....Yorkville
 Robert Small.....Beaufort

TENNESSEE.

Jacob M. Thornburg.....Knoxville

VERMONT.

Charles H. Joyce.....Rutland
 Dudley C. Denison.....Royalton
 George W. Hendee.....Morrisville

VIRGINIA.

William H. H. Stowell.....Burkeville

WISCONSIN.

Charles G. Williams.....Janesville
 Lucien B. Caswell.....Ft. Atkinson
 Henry S. Magoon.....Darlington
 A. M. Kimball.....Pine River
 Jeremiah M. Rusk.....Viroqua

LIBERALS.

Benjamin A. Willis.....New York

INDEPENDENTS.

N. P. Banks.....Waltham, Mass.
 Julius H. Seelye.....Amherst, "

ALABAMA UNDER DEMOCRACY.

A Constitutional Convention has recently adjourned in Alabama. Its chief work has been, under the instrument framed, to reduce the school fund, and make the Supreme Court an elective body. It was under control of the Democracy. In the present condition of the South, the subject of public education is of paramount importance. The following table, compiled from the ninth census, illustrates this :

STATES.	Total population of all ages, over 10.....	Total number that can not read and write, over 10.....	Percentage of males.....	Percentage of females.....
Eleven South'n States.				
Alabama.....	706,802	283,012	53.18	55.13
Arkansas.....	341,737	133,339	39.02	38.08
Florida.....	131,119	71,803	52.79	56.74
Georgia.....	835,929	468,593	54.80	57.22
Louisiana.....	526,392	276,158	51.15	53.75
Mississippi.....	581,206	313,310	52.49	55.30
N. Carolina..	769,629	397,690	49.34	53.79
S. Carolina...	503,763	290,379	56.84	58.34
Tennessee....	890,872	364,697	37.42	44.31
Texas.....	571,075	221,703	37.18	40.60
Virginia	890,056	445,893	49.44	50.77
	6,658,579	3,386,577		

The school population of Alabama, (all between the ages of five and seventeen,) by the same census was 342,976, of whom 181,787, were white, and 161,156 colored, children. According to the reports of the National Bureau of Education, there was :

In 1869, a school fund of.....	\$524,621.68
In 1870, "	500,409.18
In 1871, "	581,389.29
In 1872, "	640,627.83

In the same years, the attendance was as follows :

	Children.
1869, (estimated by Dr. Sears, Gen'l Agent Peabody Fund).....	160,000
1871, (State Reports, 86,976 whites, and 54,336 colored)	141,312

The average attendance was about 107,666. These figures denote the result, under Republican rule, or rather at its beginnings. Since then, the State has passed under Democratic control. What is its record, in this important particular ? Let the facts reply !

The school fund has been reduced. The school attendance is much less. The num-

ber of schools has decreased. The supervision has deteriorated, and the pay of teachers has not only been lessened, but made irregular in its receipt. The total reduction of the school fund, under Democratic legislation, has reached \$227,017. The attendance has decreased over one-third.

The Constitutional Convention has carried out this Bourbon policy. The following is the *Mobile Register's* synopsis of the Article on Education, as adopted, in all its main features :

1. Separate schools are furnished for the white and colored children, and neither race is permitted to attend the schools of the other.
 2. The school fund is to be derived from the following sources : Any lands, money or other property that may be given by any individual, or by the State, for school purposes ; all escheats and equivalents for exemption from military duty ; a poll tax of \$1.50 ; the interest on the 16th section and surplus revenue fund ; not less than \$100,000 annually to be appropriated by the General Assembly, but which must be increased from time to time, as the condition of the Treasury and resources of the State will permit.
 3. The expenses of disbursement of school fund, not to exceed four per cent.
 4. Trustees for the State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate.
 5. The University and A. and M. College shall not be removed from present location.
 6. A Superintendent of Public Instruction to be appointed.
 7. The duties of County Superintendent to be performed by township trustees.
- Under this, the present Board of Education is abolished. It is perhaps as well, as being a piece of cumbersome machinery. The object in establishing it was to have some influential and active citizen in every Congressional District officially interested in the establishment of a system, new to all and against which the prejudices of many were pre-arrayed. The providing for a State Superintendent is an unexpected concession to modern ideas ; but the return to the township trustee superintendency, is a fatal error. It is enthroning inefficiency, and indifference and prejudice, over all the local details—those which are most important. There can

be no doubt but that the larger proportion of such white persons as are in the main likely to be selected for school trustees, will be at heart hostile or indifferent. They, like the scholars, need education.

The whole tendency of Democratic administration is, to impair the Free School System. Time corrects the evils their prejudices create; but then there is a fatal loss, any way. The Democrats got possession of Alabama, in 1873. The following report of the schools, for the nine months of the present year, will show, conclusively, the retrograde spirit which now controls:

TOTAL NUMBER ENROLLED.

	Whites	Colored.	Total.
First quarter.....	5,954	4,687	10,641
Second quarter.....	24,095	23,794	47,889
Third quarter.....	45,705	32,868	78,573

	Whites.	Colored.	Total.
First quar'r, schools taught	171	94	265
Sec'd quar'r, schools taught	810	573	1,333
Third quar'r, schools taught	1,540	948	2,488

	Whites.	Colored.	Total.
First quarter, No. teachers.	208	105	313
Sec'd quarter, No. teachers,	866	622	1,488
Third quar'r, No. teachers,	1,689	973	2,671
Average pay of teachers per month for three quarters, \$32.08.			

Number of days taught for three quarters, 125.

Amount paid teachers—white schools, \$141,579; colored, \$132,745.

Number of counties in which schools were taught—23 first quarter; 57 second quarter; 65 third quarter.

Compare the best quarter of 1875 with the figures of attendance, given for 1869 and 1871, and also with the number of children in the State, of school age, in 1874. Hon. Joseph Speed, State Superintendent, then stated the number of white children at 233,333; colored children, 172,506; total, 405,839. The present attendance shows a decrease from 1871, of 29,093 pupils, as to average attendance, and of 62,739 less enrollment. It appears that, under Democratic management, the State owes the school fund over \$500,000. This indebtedness has grown up in less than three years. These facts all tend to establish that Democratic rule is the rule of ignorance.

The following paragraph is from an address just issued by a committee of the Democratic majority of the Convention, to the people of Alabama. It affords both confession and defense of the Bourbon policy of destroying the efficiency of the School System:

In relation to the Public Schools the Convention has made the most salutary changes.

The great complaint has been that there were too many unnecessary officers, and too much useless machinery employed, to handle the school fund, and that the money thus expended should be saved for teaching the children. The Convention abolished the School Board, and thereby abolished the expense of another Legislature to do what could be safely required of the General Assembly. The impoverished condition of the people, and the immense burden of State, and county, and city taxation, which they are now unable to carry, compelled your delegates to refuse to pile up any more weight, until the people recovered their strength, unloaded, and had time to rest and collect the means to devote to Public Schools. The Convention acted on these principles in providing, as it did in the new Constitution, for the support of Public Schools. It was estimated that from the sources specified in the new Constitution, the amount that could be certainly raised for school purposes, would be about three hundred and two thousand dollars. If the people and the tax collectors do their duty, the provisions of the new Constitution will produce more money for the support of Public Schools than has heretofore been expended in actual teaching. The Convention has saved at least fifty thousand dollars per annum in abolishing the School Board, and limiting the amount to be paid for officers to four per centum of the school fund, thus leaving ninety-six per centum to pay teachers. The poll tax collected in each county is to be kept in each county, and applied there to Public Schools. The failure to collect more of the poll tax is chargeable to the tax collectors. There are in the State over two hundred thousand voters, and the amount of poll taxes collected has not reached more than seventy-five thousand dollars per annum. As each county would be entitled to its own poll tax, the people in each township, and especially the Trustees, will give special attention to the payment of the poll tax, and it is believed that this change will add at least seventy-five thousand dollars per annum to the school fund. If any fear that the new Constitution has impaired the Public Schools, in not providing a sufficient fund to support them, exists, such apprehension must be dispelled by the first section of the twelfth article, which provides that "the General Assembly shall establish, organize, and maintain a system of Public Schools throughout the State, for the equal benefit of all children between the ages of seven and twenty-one years." The Convention gave every dollar that could be spared at this time for Public Schools, and if it is found that the system is likely to suffer for want of more money, the General Assembly has the full authority to appropriate

as much as the people demand to answer all such purposes. The people pay the taxes, and elect their own representatives, and if the Public Schools languish and die for the want of money, it will be the fault of the people and their representatives, and not that of the new Constitution.

Taking the above as a fair statement of what is aimed at by the present Democratic rulers of Alabama, it will be seen that, according to their own showing, the school fund has been systematically reduced from \$610,627, in 1872, the last year of Republican administration, to about \$450,000, in 1874-5, and is to be still further reduced under the "Constitution framed by your own people," to about \$302,000. The poll tax has been reduced to fifty cents, (a fact not objectionable in itself), and the whole amount to be raised therefrom cannot exceed \$100,000, and will probably not amount to two-thirds of that sum. The Bourbon estimate itself is therefore not over \$380,000 per annum. This, too, with an illiterate population, over the age of ten years, (according to the United States census of 1870), of 283,012 persons; the school population of the State, at the same date, being 336,976, making but little over one dollar *per capita*, at the present time. New Jersey, with a population of 906,096 in 1870, spent, in 1873-4, \$2,471,343 for public schools. Alabama, with a population in 1870 of 996,992, proposes, in 1875, by Constitutional enactment, to spend the munificent sum of \$380,000, or thereabouts.

Besides this, the Constitution abolishes the present system of county superintendency, and substitutes therefor the control of Township Trustees. The history of proslavery Alabama has been too pregnant with significant incidents, to allow any one to doubt the intent of this policy. It is hoped that the schools will thereby be handed over to the control of those who do not believe in the education of the labor they aim to control, and who are opposed to taxing the well-to-do for the education of the poor. Besides, the trustee system is a wasteful and incompetent one, anywhere and everywhere, unless it may be rigidly supervised by trained and competent persons, animated by the zeal of the professional educator.

These things are but the natural results of Democratic reaction. They are evidence of the expiring malice of the slaveocracy. No doubt finds place in the minds of sincere and sagacious believers of the final victory of the Free Schools and the principles of Republicanism. But it is well to watch the work of the enemies of liberty and education. "By their fruits shall ye know them."

THE Democrats have suddenly lost their former admiration for Carl Schurz. Last year he was, in their opinion, "the noblest German in America." Now they call him "an unreliable Dutchman." When they thought him an ally of Democracy, he was "the foremost statesman of the age;" now that he has urged the election of Governor Hayes, they consider him "a third-rate statesman," and claim that they kept him at home in Missouri, because they wanted a better man. Schurz was the Democratic idol of yesterday; to-day they are ready to burn him as a heretic. Yet Schurz stands where he always stood—the difficulty being, that he didn't stand where the Democrats thought he did.

OUT of 130,000 persons committed to prison in England and Wales in 1867, only 4,137 could read and write. Our own statistics of crime show clearly that ignorance is our greatest enemy. To guard against it, our Free School System must become general throughout the land. No sectarian influences should be allowed to cripple its usefulness. It should be as impartial as it is free. The future of the Republic depends upon our Free Schools. To multiply and protect these nurseries of freemen requires vigilance on the part of all intelligent citizens, irrespective of party.

THE *Memphis Appeal* demands "cheap money." The cheapest we know of is the Confederate currency. The *Appeal* ought to get plenty of that, in Tennessee. It can be purchased by the ton, and as cheap as old rags. "Cheap money" is a new cry.—"Cheap," according to what standard? Our motto is, "Cheap goods, and money worth one hundred cents on the dollar."

THE MEANING OF THE VICTORY.

The redemption of Ohio from Democratic control is something more than an ordinary party victory. It is the triumph of intelligence over ignorance, public virtue over vice, good faith over that reckless spirit which would lead the State and the Nation to repudiate their honest obligations. If the State had gone Republican by only one thousand majority, the victory would have been a grand one, for it would show that the common sense of the majority of the people was sufficient to hold in check those forces of demoralization which have been at work for the past two years. But the majority given for Governor Hayes indicates that the masses of the people are alive to the issues of the hour, and can be relied upon when any great principle, involving National honor or safety, is in danger. Two years of control had given the Democrats an opportunity to entrench themselves. Every State office was held by an active partizan, who used his official influence to protect and advance his party. Democratic office holders were taxed heavily, for the funds needed. Party discipline was rigidly enforced. Every weak point was carefully guarded and strengthened. The best speakers in the Democratic ranks were sent out among the people. All that eloquence and money could do, was done. Golden promises were held out to the working men. They were told, that dull times, and consequent poverty, were the direct results of Republican rule. They were told, that a Democratic triumph would revive business, make money plenty, put food into the mouths of the poor, and increase values of all kinds; while a Republican triumph would depress business, induce poverty among the laboring classes, and, by a shrinking of values, bring about general bankruptcy and ruin. Democratic orators dwelt upon these points—painted the blessings of Democratic rule, and the evils of Republican ascendancy, in strongest contrast; all sunshine, on one side; all darkness and gloom, on the other. Some honest men were deceived, and led to believe that these demagogues were speaking the truth, and that the Democratic party was the only

party that could protect the interests of the working men.

But, with the majority, the arts and tricks of the demagogue failed. The people were too intelligent to accept statements for facts, or empty promises for realization. The inflation heresy was weighed and found wanting; the tempting baits offered, were declined; the charges raised against the Republican party, were submitted to the severe test of investigation, and rejected, as without foundation. At all points, on every issue raised, an intelligent comprehension of the wants and necessities of all classes, and the measures needed to supply them, met the paid agents of the Democratic party, and furnished, on the spot, the antidote for the poison they endeavored to introduce.

For this enlightenment of the public mind, we owe much to the Republican press of Ohio. Eloquent speakers have been a power, in the campaign; but the field of their work has been limited. To the free press, of Ohio, holding up, day after day, and week after week, the true issues, and the true principles—dealing heavy blows against entrenched Democracy—watching the whole line of attack, and sending to the remotest sections of the State re-inforcements, in the shape of facts and figures, so that the people could form an intelligent judgment for themselves, we owe the victory that has redeemed Ohio from the rule of Democracy.

All honor to the Republican press of the State!—to those whose pen and voice have helped the good work!—to those who have given time, and money, and hard work, to bring out a full vote!—to all, who, irrespective of party, by word or deed, precept or example, contributed to the glorious result that has sent a thrill of joy throughout the land, all honor!

They have furnished to the Nation an illustration of what intelligent men can do, when aroused by a sense of duty. They have become an inspiration to Pennsylvania and New York, and will exert an influence that will redeem those States from the Democratic thralldom that now oppresses them.

But the work is not all done. Republicans of Ohio must not relax into apathy, or fold their arms, contented with the recent victory. They have other duties to perform. They must show, by wise measures, prudent legislation, honest administration of government, that the people were right in their verdict, and that the Republican party is all that its friends claim it to be—the truest friend of constitutional liberty and good government.

Organization must be kept up, and perfected. What has proven good, must be made better. Every town should have its local organization, and the wisest men should

be called to govern it. Every effort should be made to keep down local jealousies—to keep our friends united, so that, next year, Ohio may roll up a majority equal to the one that sent Vallandigham to the shades of obscurity. The victory in 1876, must be worthy of the Centennial year—so complete in its achievements, that the civilized world will unite in saying that the young Republic has taken no step backward, but closes its hundredth year with a government as honestly administered, and with a patriotism as pure, as when it first took its place among the family of nations.

WHO ARE THE TAX-PAYERS?

INTERNAL REVENUES.—For the purpose of showing just where the Internal revenues come from, the following analysis of the tax for 1874 is given. There was collected from—

Spirits	\$49,444,089.85
Tobacco	33,242,875.62
Fermented liquors.	9,304,679.72
Banks and bankers.....	3,387,160.67
Penalties, etc.	364,216.34
Adhesive stamps.....	6,136,844.64
Balances.....	764,880.14

\$102,644,746.98

If a family uses fifty boxes of matches, of ordinary size, in a year, they pay fifty cents in taxes to support the Government. If they have occasion to use a few bottles of patent medicines; or if the ladies are disposed to indulge in perfumery; or if the head of the family is well-to-do and keeps a bank account, on which he occasionally draws a check, these incidents may occasion an annual expenditure of fifty cents to a dollar in taxes. But this includes the entire list of articles taxed, excepting spirits, beer and tobacco in their various forms. But the latter articles are not included among the necessities of life; they are luxuries. Dealers in these articles not only add the amount of the tax to the cost of their goods, but they fix a profit on the tax itself, in the same proportion as they do on the original price for the article before the tax is added. In other words, the tax pays the same rate of profit as the goods—*and yet the consumption increases.* The dealer rarely complains of the tax; he

makes money out of it, and the slave to artificial appetite pays it all.

CUSTOMS REVENUES.—Free Traders attempt to deceive the people by making them believe the tariff of duties imposed on imported goods is, in all cases, a tax on the consumers of those goods. It is not so. In nine cases out of ten the duties are wholly a tax upon the foreign producer; and he so understands it. Hence the persistent efforts made by Great Britain to secure a reduction of our tariff, and of Canada to obtain a free-trade reciprocity with the United States. It is the producer, not the consumer, who pays the duties. Maine and Canada each send a cargo of potatoes to Boston or New York. They each sell out at \$1.00 per bushel. Maine receives the full amount of the sale, while Canada leaves fifteen cents out of each dollar, as a duty on the goods. It is the same with nine-tenths of all the foreign goods brought to United States markets. *The duties are paid by the producers, for the privilege of using our markets.* It is as direct a tax upon him as the charges for freight, insurance and commissions. The Customs revenues amount to about \$175,000,000 a year, of which not less than \$125,000,000 are paid by those, *outside of the Union*, who use our markets for their own advantage.

It is not the brilliant orator, who delights by his silvery tones, that carries conviction, but the earnest man, whose daily walk is a sermon, and whose example is an irresistible power in moulding the opinions of others.

DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF TEXAS.

This body, now in session, has decided, by the vote of its Bourbon majority, that it has the right to legislate generally—that it is within its province to postpone a general election, and to submit or not, as in their sweet will may be determined, whether or not the instrument they frame shall be submitted to the people for ratification. They have already voted to postpone the next general election, and seem inclined to make a *tabula rasa* of the State and its institutions. Some of the debates are, to say the least, “peculiar” in tone. Here are delegates opposing the right of taxation for school purposes. Another bright talker, of the same school, does not want the “people burdened with the support of charitable institutions.” The *Austin State Journal*, organ of the Democracy, thinks this sort of thing ill-advised, especially as to the schools, but seems to be by no means sure that the opponents of school taxation are not right, after all. It says: “In going back to elemental principles of free government, we deny that the Legislature has the right to tax the people for making donations of public money to individuals.” But it allows, that school taxes are “justified by a sound public policy.” It is in doubt whether a general fund is or is not necessary, so far as Texas is concerned, because there is a grant of land for that purpose. The fund arising therefrom, it admits to have been abused, and recent State reports show that the Democratic Administration and Legislature have failed, as well as the county authorities, to use the school fund for school purposes.

It may be worth while inquiring what provisions have heretofore been made for the support of common schools. The Republic of Texas, by an Act approved January 26, 1839, granted three leagues of land for the purpose of establishing a primary school or academy. The first Constitution of the State of Texas, adopted in 1845, requires the establishment of public schools, and provides for taxation to support them—one-tenth of the State revenue being devoted to their support, as a perpetual fund.

It confirmed the land grants made under the Republic, which included fifty leagues for the endowment of two Colleges or Universities. The Democratic-Johnson Constitution, of 1866, re-affirmed the preceding provisions. It also provided for the sale of school land to actual settlers; required the Legislature to annually appropriate the amount constitutionally required for the school fund. Taxes paid by colored persons were to be set apart for schools for their children. The Constitution of 1869, framed under the Reconstruction Acts, provides, in addition to re-affirming the foregoing, (all but that relating to colored schools), that there shall be a State Superintendent of Public Schools, elected or appointed for four years. In addition to the permanent fund before provided, it set apart all the proceeds arising from sales of the public lands of Texas, and of a one-dollar poll tax. The fund thus created, to be invested in United States bonds. What the Bourbons have done is not yet clear.

ONE VOTE may save a town office; one vote may save the county ticket; one vote may save the State ticket; one vote may determine whether the State is to have good government or bad, faithful officials or dishonest ones. In view of this possibility, can any citizen, who desires the triumph of just principles, neglect his duty at the polls? Remember that every bad element in the community will be represented at the ballot-box, and will triumph unless intelligence neutralizes their efforts. Give one day at least to the election; urge every respectable man to vote; and, by example, strengthen Republicanism everywhere. The victory will be ours if we but work hard enough to deserve it.

THE enemy are on the run. They have been driven from one stronghold, and on the 2d of November they must be driven from all. Drum up recruits! keep the old flag at the head of the column! bring every man to the front! and the general battle of November will result in a glorious victory for the friends of the Union.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT DES MOINES.

The following is the full text of President Grant's speech at the annual re-union of the Army of the Tennessee, at Des Moines, September 29, 1875 :

"Comrades, it always affords me much gratification to meet my old comrades in arms of ten and fourteen years ago, and to live over again in memory the trials and hardships of those days—hardships imposed for the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions. We believed then, and believe now, that we had a good Government, worth fighting for, and, if need be, dying for. How many of our comrades of those days paid the latter price for our preserved Union! Let their heroism and sacrifices be ever green in our memory. Let not the results of their sacrifices be destroyed. The Union and the free institutions, for which they fell, should be held more dear for their sacrifices. We will not deny to any of those who fought against us any privileges under the Government which we claim for ourselves; on the contrary, we welcome all such who come forward in good faith to help build up the waste places and to perpetuate our institutions against all enemies, as brothers in full interest with us in a common heritage; but we are not prepared to apologize for the part we took in the war. It is to be hoped that like trials will never again befall our country. In this sentiment no class of people can more heartily join than the soldier who submitted to the dangers, trials and hardships of the camp and the battle-field. On whichever side they may have fought, no class of people are more interested in guarding against a recurrence of those days.

"Let us, then, begin by guarding against every enemy threatening the perpetuity of free Republican institutions. I do not bring into this assemblage politics, certainly not partisan politics; but it is a fair subject for soldiers in their deliberations to consider what may be necessary to secure the prize for which they battled in a Republic like ours. Where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised, except by the will of the people,

it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence.

"The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. If we are to have another contest in the near future of our national existence, I predict that the dividing line will not be Mason and Dixon's, but between patriotism and intelligence on the one side, and superstition, ambition and ignorance on the other. Now, in this Centennial year of our national existence, I believe it a good time to begin the work of strengthening the foundation of the house commenced by our patriotic forefathers, one hundred years ago, at Concord and Lexington. Let us all labor to add all needful guarantees for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech and free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color or religion. Encourage free schools, and resolve that not one dollar of money appropriated to their support, no matter how raised, shall be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school. Resolved that neither the State nor Nation, or both combined, shall support institutions of learning other than those sufficient to afford to every child, growing up in the land, the opportunity of a good common school education, unmixed with sectarian, pagan or atheistical tenets. Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the Church and State forever separate. With these safeguards, I believe the battles which created the Army of the Tennessee, will not have been fought in vain."

THE Democratic party is anxious to blot out the past. Anxiety is too mild a term. Its followers should pray to have it blotted out, for it contains so much that is shameful, that eternal oblivion would be welcome. But the past will not be forgotten. It is useful as an index to the future. The servant who has proven unfaithful in the past, cannot well be trusted in preference to one who has always been true.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...Two events have occurred during the past month, which transcend, by far, the usual importance attached to similar incidents. We refer to the notable speech made by President Grant, at the Des Moines Reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, and to the remarkable political campaign in Ohio, and its victorious termination, on Tuesday, Oct. 12th, by the election of Rutherford B. Hayes over William Allen, as Governor of the new Keystone State of this Union. Else-

where, the victory, and its meaning, is made the theme of ample comment. But there are noteworthy points to be observed. The vote, though full details are not yet at hand, is an unusually large one, reaching, in all probability, to that cast for Secretary of State, in October, 1872—the year of the last Presidential election. The accompanying table will show, very clearly, the fluctuations for the last ten years, both in the aggregate vote cast, and the various majorities given:

Summary of the Vote of Ohio for Ten Years:

YEAR.	OFFICE.	REPUBLICAN.	DEMOCRATIC.	REP. MAJ.	DEM. MAJ.	TOTAL VOTE.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.
1865...	Governor.....	223,633	193,697	29,936	.....	417,330	.....	.....
1866...	Secretary of State..	256,302	213,606	42,696	.....	469,908	52,578	.....
1867...	Governor.....	243,605	240,621	2,984	.....	484,226	14,318	.....
1868...	Secretary of State..	267,065	249,682	17,383	.....	516,747	32,521	.....
1868...	President..	280,223	238,606	41,617	.....	518,829	2,082	.....
1869...	Governor.....	236,099	228,581	7,518	.....	464,680	.....	54,149
1870...	Secretary of State..	221,715	205,047	16,668	.....	426,762	.....	37,918
1871...	Governor.....	238,273	218,105	20,168	.....	456,378	29,616	.....
1872...	Secretary of State..	265,930	251,780	14,150	.....	517,710	61,332	.....
1872...	President...	281,852	244,321	37,531	.....	526,173	8,463	.....
1873...	Governor.....	213,837	214,654	.....	817	428,491	.....	97,682
1874...	Secretary of State..	221,204	238,406	.....	17,202	459,610	31,119	.....

To the regular votes of 1873 and 1874, must be added the following "parasite" vote, cast by the so-called Liberal and Prohibition parties:

1873.....	20,108
1874.....	7,815
Making the total vote, in 1873.....	448,599
" " " 1874.....	467,425

It seems, from all accounts, that the aggregate vote, cast at the recent election, exceeds 550,000, and will probably foot up over 100,000 more than the total of 1874. If this is the case, the vote with which, as to numbers, it must be compared, is that cast at the October election of 1872, when the Republican majority was 14,150.

Should this prove to be the correct basis for comparison, the next fact established, will be, that the Republican party in Ohio—and, as a corollary, in the country—is once more united. Iowa and Nebraska respond to Ohio, and from the most enterprising city in New Jersey, (Newark,) comes back a

responsive cheer. These elections prove the intelligent honesty of the masses; they prove, also, that the PEOPLE will not trust the Democratic party. It was unfaithful in our hour of direst need. For it there is no salvation. It must be resolved back into original elements, and new combinations made thereof. Careful examination will be necessary, before footing up and balancing the Ohio ledger; but, at this writing, the practical result is assured, while the moral triumph, in any event, is greater even than the political one. Republican majority for Hayes, about 4,500; in the State Senate, 5; in the Legislature 12.

...Closely linked with the issues at stake, were the weighty words of President Grant, on the Public School question, and the necessity of its preservation from all sectarian influences. The speech will be found elsewhere, in THE REPUBLIC. One of the more noteworthy facts in relation to its delivery, is the authenticated statements as to its

preparation, which come to us from Des Moines. The President, in company with Judge Cole, of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and other gentlemen, during the day, visited the admirable public schools of that city. Great interest was manifested by the President, and animated conversation ensued—Judge Cole presenting, very forcibly, the dangers impending to the common schools of the country from the open hostility expressed thereto by certain religious and political influences—the existence of which is patent, and not denied, though it may be that their present power for mischief is sometimes enlarged. The President expressed himself desirous of presenting his views to the public; and, returning to the residence of Judge Cole at once, the brief but powerful speech which he read to his comrades, in the evening, was prepared. The principles it enunciates—the clear and lucid presentation it affords, of certain underlying ideas, as well as paramount necessities—are so admirably and clearly stated, that it will pass into history with Washington's Farewell Address, and Lincoln's marvelous speech at Gettysburg. The Greeks had a proverb, that "speech is silvern, and silence is golden;" but we may say, that the words of a wise man, habitually reticent, are more valuable than gold or silver. The sentiment, the method, and the occasion, are alike worthy the simple, sagacious citizen-soldier and statesman, whose name, as General and President, is now, and will be through all times, so indissolubly connected with the most memorable events and glories in and of our National history. Ohio, Iowa, and Nebraska respond to the Des Moines speech, and the remaining States, that are to vote in November, will surely fall into line with those which are now at the fore.

THE NOVEMBER AND OTHER ELECTIONS.

...On Tuesday, November 2d, the States of Virginia, West Virginia, Kansas, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin will vote for State officers and members of the State Legislature. There will also be special elections held on the ratification or rejection of the new Constitutions framed by the con-

ventions which have recently adjourned in Alabama and North Carolina. The Texas Constitutional Convention, now in session at Austin, has postponed the State election, which was to have been held in December. In Massachusetts, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Colorado, elections will also be held to fill Congressional vacancies, caused by the death of members-elect from those States. Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Minnesota are the only States voting for Governor and a full set of State officers. The highest officer on the other tickets, is Secretary of State. There is little or no reason to doubt, that each one of the four candidates nominated by the Republicans, will be elected, nor is there much reason to fear a defeat in any one of the other States, which have heretofore been in the Republican column.

...The September elections placed California, by a Republican division in the main, under Democratic control. Maine, however, remained steadfast. When the roll is called, the result for this campaign will probably be as follows:

Republican States: Maine, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas.

States Regained: Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, New York, (probably, New Jersey,) Oregon, (Congressional election) and North Carolina, (popular vote on delegates to Constitutional Convention).

Democratic States: California, (gain), Kentucky, Alabama, Texas, (on Constitutional Convention elections), Missouri, Maryland, (by a less majority than formerly,) West Virginia and Virginia.

This estimate will give the Republicans twelve States, and two other partial victories, 14 in all. The Democrats will gain one, and lose control of six, if not eight other States, in whole or part, coming out with a score of eight in all.

...California held its judicial election on the twentieth of October, and also voted for a Superintendent of Public Instruction.

...Elections were held in Colorado and Oregon on the 25th ult.; in the latter, to fill a vacancy in Congress, caused by the death

of Hon. A. L. Dow, Democrat, who was elected last fall by a majority of 302, there being an Independent candidate in the field, who had 6,350 votes. There are now three candidates running for the position, a Democrat, a Republican, and an Independent. The vote in Colorado was simply upon the choice of members of a convention to enact a Constitution, preliminary to the admission of the Territory as a State on the fourth of July, 1876, under the Enabling Act, passed by the last Congress. On the 30th ult., Missouri voted on the new Constitution.

STATE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

...Massachusetts is the last State on the roll of nominations. The State Republican Convention was very fitly presided over by the Vice-President of the United States, Henry Wilson, whose presence and opening speech were pledges of harmony in council, and of a high standard of political morality in intent and action. The platform adopted was sound and strong; declaring that the accusation, that the Republican party seeks to keep alive old issues, in order to avoid new ones, is unwarranted. Our past, at least, is secure. Able to review the record, without remorse, we cheerfully commit it to history, and with the courage inspired by success in a noble cause, we address ourselves to the new duties of the era of the Nation.

To that end the Convention pledged itself to support no man "for official position, whose personal character is not an absolute guaranty of fidelity to every public trust." And upon all others, the condemnation of the ballot-box was invoked, no matter the party that may nominate them. Civil service reform was endorsed. In State affairs, the Republicans recognize no privilege of class, no antagonism between labor and capital, but deprecating any attempt to arbitrarily fetter either, they will support such measures as shall develop the resources of both alike; as also all that regards the promotion of temperance, education, good morals, and equal rights, irrespective of sex, the maintenance of order, the honest enforcement of existing laws, rigid economy and retrenchment in every department, and reduction of taxation.

The National expenditures were held up as "a gratifying proof of the earnest endeavors of the Republican party, by economy, frugality, and fidelity in the public service, to lighten the public burden." The President was complimented; the return of peace to the South hailed as a good omen, and it was declared that the party has no more earnest desire, than that the South, without distinction or exception, "may enjoy to the fullest extent those inestimable blessings to which we owe all our own prosperity—universal free education and security of personal rights under local self-government, without the necessity of any interference from abroad."

The following declaration is in harmony with the party expression elsewhere: "That sound reason, as well as the wise and unbroken usage of the Republic, illustrated by the example of Washington, require that the tenure of the Chief Magistracy of the United States should not exceed a second term."

The financial plank obtains new force by the Ohio verdict, and that result will cheer the Republicans of Massachusetts to sustain their opinions by an overwhelming victory:

"That an irredeemable currency is a national evil, and when it continues beyond the necessity of its creation, a national reproach. That the demoralization of values caused by inflation of the National currency, while it tends to place the earnings of labor, which depend on steadiness and uniformity in the measure of value, in the power of speculators in gold and credit, also involves the demoralization of public and private conduct, credit, and expenditure; speculation in the place of thrift; ultimate prostration of trade and industry; risk of increasing crime and dishonor; and the whole train of evils which follow any departure from the homely virtue that keeps its word and pays as it goes."

The closing declaration claims that the Republican party is the one best fitted to carry to a completion the great work it has so well begun and pressed forward. On balloting for Governor, informally, Charles Francis Adams received 236 votes, to 358 for Dr. Loring, and 398 for Alexander H. Rice.

Mr. Adams gained, on the first formal ballot, but Mr. Rice was nominated on the third. The following ticket was put into the field:

For Governor—Alexander H. Rice. For Lieutenant-Governor—Horatio G. Knight. For Secretary of State—Henry B. Pierce. For Treasurer—Charles Endicott. For Auditor—Julius L. Clark. For Attorney General—Charles R. Train.

..The Democrats re-nominated Governor Gaston, and also placed the name of General W. F. Bartlett, present manager of the Tredgar (Richmond, Va.,) Iron Works, a gallant Union soldier and recent Republican, whose animated search for a returning Southern prodigal son, has led him after strange gods, as their choice for Lieutenant-Governor. General Bartlett, however, declines the nomination, but indorses the platform and remaining ticket, which is as follows:

For Secretary of State, George H. Munroe; Treasurer and Receiver, General Weston Howlad; Attorney-General, George F. Verry; Auditor, John E. Fitzgerald.

It is a curious combination. Mr. Gaston was always a Whig, until the Republican party became successful, when he became a mild and uncertain sort of a Democrat. Munroe is the editor of the *Saturday Evening Gazette*. General Howlad was never known as a Democrat, while Fitzgerald is a brilliant young Irish lawyer of Boston, who is more a Labor Reformer than Democrat. Mr. Verry is a lawyer of ability, who has long wished to come to Congress from the Worcester district; one which is not likely to gratify his aspiration.

The Democratic platform reiterates the declarations of Cincinnati and Baltimore, made in 1872, both as to the Southern acceptance of the war results and finances. It opposes "any further issue by the Government of a currency inconvertible with gold, the world's recognized measure of value," and favors "a speedy return to specie payments, as essential to the revival of the commerce, business and credit of the country, and to the welfare of the laboring classes."

The Republican party and administration is arraigned as corrupt and profligate; the

interests of capital and labor are asserted to be identical; prohibition was denounced, and Governor Gaston and General Bartlett complimented. With the exception of the money plank, the platform is but a "plea in avoidance."

...The Labor Reformers met on the 6th inst. Wendell Phillips was nominated for Governor. Mr. Phillips, at the date of his nomination, was in a State Conference of Prohibitionists, supporting the nomination for Governor, of a Mr. Baker. The "Labor Reform" platform confined itself to State issues, demanding legislation on the hours of labor, compulsory education of factory children, &c. The ablest speaker of the movement, Charles McLean, whom the *Springfield Republican* describes editorially as "a wholesome, white-headed, clean-shaven man," to whom was due the nomination of a ticket, "is quite intelligent, has read a good deal, and is a really powerful speaker. He is a 3-65er, and the author of a resolution, invoking Kelleyism and denouncing the banks."

There were not over twenty-five persons present, and the chief interest grew out of the feeling aroused by the Fall River excitement. Mr. Phillips has not taken any public notice of the nomination.

OTHER CONVENTIONS.

...In Maryland, the Republicans have united their efforts with those of the new "Citizens Reform" movement, and agreed to support the following ticket:

For Governor, J. Morrison Harris; Attorney-General, S. Teakle Wallace; Comptroller, Edward Wilkins. Mr. Harris was a Whig member of Congress at the breaking out of the rebellion, and a Union man. Mr. Wallace is a distinguished member of the Baltimore bar. He was a Whig up to the Lincoln campaign, and cast his first Democratic vote for John C. Breckinridge for President. Mr. Wilkins was formerly a Whig, and afterward a prominent Republican. They have all consented to run. The resolutions declare in favor of an honest and economical administration of the Government, both State and National; of the fulfilment of every pledge as to the payment

of State and Federal obligations; of the return to specie payment at the earliest practicable moment, and the cessation of all further expansion of the currency.

...A State Temperance Convention was held in New Jersey, which agreed to place a party ticket in that field.

...The colored people of Georgia convened a Delegate Convention at Augusta, on the 8th and 9th ult., to consider their condition, and the necessary remedies to be had for the wrong they endure. Messrs. Belcher, Turner, Long, Simm, and other leading colored men were present. Heated and somewhat acrimonious debates ensued over a proposition of Mr. Turner to support wholesale migration to Africa, which was lost.

An emigrating bureau was appointed to gather information of the best localities inside the State of Georgia, for the negroes in the so-called insurrection counties to emigrate to. An address was adopted, stating that there was no foundation for the insurrection reports, that they were gotten up by the Bourbon Democracy for political effect, and that the colored people of the State have no idea of rebellion. It also states that colored citizens are not given their rights, that the Ku-Klux are rampant in Georgia, colored men are not allowed to sit in juries, and that they do not receive the protection of the courts.

...The North Carolina Constitutional Convention adjourned on the 11th ult., after a session of thirty-one working days. In the last days, important ordinances were passed, amounting to a general emancipation of the legislature from restrictions embodied in the present Constitution, and giving it larger powers. The public debt question was not interfered with. Several ineffectual attempts were made to repudiate the special tax bonds. North Carolina Democrats differ with their brethren in Alabama and Missouri, in that the latter do materially restrict the powers of the legislature. Probably the Convention so manipulated the apportionment as to feel sure of carrying that body. It makes a difference where the shoe pinches.

...An interesting convention was held at Vicksburg, Miss., Oct. 2d and 3d. It com-

prised delegates from Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and from nearly all the river parishes of Louisiana, besides a State delegation appointed by the Governor, of whom Gen. Longstreet was one. Senator Bogy, of Missouri, was elected President, and resolutions were adopted, declaring, that the Mississippi river is national in its character, and as such, the care of it belongs to the General Government. That all improvements upon the Mississippi river, and all works necessary for the reclamation and protection of its alluvial basin, should be made by and at the cost of the General Government. That such works should be based on the reports of the U. S. Engineer Commission, made during the last session of Congress; that aid should be given the riparian States for this purpose, and that the Convention appoint a committee to bring the subject before Congress.

...A Woman's Congress met at Syracuse, New York, on the 14th ult., and remained in session for some days. Among other noted ladies in attendance were, Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Dall, Mrs. Croly, Miss Mitchell, of Vassar College, the president of the congress, Miss Willard, of Chicago, formerly lady principal of the Northwestern University, Miss Anna C. Brackett and Miss Louisa Alcott. Woman's suffrage was not allowed, but the topics considered were as follows:

1. Education and Hygiene—which is divided into Kindergartens, the Teacher's Office and Position, Scientific Education, Women on School Boards, and Health of American Girls;
2. Professions and Employments, Places Open to Women, Statistics of the Woman Ministry, and of Women in Journalism;
3. Art of Living, the Ideal and Practical in American Life, Household Art and Decoration, Kitchen Chemistry, the Progress of Art as a Medium of Civilization, Ethics and Æsthetics of Dress;
4. Finance, Uses of Money, What Practical Measures will Promote the Financial Independence of Women;
5. Charity and Reform, Vicarious Beneficence, Offices of Women in the Reform of Criminals of their Own Sex, Women on the Boards of Reformatory Institutions;
- 6.

The Relation of Women to the Legal and Educational Provisions of the Country, Women as Guardians of our Educational Liberty, Limits of Personal Responsibility, and, finally. Efforts of Progressive Women in Europe, Statistics of the Condition of Women in this Country, and Superfluous Women! A dainty set of dishes to be before an assemblage of queens.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

...One of the most notable signs of progress recently seen, is the fact that a compact has been drawn up between Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Salvador, to unite and form one national government. It was not yet known whether Honduras and Costa Rica would join in the movement, but it is to be sincerely hoped that they will—especially the former. Such a federation would greatly facilitate the growth of Central America, and bring peace by example and influence at least, to the disorderly affairs of the United States of Columbia. This movement was first commenced in 1823, when the Spanish yoke was thrown off. The Federal Union continued till 1839, sixteen years, when it was mutually dissolved. The new movement began in 1872, and is now consummated. The population of the new Confederation is, 2,180,000, and the area is 106,289 square miles. With the accession, which seems probable, of Honduras and Costa Rica, there would be a total population of 2,665,000, and an area of 174,880 square miles. Its geographical position must give it importance, and with a general union, the Central American Federal Republic must be at once a leading power.

...President Lerdo gives an interesting resume of the condition of our sister Republic, Mexico, in his message to the new Congress, which convened in September. He spoke in terms of cordial encouragement in relation to the progress of its institutions; declared that the subject of public education should receive special attention, and announced that internal improvements were going on, and the harbor works at Mazatlan, Tampico and Frontera progressing in a satisfactory manner. Judges of the Supreme Court have been elected, and the

branches of that body will be reorganized at an early date. The United States Government and people have only one desire in regard to Mexico, and that is that a speedy and amicable end may be made to all causes which, on the Rio Grande border, are so likely to disturb the peace of both countries.

...A report comes by way of Paris, published as correspondence from Madrid, in a usually well-informed French paper, *La Memorial Diplomatique*, to the effect that our Minister at Madrid, Mr. Cushing, had been instructed to notify the Spanish Government that the United States would feel compelled to recognize the belligerent rights of the Cuban republicans, after the close of the present year, unless effectual steps were taken to suppress the rebellion before that date by the Spanish authorities. It may safely be stated that no action in the form and manner indicated has been taken by Minister Cushing or directed to be done by the State Department. Yet it may also be stated that Cuban affairs are approaching a culmination, which action on the part of the United States in favor of peace and humanity, can largely accelerate. In the meanwhile the patriots' forces are more than usually active, and for the first time they are in possession of field artillery.

THE working man needs honest money. This means money that is worth just what it calls for on its face. The Republican party is pledged to make the greenback worth 100 cents on the dollar, by 1879. The Democratic party would adopt a policy that would lessen its value yearly. Can the honest citizen hesitate in making choice between the two policies—the one that appreciates the value of our paper, the other that depreciates it?

THE Republicans of New York are sanguine of success, this fall. The Liberals are back, and the party is united. Throughout the State, the old camp-fires are burning brightly, and the meetings held denote genuine enthusiasm among the people. We say to our friends in New York, as we have said to our friends in Ohio, bring out a full party vote. This, in the Empire State, means victory for the Republican ticket.

CURRENCY VALUE OF GOLD.
Table showing the value in Currency of One Hundred Dollars in Gold in the New York Market, by Months, Quarter-years, Half years, Calendar Years, and Fiscal Years from January 1, 1862, to August 31, 1875, both inclusive. Prepared by E. H. Elliott, U. S. Treasury.

PERIOD.	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
January ..	102.5	145.1	155.5	216.2	140.1	14.6	184.5	135.6	121.3	110.7	109.1	112.7	111.4	112.5
February ..	103.3	160.5	158.6	255.5	138.4	137.4	141.4	144.4	119.5	111.5	110.4	114.1	112.5	114.5
March ..	101.8	154.5	162.9	175.5	130.5	135.	139.5	131.3	112.6	111.	110.1	115.5	112.1	114.5
April ..	101.5	151.5	172.7	148.5	127.3	135.6	138.7	132.9	113.1	110.6	111.1	11.8	113.4	114.5
May ..	103.3	149.3	176.3	135.6	131.6	137.	132.6	131.2	114.7	111.5	113.7	117.7	112.4	115.8
June ..	105.3	144.5	210.7	141.1	148.7	137.5	140.1	138.1	112.9	112.4	113.9	116.5	111.3	117.
July ..	115.5	140.6	258.1	142.1	151.6	132.4	136.1	136.1	115.2	112.4	114.3	115.7	110.	114.8
August ..	114.5	126.8	234.1	145.5	148.7	140.8	145.5	134.2	117.9	112.4	114.4	115.4	109.7	115.5
September ..	118.5	134.2	222.5	143.9	145.5	143.4	143.8	135.8	114.8	114.5	113.5	112.7	109.7	115.5
October ..	125.5	147.7	207.2	145.5	148.3	143.5	137.1	135.2	112.8	113.2	112.2	108.9	109.7	115.5
November ..	121.1	141.0	231.5	147.	143.8	139.6	134.4	121.5	111.4	111.2	112.9	108.6	109.7	115.5
December ..	132.3	151.1	227.5	146.2	136.8	135.7	135.2	121.5	109.7	109.3	112.2	110.	110.9	112.7
Fiscal Year ended June 30.	102.6	133.4	150.	198.5	136.8	135.7	136.8	131.8	117.8	111.1	109.5	114.1	111.9	114.2
Quarter-year ended March 31.	103.5	148.3	186.6	141.4	135.9	136.7	135.5	136.7	113.6	111.5	112.9	117.3	111.4	115.9
Half-year ended February 28.	115.2	140.2	244.9	143.2	148.6	141.2	143.9	135.7	116.5	113.1	114.1	114.6	110.8	14.7
Calendar Year ended December 31.	103.2	150.8	172.8	169.9	136.1	136.2	133.6	137.8	125.7	111.3	111.4	115.7	112.2	115.1
Fiscal Year ended June 30.	123.4	139.6	233.8	144.7	145.8	140.3	139.8	140.8	114	121.1	113.4	111.9	110.3	111.3
Fiscal Year ended June 30.	113.3	145.2	203.8	157.	140.9	139.3	139.7	131.	114.9	111.7	112.4	112.8	111.3	112.7

GOLD VALUE OF CURRENCY

Table showing the value in Gold of One Hundred Dollars in Currency in the New York Market, by Months, Quarter-years, Half-years, Calendar Years, and Fiscal Years, from January 1, 1862, to August 31, 1875, both inclusive. Prepared by E. H. Elliott, U. S. Treasury.

PERIOD.	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
January ..	97.6	96.6	92.3	46.3	71.4	74.3	72.2	73.7	82.4	90.3	91.7	88.7	88.7	83.9
February ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	48.7	72.3	72.3	70.7	74.4	86.7	89.7	90.7	87.6	89.1	87.3
March ..	98.2	96.5	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	86.6
April ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
May ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	86.6
June ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
July ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
August ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
September ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
October ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
November ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
December ..	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
First Quarter-year.	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
Half-year ended February 28.	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
Calendar Year ended December 31.	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1
Fiscal Year ended June 30.	96.6	96.6	61.7	57.5	76.5	74.1	71.7	75.2	88.8	90.1	90.8	86.8	89.2	87.1

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

CONSOLIDATION OF REVENUE DISTRICTS.

The President has issued an order consolidating the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth internal Revenue Collection Districts of the State of New York, and Francis F. Rew has been retained as Collector of the new District, which will be known as the Twenty-eighth.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

PUBLIC DEBT STATEMENT.

The public debt statement for September shows the following totals :

DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN COIN	
Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$1,170,649 100 00
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	623 782.750 00
Total principal.....	\$1,793 431,850 00
Interest.....	26,920,126 49
DEBT BEARING INTEREST IN LAWFUL MONEY.	
Navy Pension Fund at 3 per cent., principal.....	\$14,000 000 00
Interest.....	105,000 00
DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED SINCE MATURITY.	
Principal	\$20,913,600 26
Interest	558,168 33
DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.	
Old demand and legal-tender notes	\$374,010,956 50
Certificates of deposit.....	60 600,000 00
Fractional currency	40,783,575 53
Coin certificates.....	11,645,200 00
Total principal.....	\$487,099,732 03
Unclaimed interest.....	21,074 84
TOTAL DEBT.	
Principal.....	\$2,225,445,582 29
Interest.....	30,304,364 66
Grand total.....	\$2,255,749,896 95
CASH IN TREASURY.	
Coin—interest.....	67,883,316 94
Currency—interest.....	40,790,352 92
Special deposits held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law—interest.....	60 660,000 00
Totals.....	\$133 233,669 86
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, Oct. 1, 1875.....	\$2,122,466,227 09
Debt, less cash in the Treasury, Sept. 1, 1875.....	\$2 125,808,789 70
Decrease of debt during the month, 1875.....	\$3,312,562,61
Decrease of the debt since June 30, 1875.....	\$6,222,490 23

The statement of bonds issued to the Pacific Railway Companies, interest payable in lawful money, shows totals as follows: Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued, not yet paid, \$969,352.68; interest paid by the United States, \$28,202,807.70; interest repaid by transportation of mails,

etc., \$6,366,524.16; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$21,806,283.54.

THE NEW NATIONAL BANKS.

The Comptroller of the Currency reports that eighty-three National banks have been organized since the passage of the Act of January 14, 1875, with a capital of \$9,234,000, and to which circulation has been issued amounting to \$3,023,730. The total amount of additional circulation issued since the passage of the Act is \$10,218,000, issued as follows:

To Pennsylvania.....	\$1,740,000
To West Virginia.....	114,000
To Kentucky	369,000
To Ohio	234,000
To Indiana	331,000
To Illinois	100,000
To Iowa.....	121,000

The total amount of legal-tender notes deposited for the purpose of retiring circulation from the passage of the Act of June 20, 1874, to October 1, 1875, is \$25,042,749, of which amount \$7,700,000 has been deposited as follows :

By New York.....	\$605,000
By Massachusetts.....	364,000
By Connecticut.....	322,000
By Pennsylvania.....	618,000
By South Carolina.....	443,000
By Louisiana.....	2,840,000
By Minnesota.....	600,000
By Missouri.....	1,894,000
By Indiana.....	3,703,000
By Illinois.....	963,000
By Iowa.....	600,000
By Michigan.....	600,000
By Wisconsin.....	600,000

The amount of National bank circulation outstanding to-day is \$2,000,000 less than on June 20, 1874, and \$4,000,000 less than on January 14, 1875. The amount outstanding to-day is \$347,863,742.

CALLING IN THE BONDS.

Acting Secretary of the Treasury has issued the following notice: By virtue of the authority given by the Act of Congress, approved July 14, 1870, entitled "An act to authorize the refunding of the public debt," I hereby give notice that the principal and accrued interest of the bonds hereinbefore known as "five-twenty bonds" will be paid at the Treasury of the United States, in the

city of Washington, on and after the 1st day of January, 1876, and that the interest on said bonds will cease on that day. That is to say, bonds of the Act of June 30, 1864, as follows:

COUPON BONDS.

\$50—No. 3,301 to No. 3,700, both inclusive.
 \$100—No. 10,501 to No. 12,000, both inclusive.
 \$500—No. 15,301 to No. 18,000, both inclusive.
 \$10,000—No. 59,701 to No. 68,000, both inclusive.

REGISTERED BONDS.

\$50—No. 69 to No. 150, both inclusive.
 \$100—No. 601 to No. 1,000, both inclusive.
 \$500—No. 482 to No. 750, both inclusive.
 \$1,000—No. 2,651 to No. 4,900, both inclusive.
 \$5,000—No. 1,551 to No. 2,100, both inclusive.
 \$10,000—No. 3,751 to No. 4,600, both inclusive.

Of the amount outstanding embraced in the numbers as above, \$2,500,000 are coupon bonds, and \$2,500,000 are registered bonds. United States securities forwarded for redemption should be addressed to the Loan Division, Secretary's Office, and all registered bonds should be assigned to the Secretary of the Treasury for Redemption. The call printed above is the 28th in order since the Government began the cancellation of the old issue of United States bonds. The calls of the Treasury now outstanding for 5-20 six per cent. bonds to be presented for redemption, fall due as follows:

Five-twenties of 1862.		Five-twenties of 1864.	
Oct. 14....	\$10,000,000	Nov. 3....	\$10,000,000
Oct. 28....	14,807,200	Dec. 1....	13,000,000
		Dec. 14....	5,000,000
Total....	\$24,897,200	Jan. 1....	5,000,000
		Total....	\$33,000,000

The called bonds of the issue of 1862 are of the coupon class, nearly all of them being held in Europe. Of the issue of 1864, about \$12,700,000 are of the registered class, chiefly held in this country.

SHOAL WATERS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
 WASHINGTON, October 5, 1875.

To Collectors of Customs and others:

The Surveyor of Customs at San Francisco, California, Giles H. Gray, reports to the Department, in a communication of the 11th ultimo, that he was informed by Captain James G. Coffin, of the American schooner "Florence Bailey," on his recent arrival at that port from Tahiti, that, at one o'clock P. M. Sunday, August 15, he passed a shoal spot about two hundred feet square in latitude thirty-seven (37) degrees thirty-six (36) minutes North, longitude one hundred and twenty-five (125) degrees eighteen min-

utes West. The water was very clear, and every sea that came along broke on it. Its distance from the vessel was about one hundred yards, and the shoal was plainly visible.

Collectors of Customs are requested, so far as it may conveniently be done, to bring the substance of this communication to the notice of the masters of vessels navigating the Pacific.

CHAS. F. CONANT,

Acting Secretary of the Treasury.

HOW TO PRESERVE THE IDENTITY OF GOODS ENTERED IN BOND.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5.

The rules prescribed by the Department on the 5th of April, 1872, for preserving the identity of goods entered in bond, upon which allowance of damage may be made, are hereby amended, as follows:

RULE 1.—Before the damage warrant shall be signed, the Withdrawal Entry Clerk shall be required to place the words "Damage application made," (with date,) in red ink, across the bond account in the ledger.

RULE 2.—The damage return made by the Appraiser shall describe specifically the goods, or packages of goods, upon which damage has been allowed, by setting forth the respective marks and numbers on such packages.

If, however, no distinguishing marks, numbers or devices shall be found on any damaged articles or packages, by which each of them can be identified, or where goods are marked and numbered as it is termed in "chops," one mark or number covering a certain number of packages, it shall be the duty of the officer examining for damage allowance to cause serial numbers to be placed on such articles or packages, (except in cases of wrecked goods, and where the whole invoiced quantity shall, upon examination, be found to be damaged,) which numbers shall be carried on the damage return, and described therein as the "Examiner's damage allowance number." Where the packages are marked and numbered in "chops," especial care will be taken that the Examiner's damage-allowance numbers shall be so placed on the packages that they will not be confounded with the shipper's numbers.

RULE 3.—The Appraiser will make his damage return in duplicate to the Collector, who shall thereupon transmit one copy thereof to the Storekeeper having charge of the warehouse where the goods covered by such damage return are stored.

RULE 4.—It shall be the duty of the Storekeeper receiving such damage returns to file the same, first giving them serial numbers.

The Storekeeper will also note on his books the fact that damage has been allowed on an invoice of goods, where such is the case, as also the number of the damage return on his files.

RULE 5.—The original warehouse entry, when liquidated, must show specifically the different articles or packages on which damage has been allowed.

RULE 6.—Where damage has been allowed on an importation of goods, or any part thereof, every permit for the withdrawal from warehouse of only a part of such importation shall exhibit, by items, on what goods, if any, covered by such permit, damage has been allowed. The percentage of damage need not, however, be stated in the permit.

RULE 7.—Export entries and export permits will be considered as covering only sound goods, unless the contrary shall specially appear.

RULE 8.—The Export Clerk, before passing a withdrawal entry for export, shall require that such entry shall describe the goods by the marks and numbers on the packages in detail, and will also particularly observe whether the words "*damage application made*" are recorded in the ledger account; and, should such be the case, he will procure the original liquidated warehouse entry, with the damage warrant attached, and if, upon inspection of these documents, he shall ascertain that the export entry covers no goods upon which damage has been allowed, or, if covering damaged goods, that only such as are specified in the permit have been delivered for exportation, and, if the Storekeeper's certificate, prescribed in rule 9, has been received by him, he will pass such entry; otherwise, he will refuse to pass the same.

RULE 9.—The Storekeeper, on receipt of a permit for delivery from warehouse for exportation of only part of an importation, will ascertain, by reference to his books, whether any damage has been allowed on such importation, and, if such be the case, he will take especial care, by reference to the duplicate damage return in his possession, that no goods, on which damage has been allowed, are delivered on such permit, unless the permit shall call for damaged goods, in which case he will see to it that only the particular goods so called for are delivered. On request of the exporter, the Storekeeper will forthwith furnish him a certificate of the delivery from warehouse of sound or damaged goods, as the case may be, describing the goods damaged by the marks and numbers in the damage return.

It is particularly enjoined upon Storekeepers and Warehousemen that they are *not to deliver for exportation any goods upon which dam-*

age has been allowed, unless the permit shall call for damaged goods, identifying them in the manner hereinbefore provided.

RULE 10.—Packages containing goods on which damage allowance has been made, will not hereafter be stencilled with the word "Damaged," or with the percentage of the damage, and all rules and regulations requiring such stencilling are hereby revoked.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

OPERATIONS OF THE MINT.—PREPARING TO COIN SILVER TO REDEEM THE FRACTIONAL CURRENCY—INCREASED DEMAND FOR THE TRADE DOLLAR.

The Act of January 14, 1875, to provide for the resumption of specie payments, authorizes and requires the Secretary of the Treasury, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denomination of 10, 25, and 50 cents, and to issue them in redemption of an equal amount of fractional currency of similar denominations. Dr. Linderman, Director of the Mint Bureau, is now engaged in perfecting measures for the coinage of such pieces to enable the Secretary to carry out the plan. The total amount of fractional currency shown by the books of the Treasury Department to be now in circulation is \$40,783,575, and it is estimated that of this amount, \$12,000,000 are in 10-cent notes; \$1,500,000 in 15-cent notes; \$2,000,000 in 5-cent notes; \$10,000,000 in 25-cent notes; and \$15,000,000 in 50-cent notes. Hence, it will require 120,000,000 dimes to retire the fractional currency notes of that denomination, and, with the present operations of the mints, two years will be required to coin them alone, unless the coinage of all other pieces be suspended and the whole force be assigned to work upon them. Forty millions of quarters will be required to replace 25-cent notes, and thirty million half-dollars to replace the 50-cent notes. It is believed, however, that at least \$8,000,000 of the fractional currency has long since been worn out while in circulation, and will never be presented for redemption. At the Philadelphia Mint the principal work is on small silver coin; but at the San Francisco and Carson City Mints, gold coinage is being forwarded as rapidly as is possible, on account

of the great demand for coin on the Pacific coast. At the Assay Office, in New York, refining operations have been somewhat restricted on account of the extensive alterations and repairs required to remedy the damage done the building, and to enlarge the capacity of that establishment.

After the failure of the Bank of California the demand for trade dollars was greater than before, and much time has been occupied at the mints in coining them. The reason for the increased demand is explained by the fact that the Chinese residents of the Pacific coast, after the failure of that bank, transacted all their business with the trade dollar, and used nothing but coin for remittance, fearing to purchase drafts, and thus risk the loss of money, should other failures follow. Confidence has been re-established since the bank resumed business.

Dr. Linderman will not submit his report upon the location of the proposed Mississippi Valley Mint, to Secretary Bristow, until the latter part of November, by which time he expects to have replies to the inquiries submitted by him to various boards of trade and commercial organizations, as to the private capital employed in their respective cities, their trade with the bullion-producing States and Territories, rates for export, and the ordinary labor and means of communication with the bullion-producing districts.

DANGEROUS COUNTERFEITS.

The Comptroller of the Currency issued the following circular on the 4th of October:

Dangerous counterfeits are in circulation of the denomination of \$5 of the following banks: The first National Bank of Chicago, Ill.; the Traders' National Bank of Chicago, Ill.; the First National Bank of Paxton, Ill.; the First National Bank of Canton, Ill. Nearly the entire amount of the genuine \$5 notes of these banks has been withdrawn from circulation, and no additional issues will be made. The Comptroller is desirous of retiring the whole amount from circulation, and National banks are requested to transmit to the Treasury for redemption all such notes as may come into their possession.

THE NATION'S RECOGNITION OF HEROISM.

The ten gold medals to be presented to the persons who manned the life and fishing

boats and rescued 32 persons from the wreck of the steamer Metis in Long Island Sound on the 31st of August, 1872, were to-day received by the Acting Secretary of the Treasury from the Mint. By the Act of February 24, 1873, Congress appropriated \$1,600 to enable the President to award these medals, and they have been struck at the Philadelphia Mint. They are of pure gold, about two inches in diameter, the intrinsic value of each being \$140. The obverse represents the scene of the disaster off Watch Hill Light, and upon the reverse is the name of the person to whom presented. Each medal is inclosed in a neat case, opening so as to show either side. The President has given directions that they be sent immediately to the persons for whom they are intended, and they will be forwarded accordingly to Capt. J. S. Crandall, Albert Crandall, Daniel F. Larken, Frank Larken, Byron Green, John D. Harvey, Courtland Gavitt, Eugene Nash and Edward Nash, who saved the 30 persons from that wreck. The gold medal to be presented to John Horn, jr., of Detroit, for his heroic exploits in rescuing 21 persons from drowning in the Detroit River, at various times, is also to be immediately presented.

CONTRACTION OF NATIONAL BANK CIRCULATION.

The contraction of the National banking circulation, Oct. 6 and 7, exceeded \$1,000,000. The Third National Bank of St. Louis surrendered \$400,000; the State National Bank of New Orleans, \$405,000; the First National Bank of Denver, \$150,000; the Central National of Chicago \$45,000, and the National Bank of Jefferson, Texas, \$45,000. The weekly surrender of bank circulation is on the increase.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

ORDER REGARDING THE ISSUING OF ANNUITIES TO THE INDIANS.

Acting-Secretary Cowan sent, (Oct. 10.) the following dispatch to the Indian Agent at Standing Rock; also, to the Agents of the Sioux Indians:

"You are hereby instructed not to issue annuities to any Indians belonging to your agency, unless they have been counted. Hold them to this requirement, even if they

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do not get any annuities until spring. This order is imperative, and leaves you no discretion in the matter."

PENSION OFFICE FILES.

In consequence of the crowded state of the Seaton building, now occupied by the Pension Bureau, and of the danger, in case of fire, of the records of the Pension Office being destroyed, the Commissioner has ordered the removal of the mail division from the rooms they now occupy, on the first floor, and the files of the office stored in these rooms. They are to be placed upon trucks, so they can be wheeled out immediately, in case of fire. Most of these files are stored in the upper stories of the building, and could never be replaced, if destroyed. The Commissioner has done a wise thing, in ordering their removal to the ground floor.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

NEW SIGNAL SERVICE TELEGRAPH.

The Signal Service telegraph line, from Wilmington to Southville, N. C., authorized by the last Congress, is completed and ready for business. A cautionary signal station has been already established, at the latter point, for the benefit of the coast shipping interests.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

NEW MOTIVE POWER.

Chief-Engineer Wood, of the Navy Department, has invented a new motive power, which he will exhibit at the Centennial. The power consists of carbonic acid gas, which is obtained by means of electricity and galvanism. A caveat has already been granted. Meanwhile, no application has been made for a patent for the Keely motor.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

THE FAST MAIL TRAIN.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 10, 1875.

Reports to the Post-Office Department show that the fast mail trains have already practically superseded the express companies in carrying newsdealers' packages. The amount of these packages has become so great that railway postal clerks have been detailed to assort them at the New York office before they are delivered to the postal

cars. This fact will undoubtedly furnish the express companies with another grievance, next winter.

MAIL EXPENSES WITHIN THE APPROPRIATION.

During the month of September, the cost of the mail service of the country was increased, by the organization of new routes, \$100,851.43, and was decreased, by discontinuance of routes, \$51,568.03, leaving a net increase of \$49,283.40. The appropriation for mail service, available on the 1st of July, 1875, was \$18,000,000. The contracts for mail service, at this date, amount to \$15,773,111.54, leaving \$2,226,888.46 yet available to establish new routes when needed.

U. S. SUPREME COURT.

THE HEAVY SUPREME COURT CALENDAR.

The Fall term of the Supreme Court of the United States was commenced Monday, Oct. 11. The number of cases on the calendar is now 666, more than one hundred greater than ever before, at the beginning of a term. The importance of devising some way to relieve the Supreme Court of a part of the business is, every year, becoming more apparent.

The Republican press throughout the country are doing splendid service for the good cause. Our exchanges show a unity of sentiment on the leading issues of the day, as remarkable as it is pleasing. This is right. In union there is strength. Republicanism means the same thing everywhere; good government; free schools; honesty in all things, in trade as well as in politics; a sound currency; protection to the citizen, everywhere; civil and religious liberty throughout the length and breadth of the land. Local issues may prevail, but when national interests are at stake, all are united. Thanks to the Republican press for the example set. It is all powerful for good. It has worked out the salvation of Ohio. It will secure the redemption of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The people can be trusted. Their common sense is proof against the arts and tricks of the demagogues. Place the true facts before them, and their intelligence and patriotism can be depended upon for the right result.

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Vol. VIII.--No. 2.

FEBRUARY, 1877.

Whole No. 48.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. VIII.

WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY, 1877.

No. 2.

A SNARE FOR THE PUBLIC.

The house of Appletons, in the city of New York, having attained some distinction in the country, is in a position to use its money and reputation for sinister purposes with very great effect. This is the publishing house which, within a few years past, has been employing various writers to remodel history in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church. Now, in this national crisis, probably with an eye to its own benefits as well as to promote the interests of Mr. Tilden and the Democratic party, it has just issued what is styled a compilation of the proceedings in "the Presidential count." It is an octavo volume of 670 pages, and ought to be denounced by every candid and unbiased man as a monstrous piece of pettifogging from the beginning to the end. In one word, it is a special and elaborate plea for the counting in of Mr. Tilden as President of the United States for the next four years. We propose to take a few specimens from this compilation in proof of this assertion :

On pages x and xi, under the title, "Temporary expedient for the first counting in 1789," after citing the record of the proceedings of that date, which clearly show that the President of the Senate was to count the votes, it proceeded to pettifog the case, and winds up by saying, "in the nature of the case what was done on that occasion can have no authority as a precedent."

On pages xi and xii a list is given of the resolutions of the two houses of Congress

providing a mode of procedure in the several counts, and an argument is then attempted to show that the power to count the votes is in Congress, because Congress has on these several occasions assumed that power. The fallacy of this is seen at once. The assumption of authority does not prove the right of such assumption. It may be usurpation, and in all these cases is such. The Constitution nowhere gives to Congress the right to count the votes.

In the same connection is another piece of special pleading as to the function of the tellers. This compilation says, "the votes were counted by the tellers," "and there *never* has been any different practice, and no different practice *could* have arisen under the Constitution. The two houses in convention have from the first until now counted the votes." This is quoted as the language of Senator Boutwell, and commented upon with approval, without so much as ever alluding to the form of certificate issued by some of the early Presidents of the Senate, in which it is distinctly declared that the President of the Senate *did open the certificates and count the votes*. This is a vile case of the *suppressio veri*.

On page xiii, after having shown that the tellers were: "1, To make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; 2, The result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate," this compilation goes on to argue that the tellers are to read the certificates and count the votes. It makes the point that the President of the Senate

cannot pretend to govern or in any manner interfere with the counting.

On page xiv an attempt is made to show that "the two houses of Congress have all the power of verification of the electoral votes and their results which the Constitution and the laws supply or allow." Whereas, the two houses have no such Constitution or statutory power whatever, and any pretension of the kind is a gross usurpation of power.

On page xv, under the head of "Presiding at the joint meeting," this compilation attempts to show that the President of the Senate has no right even to occupy the Speaker's chair save by the courtesy of the House when he comes to open the certificates in the presence of the two houses! so minute is the point of hostility shown in this compilation to any grant of power or authority to that officer. There seems all the way along to be a special spite against the President of the Senate, as though he were to be held up to public reproach, because the Constitution of the country directs him to "open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted."

On page xx the conclusion of this famous compilation is that "as precedents to sustain the President of the Senate in assuming power to count the votes in the sense merely of enumerating the votes and still more in the sense of adjudicating on the authenticity and the validity of the votes, the certificates are utterly worthless." This is supposed to be a fair and impartial compilation, but on every page we may see how completely partisan it is. If there had been a disposition of fairness in any sense whatever, these heated partisan comments would have been omitted.

Again, an attempt is made to show that the action of Mason, the President of the Senate in 1857, in counting the vote of Wisconsin, was not an assumption of power on his part to decide whether the vote of Wisconsin should be counted or not. And yet the fact is that Mason *did* count the vote of that State, and it was so announced in the final result. Can anything be more partisan than such an attempt as this?

On pages xxi to xxxiii are to be found an

enumeration of the different counts, with a constant attempt to show that the tellers counted the votes, and not the President of the Senate. But this compilation fails to state that the tellers *counted only such certificates as were handed them by the President of the Senate*, and only such as were found to be correct according to the Constitution and the laws, and that the duties of the tellers were only clerical.

On page xxxiii an attempt is made to explain the *status* of an elector who was ineligible under the provision of the Constitution—but no notice is taken of the laws of States by which such a defect is to be cured. Here is another gross example of the *suppressio veri*!

On page xxxiv a piece of special pleading is employed to show that "making a list of the votes" by the tellers, is the same as "counting the votes," the whole object being to support the assumed right of the two houses by their clerks, the tellers, to count the votes.

On page xxxvi a statement is made to this effect: Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, said, "Do I understand the Chair to decide that Congress in any form has power to decide on the validity or invalidity of a vote?" The Presiding Officer answered: "The Presiding Officer has made no such decision." And yet the compilation goes on to argue that Congress has this right.

On pages xli and xlii a summary from the foregoing materials is made up, concluding that exclusive jurisdiction of the count is with Congress—that the President of the Senate has no power to count the vote or to decide any material question in regard to it—that the two houses of Congress have asserted the right to manage and provide for the count in their own discretion, and that Congress can legislate upon the subject.

But it fails to show how Congress, any more than the President of the Senate, has the right, under the plain provision of the Constitution, to reject the vote of any State from the count.

This compilation, on pages xliii to liv, gives a list of opinions on the right of the two houses to count the vote. It cites the statements of Messrs. Sherman, Boutwell,

Morton, Dawes, Thurman, Logan, Trumbull, Frelinghuysen, Conkling, Christiancy, Eaton, Maxey, Howard, Davis, Stewart, Reverdy Johnson, Edmunds, Cowan, Bingham, Marshall, Hunter, Butler, Hale, Clay, Callamer, Randolph, Toombs, A. P. Butler, Stuart, Orr, Wright, and Whyte, with a number of precedents and votes of Senators and Congressmen on bills of 1800, 1875, and 1876. But while all this can go for what it is worth, being nothing more than a summary of opinion upon a case where there is a concurrence of action in the two houses, it is admitted over and over again that the language of the Constitution does not in itself expressly determine the right—and in case the two houses fail to agree on the mode of the count, all these opinions and expressions are wholly incompetent and irrelevant.

This compilation then purports, on pages 1 to 413, to give a recital of all the proceedings in each Presidential count, and on pages 414 to 434, a recital of all the proceedings in Congress on a proposal for legislation in regard to the subject of the count in the year 1800, and on pages 435 to 447, on a proposal for legislation on the same subject in 1873, and on pages 448 to 500, on a proposal for similar legislation in 1875, and on pages 501 to 664, on a proposal for similar legislation in 1876, *none of which was ever carried into effect*, and then this famous compilation, which throughout is intended to blind and mislead the public, shuffles into an appendix at the end—a speech of Senator Bayard, of Delaware, the positions of which, if adopted as sound, must forever dispose of the power of Congress to make any law to control the count of the electoral vote.

Senator Bayard in this speech, delivered in the Senate of the United States, February 25th, 1875, speaking of the Constitution and the law of 1792, says :

“It provided the method of the certification of the results, and it will be observed that not only was the manner of the election of the electoral college confided to each State, but that the certification, the authentication of the electoral vote, was confided wholly and unreservedly by the Constitution to the States. And nowhere is power given to

either house of Congress to pass upon the election, either the manner or the fact, of electors for President and Vice President. And if the Congress of the United States, either one or both houses, shall assume under the guise or pretext of telling or counting a vote to decide the fact of the election of electors, who are to form the college by whom the President and Vice President are to be chosen, then they will have taken upon themselves an authority for which I, for one, can find no warrant in this charter of limited powers. This was the belief, and the action of the country has been in accordance with this belief from its foundation till February 6th, 1865. And then, for the first time, did the Congress of the United States assume the authority, by a vote of either house, to put a veto upon the count of a State's vote. That such a rule was without constitutional warrant I cannot doubt, and I do not think I am going too far when I say that the unconstitutionality of that rule is generally admitted.”

After citing the language of the Constitution in regard to electors, Senator Bayard proceeds :

“There is nothing in this language that authorizes either house of Congress or both houses of Congress to interfere with the decision which has been made by the electors themselves and certified by them and sent to the President of the Senate. There is no pretext that for any cause whatever, Congress has any power or all the other departments of the Government have any power to refuse to receive and count the result of the action of the voters in the States in that election as certified by the electors whom they have chosen. That questions may arise whether that choice was made; that questions may arise whether that election was properly held, or whether it was a free and fair election, is undoubtedly true, but there is no machinery provided for contest and no contest seems to have been anticipated on this subject. It is *casus omissus* intentionally or otherwise upon the part of those who framed this Government, and we must take it as it is, and if there be necessity for its amendment or its supplement, that must be the action of the American people in accordance with the Constitution itself, and I am free to say that some amendment on this subject should be had; but because there is no machinery provided, no tribunal appointed by which this most important issue and contest may be decided as to who was chosen for President and Vice President in any State, that certainly does not justify Congress in assuming either by di-

rect formal claim of the power in the enactment of a law, or by adopting rules which shall give them such power as will be equivalent to the control of the subject; that is to say, a power of veto, which, under the twenty-second joint rule, is given to either house, or under the present bill is to be assumed by both houses acting together. I have been able to find and I believe that there exists no such power either for one house or both."

The above instances of unfairness and the grossest partisanship are but a few of the many which mark the whole tenor of the compilation as one gotten up entirely in the interest of the Democratic party, and with a view to putting the case in the strongest light of which it is capable for the cause of the Democrats at this time. It is safe to say that had not the circumstances been such as they are, no such volume would have been compiled and no such con-

struction given to the power of Congress over the electoral vote. But now because Mr. Tilden needs the help of such a construction in order to count him in, this array of documents and special pleadings and this current pettifogging comment upon them, which runs through the whole volume, has been paraded before the public to mislead and ensnare them.

It ought to be denounced as a most gross, unfair, and partisan trick to deceive the people and to pervert the Constitution and the law in the interest of a hungry party yearning for the spoils of office.

Let the country beware of this attempt to poison the very fountain of truth and justice, and to palm upon the nation a gross imposition under the pretense of a compilation of proceedings in regard to the Presidential count.

THE ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

Hon. Galusha A. Grow, at one time Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a gentleman of undoubted ability, has given his views in relation to the power and duty of the President of the Senate, in case the two houses fail to fix upon any concurrent mode of officially ascertaining the result of the late Presidential election. His opinion on this subject is entitled to great consideration.

We give the following extract from his article, published in the *New York Tribune* of recent date:

"The President of the Senate, as the custodian of the returns and in the receiving and opening, (and in everything that he has to do with them,) is an official created by the Constitution itself for a specific duty, and in its performance he is clearly not the presiding officer (as such) of either house or of the two houses so as to be subject to their directions in any way, except under joint rule or positive law; for he could perform the duty thus assigned him just as well at the clerk's desk as in the presiding officer's chair. The Senate, if the above view is correct, cannot by itself give any specific directions or instructions to the person who receives and opens the returns because it happens to be their presiding officer that the Constitution designates for that duty. Much less can the

House, by itself, give any instructions, for the person so designated has no connection whatever with their body.

"The President of the Senate then, when he comes with the returns to be opened and the votes to be counted, comes not as a presiding officer over either or both houses, but he comes as an independent officer of the Government to perform a duty fixed and defined by the Constitution. In the absence of any legislation or concurrent action of the two houses, what is he to do? Under such circumstances, would it be a discharge of his duty to open all the certificates and lay them on the desk in the presence of the two houses and then depart? Certainly it would be if he is only to place them in the possession of the two houses, and then they are to dispose of them by motion and simple resolution.

"In the absence of any legislation or concurrent action of the two houses, how is the mandate of the Constitution to count the votes to be executed unless it is done by the person whom the Constitution has selected to receive and open them?—especially when no one else is specifically directed to do it; and it is neither perversion of language nor forced construction for him to do it. The requirement that the certificates shall be opened in the presence of the Senate and House no more confers the power to count the votes on either house than does a law that requires an election board to conduct a precinct election in the

presence of supervisors appointed by the courts to be present confer power on said supervisors to count the votes and declare the result. Yet the board must perform that duty in the presence of the supervisors, who, however, have nothing to do with ascertaining and declaring the vote.

"What votes under this constitutional provision are to be counted? The votes cast by the electors duly authorized to cast the same by the laws of their respective States. If the power to count rests in the President of the Senate, in the absence of legislation, how is he to ascertain who are the electors duly authorized under the laws of the respective States? The same way that the President of the United States would ascertain who is the duly elected Governor of a State in granting the military aid that he is required to furnish in certain cases on the application of the executive of a State. It may be said that if the President of the Senate is to ascertain whether any person has received a majority of the votes of the whole number of electors appointed it would be clothing him with absolute power. If my view is correct, it only clothes him with the powers with which he is invested by the Constitution, and they are no greater and no more absolute than they would be in whoever must determine the result. The power is just as absolute if exercised by either house of Congress, and if there is danger that the result would be controlled by partisan spirit or prejudice, there is the same danger in either or both houses of Congress, for each is composed and made up of individual men with like passions, prejudices, and frailties with him whom the Constitution has selected for a specific act."

Hon. T. I. Coffey, of Pennsylvania, recently Assistant Attorney General of the United States, whose legal ability is well established, has also given his views in the *New York Tribune*. We have only room for the following extract from his article:

"Surprise has been expressed that the Constitution does not declare by whom the electoral votes shall be counted. The reason plainly is that the counting was intended to be nothing but a clerical computation of numbers read off from the just-opened certificates by any one whom the President of the Senate might designate. If it had been supposed that any question of acceptance or rejection of the contents of the certificates was to be raised or decided, we may safely assume that the Constitution would have intrusted the decision of such question to some other body than Congress. This is apparent from the jealousy exhibited in the convention to the

theory of a choice of a President by Congress. The whole electoral machinery was devised in hostility to that theory, and the power to elect a President was only given to the popular branch after that machinery should have failed to do its work. If it had been suggested that for any reason the House of Representatives could pronounce judgment on the appointment, organization, or validity of the votes of the electors of any State, and by refusing to allow such votes to be counted, could draw to themselves the power to elect the President, we may well suppose that careful provision would have been made against such a possibility. A power so subversive of the whole theory and working of the Constitution in the momentous matter of choosing the National Executive cannot be presumed in the absence of any word or warrant for it. If such power is to be found and exercised, we have probably seen our last election of a President by the electoral machinery. If one branch or both branches of Congress may supervise the State action in the appointment of electors, and, for reasons of their own, reject the lawfully authenticated return of such electors, Congress simply becomes a returning board of last resort, without the methods or local knowledge essential to effective investigation, and without the sense of judicial responsibility essential to just judgment. In face of the constant, strenuous, and sagacious hostility of the framers of the Constitution to a control of the choice of the Executive by the Legislative or any other department of the National Government, (except in the contingency of a failure of the States to choose,) this modern claim to such control seems monstrous."

The following argument, in favor of the right of the President of the Senate not only to count the vote but to decide which certificates shall be opened and what votes shall be counted, is from the pen of Mr. John D. Defrees, for many years the editor of the *Indiana State Journal*:

"The mode of electing a President was more maturely considered by those who made the Constitution than any other question before them. The first proposition was to make him elective by the joint action of the two houses of Congress. There were so many objections to this plan that it was abandoned. One of the principal objections to it was that a President thus elected would be but the tool of the power which had elected him, and which would lead to intrigues and corruptions destructive alike to the independence and dignity of the great office. The electoral college

method was adopted as the very best, in their opinion, that could be devised by them. The States were given by the Constitution the power 'to appoint the electors in such manner as the Legislatures thereof may direct.' Congress has no control over their appointment, nor can it in any way interfere with their action. The electoral colleges of each State are as supreme in the performance of their duty as the Congress is in the discharge of its duty. Whenever the electoral colleges of all the States confer a majority of their votes on any one man, he becomes constitutionally the President for the term of four years. From this decision there can be no appeal, because no provision has been made by the Constitution for an appeal to any supreme authority. The only way in which the House can have anything to do in making a President is when the electoral colleges shall fail to give any one man a majority of all the votes given. These views are sustained as well by Judges Story and Kent, the great expounders of the Constitution, as by the common-sense construction of that instrument. After providing for the procedure of the electors and for the certificates of the number of the votes given and for whom given, being sent to the President of the Senate, the Constitution says: 'The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates (of the electors of the several States) and the votes shall be counted, and the person having the greatest number of votes for President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, shall be President.' In commenting on this provision of the Constitution Judge Kent says: 'That the two houses are to be present only as spectators to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction, [that is, to see that the votes are correctly added up and announced,] and the House to act only if no choice be made by the electors.' Judge Story, in relation to the same provision, says: 'No provision is made (in the Constitution) for the discussion or decision of any questions which may arise as to the regularity and authenticity of the returns of the electoral vote, or to the rights of the persons who gave the votes, or the manner or circumstances in which they ought to be counted. It seems to have been taken for granted that no question would arise on the subject, and nothing more was necessary than to open the certificates by the President of the Senate in the presence of both houses, and to count the votes as returned.' It seems to me that no man understanding the English language, whether learned in the

law or not, can come to any other conclusion.

"The admitted rule for the construction of the Constitution, laid down in Judge Tucker's Commentaries on Blackstone, is 'that it shall be construed strictly in all cases where the rights of the States may be drawn in question, or are involved.' The right of a State to participate in the election of a President, and to have its electoral vote counted as cast and returned by its electors, is a constitutional right which cannot be questioned or disregarded. It cannot be deprived of this right by any act of Congress or any other power. When the Constitution says that the vote of the electors shall be counted, it is absolute and imperative.

"To accomplish partisan purposes, even strict constructionists now contend that the words, 'the votes shall be counted,' imply that they 'shall not be counted,' should objection be made by the House of Representatives; in effect, that the House has a power superior to the Constitution! This they call the doctrine of obtaining power by implication; that is, that the words 'shall be' imply 'shall not be!' As well contend that the word 'white' implies 'black;' that is, 'white' becomes 'black' by implication! To this absurdity are these expounders of the Constitution reduced! A resort to any means by either house of Congress, or by joint action, to prevent the electoral vote of a State being counted would be a usurpation, destructive of the mode established by the convention for the election of a President. Congress would then make the President, a thing which the framers of the Constitution determined it should not do, except where the electoral colleges failed, as provided for in the Constitution.

"Now, as to the recent Presidential election. It is contended by the defeated party that, inasmuch as the face of the returns of the election in Louisiana indicated that a majority of the voters of that State had voted for Mr. Tilden, therefore he should be the next President. Let us look at the facts as they exist. That State has the undoubted right "to appoint electors in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." The Legislature did direct that the question whether or not the electors were legally elected should be determined by a returning board established by law. For this purpose the board was authorized to inquire whether intimidations and frauds upon the ballot-boxes had taken place previous to or on the day of the election. If from the testimony adduced the board was convinced that such means of carrying on the election had been resorted to, they

were compelled by their oaths of office to do just what they did do. It seems from the peculiar condition of affairs in that State the Legislature thought it to be necessary and proper to give this power to the board. I shall not stop to inquire whether or not such power should have been given. That question is not to be considered. It exists, and that is the end of it. The board received the sworn testimony of a great many persons, and were convinced that such a state of facts existed as to justly demand the recognition of the election of the Republican electors. They received the proper certificates of their election, and on the day required cast their votes for Mr. Hayes for President and Mr. Wheeler for Vice President. However diversified opinions may be as to whether the returning board did right or wrong, there is no tribunal fixed by the Constitution by which its acts can be set aside or disregarded.

"The President of the Senate is the legal custodian of the returns of the electoral colleges. It is made his duty to open the certificates in the presence of the two houses of Congress, they being merely the witnesses of the transaction. The counting of the vote, about which there has been so much silly talk, is a mere clerical duty, which may be performed by the Secretary of the Senate or Clerk of the House, or any other persons capable of correctly adding up a column of figures, that may be selected for the purpose. The President of the Senate is bound to know, historically, the result of the action of the electors in each State, so as to decide between true and fictitious or false returns. For instance, were a document presented to him, purporting to be the action of an electoral college of a State, whose only evidence of its authenticity is the certificate of a person known to him to be neither the Governor nor any other officer of that State, he is under no obligation to open it. It may be said that so much discretion should not be intrusted to any officer of the Government. That is not now a debatable question. It has been intrusted to the President of the Senate by the Constitution, and to no one else. It cannot be taken from him except by an amendment of the Constitution.

"Congressional committees have been sent to examine into the circumstances attending the election in several of the Southern States. I shall only speak in regard to Louisiana. On the return of the committees from that State, some of their number may contend that the action of the returning board was right and proper; while others may pronounce it wrong and improper. A part of these committeemen

may say that such a state of facts was established by undoubted evidence, as to convince them that men, from whose fingers the blood of murdered Republicans was still dripping, had attempted to forcibly seize the helm of State. Others may say that there have been no assassinations of Republicans for political causes; no dragging of Republicans by the neck until dead, because they were Republicans; that the most perfect order reigned throughout the whole country. To this others may reply that, if so, it is the order that reigned at Warsaw when crushed beneath the iron heel of the Autocrat of Russia; the order of the tomb; the order of the funeral pile; the order which precedes the last convulsive throb of the poor colored man when engaged in commending his soul to his Maker, the victim of the merciless and brutal white fiends who murdered him because of his devotion to the Republican party. All these things may be said, and yet no power can change the action of the legally constituted electoral college of that State, nor disregard or set aside the votes cast by it.

"In 1844 the Whigs had far better reasons to believe that Mr. Polk had been elected over Mr. Clay, by fraud, than the Democrats now have reason to believe Governor Hayes to have been thus elected. The electoral colleges of the several States gave a majority of their votes for Mr. Polk and he was legally elected. The Whigs did not threaten to disregard the votes thus given, nor did they call conventions for the purpose of inciting their friends to bloody resistance to his inauguration. Their devotion to their great leader, the majestic and immortal Henry Clay, was but little short of adoration, and yet they had still greater regard for the Constitution and laws of their country, and they bowed in silent obedience to the supremacy. May we not hope that the 'second sober thought' of those who were beaten in the recent election will induce them to follow so patriotic an example?"

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A WORD OF ADVICE.—If Watterson's one hundred thousand unarmed petitioners descend upon Washington before the 4th of March, the soup-houses of the city will be bankrupt in less than twenty-four hours after their arrival. For the sake of the worthy poor we sincerely hope that the trumpet-blowers of Democracy may stay at home. If they must have some active work to keep their blood in circulation, let them get some soap and water and go at the reform movement in earnest.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DUTY.-

THE CONSTITUTION REQUIRES HIM TO COUNT THE VOTE.

THE FRAMERS OF THE INSTRUMENT EXPOUND ITS MEANING—THE RESOLUTION WHICH THEY ADOPTED FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS—NO POSSIBLE CHANCE FOR DEMOCRATIC QUIBBLING—CHANCELLOR KENT'S CONSTRUCTION OF THE LANGUAGE—THE PRECEDENTS CONCLUSIVE.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 17.]

Your columns have contained, from time to time, a very able exposition of the pending difficulty in counting and declaring the votes of the electoral colleges for President and Vice President of the United States, and I do not wonder at your deciding that the whole question has been fairly and fully presented, and, therefore, declining further communications on the subject. And yet, knowing, as you do, my long familiarity with constitutional questions, and that I have spent more than half a century in learning how to put a simple question in a manner best calculated to facilitate honest-minded but busy men in arriving at the truth, I hope you will permit me very briefly to review the requirements of the Constitution and the practice under it, as inaugurated by the very men who framed that instrument, and, of course, were the best qualified expounders of their own work.

The Constitution requires as follows :

"The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed," &c.

It will be perceived that this clause does not, in so many words, declare who shall count the votes, but the conclusion is irresistible and a legal inference, that the Vice President, who opens and declares the votes, of necessity counts them, in order that he may declare the result of the election.

On this subject the late Chancellor Kent, than whom there can be no higher authority on the legal construction of language, in his celebrated Commentaries, volume 1, page 227, says :

"The Constitution does not expressly declare by whom the votes are to be counted. In the case of questionable votes, and a closely-contested election, this power may be all-important ; and, I presume, in the absence of all legislative provision on the subject, that the President of the Senate counts the votes and determines the result, and that the houses are present only as spectators, to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction, and to act only if no choice be made by the electors."

CONCLUSIVE AUTHORITY ON THE SUBJECT.

But there exists still higher and more conclusive authority in favor of this construction of the Constitution.

After the convention had finished and ordered to be engrossed their draft of the Constitution, and, as it appears, on the very day on which Washington, as their President, transmitted it to the Congress of the Confederacy, then in session, the omission in section 3 of article 2 of that instrument, to specifically *name* the Vice President as the party who was to *count*, as well as open and declare the votes of the electoral colleges, became apparent, and they at once proceeded to remedy the omission by the passage of the following resolution, on the 17th day of September, 1787, giving their *opinion* in regard to what should be the mode of proceeding by the first Congress under the Constitution to be adopted :

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this convention that as soon as the conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution ; that after such publication the electors should be appointed and the Senators and Representatives elected ; that electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of President, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed, and directed as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled ; that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned ; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for President, and that after he shall be chosen the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute the Constitution."

By this act those who framed the Constitution virtually amended it, to gratify the scruples of those who foresaw the possibility of trouble from what might be construed into an omission ; and, consequently, an official construction was put upon their work, after it had left their hands, which made it imperative that the Vice President, or President of the Senate, should count, as well as "open" and "declare" the votes of the electoral colleges.

I might stop here, and with perfect justice declare that this official construction of their own work by the identical body who framed the Constitution, after that instrument had passed from their control, on the 17th of September, 1787, settles the whole question, and that the Constitution, in so many words, makes it the imperative duty of the President of the Senate to *"open, count, and declare who has been elected President and Vice President."*

ACTION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.

But let us inquire how the first Congress of the United States assembled under the Constitution understood and obeyed its mandate.

"In the Senate of the United States, at the first session of the first Congress, began at the City of New York, March 4, 1789. Monday, April 15. (Annals of Congress, 1st Cong., vol. 1, pp. 16-18.)

"The credentials of the members present being and ordered to be filed, the Senate proceeded, by ballot, to the choice of a President, for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for President of the United States.

"John Langdon was elected.

"Ordered, That Mr. Ellsworth inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is formed; that a President is elected for the sole purpose of opening the certificates and counting the votes of the electors of the several States in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States; and that the Senate is now ready, in the Senate chamber, to proceed, in the presence of the House, to discharge that duty; and that the Senate have appointed one of their members to sit at the Clerk's table and make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; submitting it to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of their members for the like purpose.

"Mr. Ellsworth reported that he had delivered the message, and Mr. Boudinot, from the House of Representatives, informed the Senate that the House is ready forthwith to meet them to attend the opening and counting of the votes of the electors of the President and Vice President of the United States.

"The Speaker and the members of the House of Representatives attended in the Senate chamber, and the President elected for the purpose of counting the votes declared that the Senate and House of Representatives had met, and that he, in their presence, had opened and counted the votes of the electors for President and Vice President of the United States, which were as follows: * * *

"Whereby it appeared that George Washington, Esq., was elected President, and John Adams, Esq., Vice President of the United States of America.

"Mr. Madison, from the House of Representatives, thus addressed the Senate:

"Mr. President: I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that the House have agreed that the notifications of the election of the President and of the Vice President of the United States should be made by such persons, and in such manner, as the Senate shall be pleased to direct."

To this action of the Senate the response of the House was as follows:

"In House of Representatives, Monday, Feb. 11, 1793. (Annals of Congress, 2d Cong., p. 573.)

"Mr. William Smith, from the committee appointed on the part of the House, jointly with a committee appointed on the part of the Senate, to ascertain and report a mode of examining the votes for President and Vice President of the United

States, and for other purposes expressed in the resolution of the 5th instant, made a report, which was twice read and agreed to by the House, as follows:

"That the two houses shall assemble in the Senate chamber on Wednesday next, at 12 o'clock; that two persons be appointed tellers on the part of this House to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; that the result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote and the persons elected, to both houses assembled, as aforesaid; which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the Journal of the two houses."

It will thus be perceived that the Senate of the United States at their first session under the Constitution obeyed implicitly the official construction placed upon that instrument on the 17th of September, 1787, by the very body that framed it, and that their first official act was, "to proceed by ballot to the choice of a President, for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for President of the United States."

Their second official act was to inform the House of Representatives that they had elected a President "for the sole purpose of opening the certificates and counting the votes of the electors of the several States in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States;" that they are ready to receive the House in the Senate chamber; and also, that they have appointed one of their members—to do what? "To sit at the Clerk's table to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared—submitting to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of their members for the like purpose."

Mark the fact, that the House is not asked or required also to appoint a teller or tellers as a matter of duty or of importance, implying that they have official and constitutional duties to discharge, but expressly declaring that they are only "to sit at the Clerk's table, to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared;" and that the House may or may not, at their pleasure, appoint one or more of their members for the same purpose, and none other.

How ridiculous, then, the attempt to make the tellers important official persons, who have grave and responsible constitutional duties to perform, when in fact they have their origin in a simple act of courtesy on the part of the Senate to the House, and by that body so considered and accepted. The Constitution simply required the presence of the two houses to witness the performance of his constitutional duties by the President of the Senate, but gives neither house of Congress any power over the President of the Senate in the performance of his prescribed duty. The Senate, however, advised the President to notify the Vice

President of his election, prescribing the form of the notification to be used, in which the President of the Senate is made to say: "The undersigned, President of the Senate, did, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and count all the votes for President and Vice President," &c.

THE PROCEEDINGS IN LATER CONGRESSES.

The proceedings at the second and third elections of President and Vice President were in all respects similar to the proceedings at the first election of President, except that at the third election the House of Representatives made an abortive attempt to interfere with the rights of the Senate, and the duties of their President in certifying to the Vice President the fact of his election according to the terms of the Constitution, and in the words of the convention which framed that instrument. This attempt, under the inspiration of the democracy, who had got possession of the House, was speciously covered up by a resolution that the President of the United States, and not the President of the Senate, should hereafter notify the Vice President of his election. The Senate discovered the game of the democracy, and promptly took action as follows:

"In Senate, Feb. 10, 1797.

"Mr. Sedgwick, from the Committee of Conference above mentioned, reported that the following resolution should be adopted by the House of Representatives:

"*Resolved*, That the notification of the election of Vice President elect be made by such person and in such manner as the Senate may direct.

"On motion [from the House of Representatives] that it be—

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate (in such manner as he shall judge most proper) to the person elected Vice President of the United States, for the term of four years to commence 4th day of March next, information of his said election.

"It passed in the negative.

"*Ordered*, That the resolution this day agreed to by the House of Representatives, relative to the notification of the election of the Vice President elect, be referred to Messrs. Mason, Hillhouse, and Sedgwick, to consider and report thereon to the Senate.

"Mr. Mason reported from the committee last appointed, and the report being read, was amended and adopted as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be transmitted to Thomas Jefferson, Esq., of Virginia, Vice President elect of the United States, notification of his election to that office, and that the President of the Senate do make out and sign a certificate in the words following:

"Be it known, that the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, being convened in the City of Philadelphia, on the second Wednesday of February, in the year of our Lord 1797, the undersigned Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate did, in the presence of the said Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and count all the votes of the electors for a President and for a Vice President, by which it appears that Thomas Jefferson, Esq., was duly elected, agree-

ably to the Constitution, Vice President of the United States of America.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 10th day of February, 1797.

"JOHN ADAMS.

"*Ordered*, That the Secretary lay this resolution before the President of the United States."

And precisely similar certificates by the President of the Senate, declaring in every case that he, the President of the Senate, had opened and counted all the votes, were issued in 1789, 1793, 1797, 1801, 1805, 1809, 1813, and 1817; and it was only in 1821, when the House of Representatives claimed to discuss the electoral vote of Missouri, that the Senate ceased to exercise its right to issue a certificate, setting forth that its President had exercised his constitutional duty to open the certificates and count the votes of the electoral colleges and declare the result.

In 1801 occurred the difficulty between Jefferson and Burr under the Constitution as it was originally framed—each claiming the Presidency. Consequently, the two houses of Congress passed, and in 1804 the several States adopted, the twelfth amendment of the Constitution, which is now in force, and under which the recent Presidential election took place. And on reference to that amendment it will be perceived that, so far as the opening the certificates and counting the electoral votes are concerned, both Congress and the people, through their State Legislatures, adhered to the identical language of the Constitution of 1787. That is to say, the amendment, as well as the article amended, directs that "the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted."

And why was this? Because the convention which framed the Constitution, on the 17th of September, 1787, after that instrument had been engrossed and was in the hands of their President, George Washington, to be laid before the Congress of the Confederacy, passed a resolution, construing article 11, section 23, of the Constitution, and directing the President of the Senate to count the votes, as well as open the certificates, of the electoral colleges, and declare who was elected President. And also, because the full meaning of article 11 had been declared by the practice of the Senate, its President, and the House of Representatives, in the election of George Washington, in 1789 and 1793, of John Adams in 1797, and of Thomas Jefferson in 1801.

THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION ITS BEST EXPOUNDERS.

No intelligent person who claims to be honest will pretend to deny that those who

framed the Constitution were the best expounders of its meaning, and the convention which framed that instrument, on the very day of its adjournment, Sept. 17, 1787, gave their explanation of the meaning of article 11 in their recommendation to the first Congress to assemble under it, how to proceed. Congress obeyed that recommendation in 1789, 1793 and 1797, and when, in 1801, the House of Representatives presumed to interfere with the action of the Senate, it promptly rebuked that body, and ordered the President of the Senate to certify to Mr. Jefferson that he, the President of the Senate, had, "in presence of both Houses of Congress, opened all the certificates, and counted all the votes of the electors for President and Vice President," and that Thomas Jefferson, Esq., was duly elected Vice President of the United States; and the House of Representatives submitted to the rebuke, and promptly repealed its resolution depriving the President of the Senate of his constitutional right and conferring it upon the President of the United States!

And from that time until 1821 the Senate never failed to order its President to issue to any Vice President elect a certificate, similar in all respects to that issued by John Adams to Thomas Jefferson.

I have thus, Mr. Editor, demonstrated to you and your readers that, by the Constitution, it is made the duty of the President of the Senate to open the certificates and count the votes of the electoral colleges. I have shown you that the convention which framed the Constitution so construed that instrument, and that they ordered the first Congress so to construe it. I have demonstrated to you, from Congressional records, that they and their successors did so construe it; and I have shown beyond cavil that such construction was in accordance with public opinion and the opinion of the framers of the Constitution, who, as members of Congress, were called upon to construe its provisions when it first went into operation. And I cannot better conclude than by quoting the following extract from the leading Democratic journal of this city, when claiming, and doubtless believing, because it had been so told that all precedents are in favor of the Democratic assumptions:

"The existing forms [the twenty-second joint rule] originated and have expanded under notions of propriety and courtesy. They are of no obligation whatever and have no force. Abused as many of them have been in the sense of centralizing power around the President, and investing him with attributes never contemplated by the Constitution, it might be well now to return to the plain modes of the fathers."

You will perceive that I have made no allusions to the Oregon trick to give Mr.

Tilden an electoral vote. I have not done so, simply because it is quite unworthy of reference, except to denounce it as a disgrace to all concerned, and because I do not believe there is an honest Democrat in Congress who, if elected President of the Senate, would deem it possible to open and count the Grover-Cronin Oregon fraudulent certificate of the action of the electoral college of the State of Oregon.

JAMES WATSON WEBB.

KENT ON THE ELECTORAL VOTE.—Fernando Wood may be an expounder of the Constitution but he has not been recognized as authority in any respectable courts as yet. On a disputed point Chancellor Kent ought to be entitled to more weight than the man who, in 1861, advised the city of New York to secede from the State and the Union and set up a little empire of its own.

Kent, in his learned treatise commenting on the power of the Vice President to open and count the electoral vote, says:

"The Constitution does not expressly declare *by whom* the votes are to be counted and the result declared. In the case of questionable votes and a closely-contested election this power may be all-important, and I presume, in the absence of all legislative provision on the subject, the President of the Senate counts the votes and determines the result, and that the two houses are present only as spectators, to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction, and to act only if no choice is made by the electors."

If the Vice President was a Democrat instead of a Republican, this opinion would be, among Democrats, as strong and binding as if it was a clause of the Constitution itself.

SNEERING AT LABOR.—One of the kid-gloved fire-eaters of the South in a revolutionary speech delivered at the 8th of January pow-wow in Washington, tried to belittle Vice President Ferry by calling him a "lumberman from Michigan." It would be well for these high-toned gentlemen who despise honest labor to remember that the American people are as willing to have the constitutional functions of the Vice President exercised by a "lumberman from Michigan" as any one else. All the people ask is that the duties of the office be honestly and faithfully performed.

MEASURES AWAITING THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION.

The effort of President Grant to secure to the United States the island of St. Domingo, although unsuccessful, will yet be recognized as an act of statesmanship second to none in his wise and patriotic administration. Already regrets are being expressed at the loss of that golden opportunity for our country's aggrandizement. That able, independent paper, the *Graphic*, comments on the President's last message in the following statesmanlike style:

"The references in the President's message to the St. Domingo matter deserve the candid consideration of the American people. The policy which has obtained since the foundation of the Republic of focalizing all our political interests upon domestic concerns has, in the opinions of enlightened publicists, tended to belittle our national contests. Nations require a foreign policy, an interest in and sometimes alliances with the outside world. The habit of discussing and influencing other nations is profitable to all governments powerful enough to command respect. William H. Seward was the first of our statesmen who took measures to give this country its proper *status* among the Powers of the earth. His purchase of Alaska, his skillful negotiation for the island of St. Thomas, his desire to establish a protectorate over the Sandwich Islands, and to obtain naval stations in the Mediterranean and the Chinese seas, showed that he thought the time at hand for the United States to have colonies, a navy, and a foreign policy. The embarrassments we suffered during the civil war merely because England possessed important islands on our coast ought to have taught us the necessity of naval stations for shelter, and to furnish facilities for offense and defense. Yet President Grant stands almost alone among present statesmen in inheriting the broader international statesmanship of which the late Mr. Seward was a champion, and his earnest endeavor to secure the island of St. Domingo, which met with such strenuous opposition from conspicuous Republicans, was a wise and far-sighted act, and it will reflect increased honor upon his name as the years go by. It must be confessed that the Senators who opposed and defeated the accession of the island reflected the stay-at-home temper of the American people; but the President was clearly right and the American people just as clearly wrong. Some time, perhaps,

during the coming decade, they will see and acknowledge the creditable foresight of the President and Mr. Seward. We can never have a large politics in this country till we have larger themes to occupy public attention. Our political contests are narrow and mean because they concern ourselves alone. The nation, like the individual, shrivels if it destroys all foreign sympathies and endeavors to live wholly within itself."

The acquisition of territory by the United States, since the formation of the Constitution, has been in every instance highly advantageous to the country and reflected honor on the statesmen who secured it.

The first and most notable instance was the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. There is no brighter page in the history of Jefferson's administration than that which records this great event. In the Capitol stands the statue of Robert R. Livingston, holding in his hand a scroll inscribed "Louisiana." It was the skillful diplomacy of Livingston that gave effect to this transcendent measure and secured to him immortal renown. If the newspapers of that day are examined, there will be found a similar style of opposition to President Jefferson's course in this matter to that we have seen manifested toward Grant's endeavors to acquire St. Domingo. Probably, Jefferson had also to contend with jealousies in his Cabinet and in the Senate, in carrying out the project, no less than Grant.

Credit is due, however, in the matter, more to Livingston than to Jefferson. The former was an accomplished diplomatist. He managed to bring the subject directly to Bonaparte's personal notice without the intervention of a minister. Livingston was asked to make an offer for the whole of Louisiana, which then embraced nearly all the territory now included in the United States west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains. Livingston at first offered ten millions of dollars; Bonaparte suggested twenty millions; the final agreement was fifteen millions of dollars, including the payment, by our Government, of certain claims against France held by citi-

zens of the United States. Jefferson could not very heartily approve of this negotiation on account of his strict construction of the Constitution. He nevertheless overcame his scruples, and gave his official sanction to the measure. This was our first step toward becoming a nation.

The acquisition of Florida in 1819 was the fruit of the splendid diplomacy of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under Monroe. The present State of Florida was but a small part of the territory, and the advantages acquired by the United States under Mr. Adams' treaty. The acquisition extended to the Red river, to the Arkansas river, and from its head along the 42d line of north latitude to the Pacific ocean, in settlement of disputed boundaries. Although we had acquired Louisiana from France, Spain still held the Floridas, and Cuba—the Keys of the Mississippi—until John Quincy Adams, in his war upon the "Colonial System," wrested Florida from foreign dominion, thus securing the moral and commercial independence of the United States.

Oregon we acquired by discovery and occupation; Texas by voluntary annexation; while California, New Mexico and Utah came to us as the results of war. Our latest acquisition, Alaska, is scarcely less important than some of the previous ones. It was needed to give us control of the Pacific coast and to enable us to negotiate a favorable treaty with China. The cost is being rapidly returned to our treasury from the revenue derived from furs alone. China expects some day to receive large quantities of lumber from Alaska.* We have only to look on the map and to suppose that England had acquired Alaska to realize its vital importance to the United States. Her British Majesty has now but a few miles of coast on the Pacific, she would then have had thousands. British Columbia and Lower California are still needed to complete our possessions on the Pacific Ocean. Then we shall be separated

*It is for the interest of those who are now reaping a rich harvest from the fur products of Alaska to disparage the territory—to prevent its colonization—and thus retain the monopoly they now legally enjoy.

from the Old World on the West, as on the East, only by an ocean!

During the Revolutionary war the ports and harbors of the West India Islands were used by our enemy greatly to our damage, and in the war of 1812 we suffered no less from the same cause. Everybody knows how these ports and harbors were more recently occupied by the Confederates and their friends to thwart our efforts to subdue the rebellion. It was because the Federal Government had no foothold in those islands that the rebels and their allies were able to so seriously devastate and injure our commerce.

There was during the late war a universal feeling in the Government and among the people that we needed, beyond estimate, a naval out-post between the Atlantic coast and Europe. To obtain now, in time of peace, such an out-post peacefully and lawfully is the imperative duty of statesmen. So obvious and pressing is this duty to guard our coast against any transatlantic or other enemy that we forbear to urge the commercial considerations that press upon us. There are also political reasons of great weight why we should no longer hinder and delay our manifest destiny in this direction.

Among the last and most important acts of President Grant was to submit to Congress a report of the survey for a canal across the Isthmus. This project of connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has long claimed the attention of statesmen. The need and value of such a work are more apparent than the advantages derived from the famous Suez canal, recently completed. The latter is no more important to Great Britain and the Indies than is the former to the United States and the trade of the Pacific coast, Japan, and China. In regard to the political effects of the enterprise it was long since predicted that whatever naval power obtained control of the Darien or Panama canal would derive a vast increase of political strength from the possession. Secretary Seward in his efforts to secure by treaty this great political advantage saw also its transcendent importance to our commerce. He went to New York specially

to engage its capitalists and merchants in the work. He met there, at the house of Peter Cooper, such men as Roberts, Duncan, Schell, Garrison, and others, to whom he unfolded the scheme in its relations to trade and commerce.

President Grant has not allowed the enterprise to die out, but with that sagacious statesmanship which has marked his administration, he has caused the surveys of the route to be completed. The result has been reported to Congress and is highly encouraging as to the feasibility of the project. It is not necessary to dwell on the commercial advantages of this great work. By it the products of Japan and China may

be brought to our Atlantic cities in about the same time as now required, *via* the Pacific railroad, and at half the cost. Great Britain, with wonderful sagacity, obtained control of the Suez canal, and shall the United States allow a greater prize to be lost? The possession of islands in the Carribean sea and in the Pacific ocean by our Government would make the control of the Isthmus canal a matter of political and commercial necessity. It would be a discredit to our national reputation for sagacity if we should allow minor questions and disputes to hinder and delay any of these great national enterprises.

SENATORIAL SUGGESTIONS.

It has been published far and wide that a distinguished Republican statesman has been expressing the opinion that it will be for the best interest of the Republican party to have Tilden inaugurated, because during the four years of his administration the people will become so disgusted with democracy that they will have no more of it forever. We do not credit any Republican Senator with holding such nonsense, much less with having given utterance to it. Mrs. O'Flaherty, who wanted her boys to catch the itch when young, so that during the rest of their lives they might be induced to be careful of the infection, was a much better philosopher than the statesman in question, if such a one there be. The old idea of letting the devil in for the purpose of kicking him out instead of keeping him out altogether, has not yet been accepted as evidence of very great wisdom on the part of the select body of individuals who hold it, by the rest of mankind; and if we have a Senator who really has manifested wisdom in this form, his constituents will no doubt be very thankful that his name has been carefully suppressed.

The Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* informs the public that he has talked with a Democratic Senator, and "singularly enough" the Democrat holds precisely the same opinion concerning the

effect of the inauguration of Hayes upon the Democratic party—that it would be beneficial. So both parties regard the triumph of their opponents as a very desirable thing to be achieved. The correspondent does not say that the Republican Senator voted for Tilden, or the Democratic Senator for Hayes—probably their great illumination did not dawn upon their illustrious minds until after election day had gone by, and hence they were saved the mortification of advocating before the people the preposterous proposition that a cause is more likely to prosper in the hands of its enemies than in the hands of its friends.

It is not to be disguised that in the course of history the injudicious conduct of Satan has at times seemed to advance the cause of righteousness. That is one thing; but it is quite another thing to work and pray for a period of Satanic rule in order to hurry up the millennium. There have been instances in history where infants have been suckled to advantage by wolves, but it is not yet fully established that it is the safest way for the perpetuation of the human race to intrust the care of the rising generation to that mode of physical culture and sustenance.

The case of the Democratic Senator differs from the Republican in a very impor-

tant respect, which must be noticed before proceeding further. He sees that the advent of Tilden would bring down upon the administration a horde of office-seekers of unparalleled greediness, composed largely of the dangerous classes of society, who have fought in the late campaign solely for booty, and whose claims cannot be denied or resisted. If they are not given the offices they have been promised, they will go back on the party, for most of them are not in a condition to wait longer, and it is a case of "now or never," and denial is death to the party. The applicants will be millions; the places hundreds, so that denials must come, and disappointment must be the rule. On the other hand, those who will get places will be largely unfit, as was the case when the offices of the House were filled by the hungry crew which came swooping in on the opening of the present Congress and alighted on the fat lands and rich gardens of the southerly wing of the National Capitol, so much to the national disgust and mortification.

That a Democratic Congressman fully realizes the danger of his party in this direction is not to be expected, but no one who saw the make-up of the body of aspirants who infested Washington last year and who had to submit to the levy of personal contribution to a fund for the purpose of ridding the city of the presence of no inconsiderable a portion of these excessively hopeful patriots, will ever after fail to include them as an element in the chances of successful administration of a highly dangerous character and fearful proportions.

In view, moreover, of the capacity conspicuously lacking in the present House to manage affairs and meet the public expectation, a Democratic Senator might well say that the election of Hayes would avert most of the damage which the party would have to shoulder if Tilden comes in and endeavors to carry on the Government with assistants and coadjutors so wanting in common sense and so addicted to the error of confounding makeshifts with statesmanship. And beyond all this the Democratic Senator must be aware that generally speaking the present Democratic House is

composed largely of its best brain and moral composition. Its most experienced and ablest men are in the van. Cox, Wood, Randall, Knott, Hurd, Tucker, and Reagan, to say nothing of Springer, Harrison, and Tarbox, are the *élite* of the Democratic aristocracy, and if there should be a falling back from them, the very next strata in the geological formation is composed of that other set of whom John Morrissey is a leader and representative, and Cronin and Grover are disciples and dupes.

Against this contemplated catastrophe, of falling back on the reserves, the Senator feels there is no protection whatever, save the supposed common sense and power of management of Tilden himself; and since the tracing of that \$8,000 check from far-off Oregon to the rooms of the Liberty Street Bureau, the sagacity of Uncle Sammy has in public estimation descended to very near the level of his moral honesty; which appears to be on the same plane as that of the slippery thimble-riggers of the northern coast of the Pacific.

It will thus be readily seen that the Democrat is not without just reasons for thinking that the welfare and good name of his party are dependent upon its being kept at a safe distance from the responsibilities of power and the temptations of place. So long as its wisdom is merely hypothetical, and the fools are not all dead, it will not be utterly without reputation or numbers. As a home for the uneasy, and a refuge for the disgruntled and disappointed politician, and as the prospective haven for the hermaphrodite class who glory in the exceedingly ambiguous title of Independent, the Democratic party out of power has an important use, and the desire to have it kept where it now is should be commended and encouraged by all true patriots and citizens.

The Republican Senator is governed in opinion by considerations of precisely the opposite nature. He clings to an old delusion that "the devil given a certain quantity of rope will hang himself," and benevolently proposes to dispose of the Democratic party by this ancient method, forgetting that the theory always breaks down at the point where the supply of rope gives

out; and it always gives out. The theory presupposes that the nature of the Democratic party is not known, and that to comprehend and appreciate it, four years of Tilden are necessary. The assumption is gratuitous. It is not necessary—we beg the Senator's pardon—to go clean to the bottom of a cesspool to ascertain that its contents are foul. Haven't we had four years of Pierce, four of Buchanan, rebellion, war, assassination, Kuklux, and all sorts of damnable things as the result of Democratic rule? The spoils system, which is so alarming to the civil-service reformers, to Trumbull and the *New York Nation*, and the Adamses and Samuel Bowles, was a pure Democratic invention. Repudiation has never been advocated outside of the Democratic ranks. Nobody but Democrats is in favor of paying rebel war claims. The Democratic party alone is opposed to registration and proper safeguards against fraud in elections. The shot-gun policy is of pure Democratic origin, so is intimidation, so is the Oregon method of stealing votes; and must we have Tilden on top of all these things to prove Democracy an undesirable thing?

It is to be hoped that no Republican Senator has got bewildered by any nonsense of this kind. If a Democrat can see in the election and administration of Hayes that his party will be saved from the commission of tremendous malpractices, and restrained from making deadly assaults upon the Constitution and liberty, and the cause of order and good government, it is difficult to think that a Republican can be blind to the possible glories which the administration of Hayes will inaugurate, and the material benefits it must secure to the people at large. The advent of the Republican party to power was the dawn of a new era, and was so recognized by the friends of slavery, and the advocates of disunion. From both these evils it saved the country, and endeavored to establish on a permanent basis, union, freedom, and equal rights. A little of Tilden is not essential by way of contrast. Memories of Buchanan and recollections of Jeff Davis are still too fresh to require any other illustrations of the spirit of evil. The country is surfeited

already with that kind of aliment. The Constitution is strong, but it may not bear everything. The proposition of experimenting four years with rehabilitated Democracy is staggering in the extreme, and we hope the Republican Senator will not further distinguish himself by urging his peculiar opinion upon the attention of his fellow-men. The Democrat may continue.

GOOD EVIDENCE.—John Adams is supposed to have known something about the Constitution. He was Vice President and presiding officer to count the vote, and he signed a certificate in 1797, acting then as Vice President and as President of the Senate, that he had opened the certificates and counted the votes.

Thomas Jefferson, the father of the democracy as it is claimed—and it is astonishing that those who claim to be his children should deny and go back upon his early teachings in regard to the rights of the States—in 1801 signed a certificate in which he stated—

“That * * * on the second Wednesday of February, A. D. 1801, the underwritten, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate, did, in the presence of the said Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and count all the votes of the electors for President. * * *

“In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 18th day of February, 1801. “THOMAS JEFFERSON.”

DEMOCRATIC ASSUMPTION.—The world moves! But yesterday it was Cæsarism to protect a State Legislature from the attacks of an armed mob; to-day, democracy claims the right to arrest the officials of a State, because they refuse to surrender to a House Committee the official records of the State. If the returning board of Louisiana can be arrested, its Legislature can. Shades of Calhoun! and this assumption comes from a party that has opposed centralization, and denied the right of the Federal Government to extend the arm of protection over its persecuted citizens in the South. Let us hear no more about the unconstitutional enforcement acts of the Radical party.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

WHO SHALL DECLARE THE RESULT OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE?

A CLEAR EXPOSITION BY MR. E. W. STOUGHTON OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES AND PRECEDENTS—DEMOCRATIC ABSURDITIES EXAMINED AND EXPOSED—A QUESTION WHICH CAN BE SETTLED NEITHER BY BARGAIN NOR COMPROMISE.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 6.]

The people of the several States have, in pursuance of the Constitution, cast their votes for electors, who have discharged their duty by casting and certifying their votes for President and Vice President of the United States. Those two great officers are now actually elected. To ascertain who they are, the electoral votes of the several States must be counted and the result declared; and for the first time in our history the nation is agitated by the inquiry, upon whom does this duty devolve?

Is it to be performed by the President of the Senate, or by such persons or officials as that body and the House of Representatives shall agree upon; and if they cannot agree, are the votes to be counted at all, and if yea, by whom; and if not counted because of a failure to agree, is the House to elect the President, or is a new election to be ordered—to be attended, perhaps, by the same result; and if the two Houses do agree upon a mode of counting, may either at pleasure constitutionally object to counting the electoral votes of a State, and thus exclude them? for if this may be lawfully done, an election of President and Vice President can always be prevented, and the election of President be finally usurped by the House, or a new election made necessary with possibly the same result as before. These are grave questions, thrust upon us at this crisis, and Democratic leaders have threatened, as I am told, that if the President of the Senate shall proceed to count the electoral votes, the House will withdraw from the scene, elect Mr. Tilden President, and, by armed bands, now it is said being organized, will maintain his right to that great office by force. I attach but little consequence to these threats. They are made at the North by the same men who boasted in 1861 that they would prevent radical Republicans from marching South to subdue the rebellion; and these persons will hereafter, as then, cease to bluster when confronted by actual danger. Their Southern allies will hardly trust again to treasonable promises, and we may therefore reasonably expect that these threatenings will continue only so long as there is hope

that the Republican party will abandon its constitutional right to inaugurate Governor Hayes—already legally elected as President of the United States.

But while intelligent men of but moderate courage will not be intimidated by threats of another rebellion, justice, policy, and common sense alike demand that the questions raised be solved in the light of law and the Constitution, and for this purpose I venture to make some suggestions.

THE DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

It was said by Chancellor Kent, a great authority, that although the Constitution does not expressly declare by whom the votes are to be counted, he presumed "in the absence of all legislative provisions on the subject, the President of the Senate counts the votes and determines the result, and that the two Houses are present merely as spectators to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction." There was not when he thus wrote—there is not now—there never has been, as I believe, any legislative provisions whatever on the subject of counting the electoral vote. His opinion was based upon that provision of the Constitution which declares that electors appointed by the several States "shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;" and in reaching this conclusion the Chancellor was guided not only by rules of construction, by him profoundly studied, applicable to the interpretation of all written instruments, but by a practice originating with the framers of our Constitution. I shall briefly inquire what construction may fairly be put upon the provision in question; what would be the result of that now insisted upon by many able and learned men who decline to adopt

that suggested by Chancellor Kent, and what has been the practice hitherto in counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President, from all of which the common sense of the nation will, as I think, recognize the wisdom of his opinion.

THE DEMOCRATIC VIEW.

It is urged by those who dissent from this, and especially by Democratic leaders, that the President of the Senate is not by the Constitution empowered to open and count the electoral votes. They admit he may open the certificates containing them, but insist that there his functions cease. In other words, his power, it is said, begins and ends with breaking the seals of the packages—a duty which a clerk or office boy might as well perform; and when this is done it is said the certificates and votes must be handed over to the Senate and House for further action; and right here the embarrassment begins. Bear in mind that there is no legislation on this subject, and therefore there is no particular member of Senate or House to whom, under the Constitution and laws, the unsealed packages may be confided. If it be said the two Houses may agree upon a mode of counting the votes, and upon the person by whom they are to be counted, I answer they cannot be compelled so to do. Already this difficulty is impending, and it is hardly probable the House committee will consent to a plan which will not enable the House of Representatives arbitrarily to reject the vote of one or more States and thus insure the election of Mr. Tilden. If, therefore, no agreement is reached, what, upon this theory, is to be done with the electoral votes? They cannot, it is urged, be counted, and hence another election must be ordered; for if no count whatever takes place it will hardly be contended the House of Representatives may elect.

I will state some consequences which may practically follow this doctrine. It is based upon the theory that the Senate and House must, as a preliminary to any count whatever, agree upon the mode of so doing, and that either may at pleasure, and with or without cause, arbitrarily object to counting the vote of any particular State, in which event it is to be rejected. If that be so either body can at will defeat an election by the people. So, too, it is insisted that should the President of the Senate proceed to count the electoral vote, he can do so only in presence of both Houses, and that, should the House of Representatives retire—as has been threatened—the count cannot proceed, and thus the will of the people may be frustrated.

These are some of the revolutionary proceedings which have been suggested by

Democratic leaders to defeat the inauguration of Mr. Hayes as President. They are hardly worthy of statesmen, and, if attempted, are not likely to prove successful.

This theory may be summed up as follows: If the two Houses cannot agree upon a mode of counting the electoral vote, it cannot be counted. If a mode is agreed upon, and the count proceeds, it is in the power of the House of Representatives or of the Senate, by objecting to the vote of any State, to cause its rejection; and if, in the absence of such agreement, the President of the Senate attempts to count the vote, the objection suggested may not only be interposed, but the House of Representatives may, by retiring, defeat the count altogether.

THE ABSURDITY OF IT.

Now, if these measures may be lawfully resorted to, it is because they are authorized by the Constitution, for, as there is no legislation on the subject, we must resort to that instrument to learn what may be legally done. Let us, as a test, incorporate into it the construction contended for, and thus learn whether its framers probably contemplated one so utterly impracticable. It is but fair to do this, for whatever language is necessarily employed to interpret an instrument becomes a part of it.

The Constitution thus interpreted would therefore read: "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted—if the two Houses can agree upon a mode of counting the same, but not otherwise; provided, however, that if either House shall object to counting the electoral vote of any State, it shall not be counted; and provided also, that if the President of the Senate shall, after opening the packages containing said votes, proceed to count the same, the House of Representatives may retire, and thus prevent him from so doing."

If I have in this paraphrase of the Constitution misrepresented the theory, when reduced to practice, of those who deny the right of the President of the Senate, in the absence of legislation, to count the electoral vote, they can easily correct me—as, perhaps, they may feel disposed to do, when they perceive to what consequences their doctrine inevitably leads. If they shall decline to accept as their own the construction I have stated, they should frankly and publicly avow what their doctrine actually is, that the people of the United States may know whether those who insist that Mr. Tilden is elected do or do not claim that the House of Represent-

atives may at will, in one of the modes suggested, arbitrarily prevent the counting of the electoral vote.

THE TRUE INTENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

It has been for generations wisely and justly settled that when the meaning of words employed in any written constitution, law, or instrument is doubtful, the construction put upon the words by those whose duty it is and has been to interpret and act under the instrument, is entitled to great weight, and is frequently decisive; and especially is this so where a contrary interpretation would operate unjustly or cause great public or private inconvenience or injury. I have mentioned the grave national evils which might at the pleasure of either Senate or House of Representatives ensue from construing the Constitution as suggested, and before proceeding to invoke the construction practically put upon it by its framers, and as I understand it for a long time by both Houses, not inconsistent with the opinion of Chancellor Kent, I will present a few observations to test its soundness.

It is well for this purpose to state the estimate undoubtedly formed by those who framed the Constitution, of the character, wisdom, and attainments of the person who would probably thereafter be selected to fill the great office of Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate. It was by them regarded as an office of much dignity and honor—the incumbent of which might, and several times did, become President of the United States. Our fathers could not have supposed he would lack the integrity, capacity, and learning necessary for the faithful discharge of the responsible duties which might devolve upon him, and they certainly could not have regarded that of opening and counting electoral votes in the presence of and subject to the inspection of the Representatives of the nation, as of greater difficulty and importance than those which he might be called upon to perform as President of the Senate, and especially as the possible President of the United States.

He was to be in their esteem a great and highly honored magistrate, beyond suspicion of unfairness, whose every official act was to be performed in the presence of a free, intelligent, and independent people, upon whose judgment his fame would forever rest.

Consider now the nature of the duty involved in receiving, opening, and counting electoral votes; and whether the framers of the Constitution could have considered it one demanding capacity, integrity, or learning beyond that which they might

fairly assume would be possessed by the second magistrate of the nation.

To him was confided the duty of receiving and safely keeping the electoral votes in their sealed packages until they were to be opened in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives and counted. It was eminently fitting that this solemn ceremony should be so performed that the whole nation might by its representatives be, in the language of Chancellor Kent, “spectators to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction.”

STATE ACTION CONCLUSIVE.

It should be borne in mind that each State was by the Constitution to appoint electors in such manner as the legislature thereof might direct, and hence the only duty which could devolve upon the Vice President would be that of determining—not whether a State was in such relation to the Union as to entitle it to participate in the election of President and Vice President—for that was and is a political question to be determined by Congress or the Executive, but whether the certificates to be opened contained electoral votes which should be counted. With the justice or propriety of the laws of the several States prescribing or regulating the mode of appointing electors, neither the Vice President nor Congress could interfere, for this was a subject over which each State had supreme and exclusive jurisdiction. Thus if the State of New York or Louisiana should provide that electors should be appointed by the sheriff of any particular county or parish instead of by the votes of the people, electors so appointed would be entitled to cast their votes for President or Vice President; and should the statute of New York authorize them to be elected by the people and create a returning board authorized in its discretion, and without appeal, to reject the votes of any ward, township, or county where fraud or violence by the successful party had prevented a fair election, the decision of such board upon the question would be conclusive; and its determination as to the number of votes lawfully cast and the persons appointed electors final. And should a committee of Congress be appointed in such case to inquire as to the alleged fraud or violence, or as to the proof upon which the board acted, a sensible and law-abiding citizen would naturally inquire of the committee the purpose to be accomplished by its investigation, and of the House what action it intended to take when its committee should report. And if some one or more of its number should suggest that it was thought the committee might learn that the weight of testimony before the

board was against its conclusion, he would, if so ignorant as to suppose this to be a cause for disturbing its decision, be told—should he chance to encounter a person of some intelligence—that courts of justice and jurors frequently decide against the preponderance of proof, but that their judgments and verdicts must stand until set aside by competent tribunals; and the zealous member would doubtless be also told that Congress has no jurisdiction to set aside the decision of a State returning board because it might have obtained further proof, or because the evidence before it would have justified a different conclusion. Those who are familiar with the proof which was before the returning board of Louisiana, and those acquainted with that already taken there by the Committees of the Senate and House, are aware that the evidence before the board warranted its conclusion, and that the testimony since taken tends only to confirm its accuracy and justice. But if this were otherwise, as the board heard competent testimony on both sides, its decision within its jurisdiction must stand, although the House or its committee might think the weight of proof against it. I allude to the absolute power of the several States to appoint electors in any mode they see fit to adopt, and to the incapacity of Congress to meddle with the subject, only to show that the duty of the President of the Senate to open the certificates, ascertain their validity, and the votes to be counted, is mainly ministerial, and involves no serious judicial inquiry. It was not, it is fairly to be presumed, in the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution that certificates or votes would be forged, or that the ascertainment of those to be counted would be difficult. It was of course known that the Vice President would belong to one of the political parties, but it was not supposed this would disqualify him to act fairly and as should become his high and responsible position. If it be said that the present emergency was not anticipated by those who framed and adopted the Constitution, I answer that while the duty which might devolve upon the President of the Senate, of deciding between the honest vote of Oregon and the disgraceful and fraudulent vote manufactured by Cronin and Governor Grover—between the vote of Louisiana as finally determined by the returning board and that manufactured and forwarded to Washington by persons having no color of authority, and between the two sets of certificates which may perhaps be sent to him from Florida, is by no means difficult, and involves but little investigation. It is not the difficulty of the duty to be performed

in an unforeseen emergency which will authorize a departure from or violation of a constitutional provision.

AMPLE POWERS EXISTING.

If the emergency was not anticipated by its authors—if they supposed the duty of counting the electoral votes would be substantially ministerial, involving little or no inquiry as to the validity and identity of certificates to be opened and votes to be counted—and if, under this impression, they nevertheless devolved that in question upon the President of the Senate, he is thereafter bound to perform it, no matter how difficult and responsible unforeseen circumstances may render it; and when these arise, all citizens are bound to submit to the exercise of his constitutional authority, and to accept as valid and binding the conclusion he may reach as to which are the true electoral votes of the States from whence the certificates are forwarded.

The Constitution declares he shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. What certificate is he to open? and what votes are to be counted? Clearly those, and only those, transmitted by electors lawfully appointed. Who is to determine this? The President of the Senate can, if bound to perform this duty, receive proof on the subject, if necessary to determine which certificate is genuine, and is quite competent to consider and pass upon the question, and, in the absence of legislation, seems to be the only officer or tribunal capable of so doing.

The two Houses are to be present, but they do not act jointly. They must act, if at all, separately. Which of these two bodies, if they differ, is to determine the genuineness of the certificates and of the votes, if the President of the Senate cannot constitutionally do so? Neither is the superior of the other, nor can either assume the power as against the other of counting the votes. Each, upon the theory of Mr. Tilden's followers, claims the right, not to count the votes, but practically to prevent their being counted. Either House may, it is urged, decline to agree upon a mode of counting them, and under any and all circumstances, each, it is said, has the right to insist upon the rejection of the vote of any State at will. The dog in the manger occupied precisely this position, with some little advantage of argument in favor of the dog.

Fairly stated, the conclusion to be derived from this reasoning is that upon no officer or tribunal is constitutionally devolved the power or duty to count the elec-

toral vote for President and Vice President of the United States. The President of the Senate cannot do it; the Senate cannot do it; the House cannot. Who can? The followers of Tilden answer, we will consent to a scheme for so doing, but only upon condition that we may at pleasure count him in or so confuse and confound the electoral vote as to enable the House of Representatives to elect him.

LET US HAVE NO BARGAINS.

In the name of the authors of the Constitution, whose intelligence is thus questioned and insulted—in the interest of justice and of common sense, and of all good citizens, I denounce this doctrine as mischievous, unconstitutional, and revolutionary. Bargains based upon such pretensions, to accomplish such a purpose, statesmen, Senators, Representatives, will, I trust, decline to make. Already the Constitution has been, as I believe, disregarded, and great national interests imperiled, by the adoption of the twenty-second joint rule—a mischievous precedent established in 1865—not merely to secure a count of the electoral votes by the action of the two Houses, or by the several action of either, but to enable either House to insist upon the rejection of the vote of certain rebellious States, upon the ground that they had not resumed such relations in the Union as entitled them to cast electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States. This was not legislation, and was a rule unwisely adopted. Let those who insist that no constitutional mode has been provided by which to count the votes of States confessedly within the Union, and that none will be agreed to except upon condition of consenting to a plan for the election of Mr. Tilden, be told that the grave reproach suggested does not rest upon the Constitution or its authors, and that treasonable bargains cannot be forced by threats, or achieved by unlawful contrivances, but that in the absence of legislation on the subject, or of any fair arrangement which does not give the election of President to the House, “the President of the Senate (in the language of Chancellor Kent before cited) counts the votes and determines the result, and that the two Houses are present only as spectators to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction.”

THE PRECEDENTS.

Let us now briefly inquire upon what precedents that illustrious Judge based his conclusion—independent of the construction which may be fairly given to the Constitution itself.

When that instrument was submitted to the States for adoption by the convention

which framed it, one of the resolutions adopted by that convention, and which accompanied the Constitution as proposed, was that as soon as the conventions of nine States should have ratified the Constitution, Congress should fix a day for the appointment of electors, and a day on which they should assemble to vote for President; and that upon so voting, they should transmit their votes, sealed, &c., to the Secretary of the United States, (there being then no President of the Senate,) and that the Senate and House of Representatives should convene, and that “the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the vote for President.”

On the 6th of April, 1789, “the Senate proceeded to ballot for the choice of a President for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for President of the United States,” and John Langdon was elected.

Now this was the work of the authors of the Constitution. The convention which framed it recommended that a President of the Senate should be appointed “for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the electoral votes,” and he was so chosen. That was to be, and was, his only function. Now, if it had been intended by the framers of that enactment that the President of the Senate was not to count the votes, but that such duty was to devolve upon the Senate and House if they could agree—and upon no mortal or tribunal if they could not—doubtless the idle ceremony of appointing a President of the Senate solely for such a purpose would have been dispensed with. Probably one would not have been appointed merely to break the seals of the certificates, as that could as well have been done by a clerk or porter.

Mr. Langdon, after the two Houses met, declared that “he in their presence had opened and counted the votes of the electors for President and Vice President of the United States,” and that George Washington was unanimously elected President, and that John Adams was duly elected Vice President. Thereupon, a committee of four was appointed to prepare a certificate of the election, to be signed by Mr. Langdon, and that framed and by him signed stated that he “did, in the presence of the said Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and count all the votes of the electors,” &c.

Such was the practical construction put by the framers of the Constitution upon the clause under consideration, and it would seem to be decisive as to its true meaning.

In substantial harmony with this practi-

cal construction, the votes continued thereafter were counted upon many occasions, the particulars of which it is hardly necessary to state. The Senate and House were in the habit of appointing tellers "to make lists of the votes for President and Vice President of the United States as they shall be declared." Such was the form adopted in the appointment of these persons up to and in 1829, in 1833, in 1841, in 1849, and 1853. Their duty was to make these lists substantially in aid of the President of the Senate; for it was never, down to the period last named, supposed or pretended that they had any power whatever to count the votes. They were by the terms of their appointment to make a list of the votes "as they shall be declared," and they were to be declared—not by the tellers, but by the President of the Senate.

It was, of course, desirable that each House should preserve among its archives one of these lists, as a record of what it had witnessed. From time to time, objections to the counting of the electoral votes were made by members of the Senate or House of Representatives, but in three of the most notable instances the objections were to counting votes of States upon the ground that they had not been admitted to the Union at the time their electoral vote was cast. In no instance, it is believed, was the general right of the President of the Senate to count the electoral vote actually questioned in practice, although in several instances the question was raised whether some particular vote should or should not be counted, and in debate, both Senators and Representatives have, of late years, asserted the right of the two Houses to count. Whether this is to overthrow the authority of the early practice to which I have referred should be carefully considered, as well as the peril and inconvenience of the absence of any lawful means of counting the electoral vote.

When objections have been made by members of either House to counting any particular vote, they have never conferred together or listened to debate upon the subject; and upon no occasion, that I am aware of, was it insisted or suggested that the two Houses could act jointly in convention for the purpose of counting the votes, or considering any question which might arise.

In 1857, when Mr. Buchanan was elected, tellers were appointed as before, "to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared," and for the first time, as I believe, in their history, they reported "that they have counted the votes of all the States cast for President and Vice President," &c., and Mr. Buchanan was declared elected.

It was an ill omen that for **the first time** in the history of the Government the tellers should have reported **that they had** counted the electoral votes.

During the term of the President thus counted in, the rebellion was **by him and** his party nourished until it finally ripened and culminated. Upon the counting of the votes in 1861, the President of the Senate declared Mr. Lincoln elected President—tellers having been as usual appointed by the two Houses "to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared," and **they were** declared, as before stated, by the President of the Senate.

The twenty-second joint rule of **the two** Houses, already mentioned, was **made in** February, 1865, by which they agreed **that** no electoral vote objected to by **either** should be counted, except by the **concurrent** votes of the two. The real purpose of the rule was, as I have before stated, to prevent States whose relations with the Union were not constitutionally established from voting for President and Vice President. It was made when both Houses were in pursuit of the same object; and, although the same end might doubtless have been obtained by other means, the rule was agreed to evidently without much consideration, and very clearly not in harmony with the Constitution or with antecedent practice under it.

CONCLUSIONS.

If the committees now appointed for conference should agree that, unless a majority of both Houses concur in rejecting an electoral vote, it must be counted, a conclusion as it seems to me much more just would be reached than that which the rule established, and I may, I think, add, that such a mode of settling the difficulty would be satisfactory to the country, although others may be equally so.

I cannot doubt, however, that wise legislation on this subject is indispensably necessary to settle a question on which such a difference of opinion exists. It is probably too late now to frame and adopt it with a view to the count of the vote in February. In the absence of such legislation, it seems to me the early practice adopted by the framers of the Constitution, and stated by Chancellor Kent as the true one, should now be repeated. Any compromise which seeks a solution of the difficulty outside of and independent of the provisions of the Constitution, is quite likely to prove in the end a curse instead of a blessing; and none is very likely to be agreed upon so well calculated to compose the minds as that adopted by our Revolutionary fathers. If men should be so mad

or foolish as to resist by violence the inauguration or rule of an honest, able, and patriotic man, because the votes which elected him were counted in the same manner as were those which elected George Washington and many succeeding Presidents, let the consequences be upon their heads. A corporal's guard will not be found willing to engage in an enterprise so wicked after the 4th of March next.

I had written thus far before reading a pamphlet entitled "The Electoral Votes of 1876," in which Mr. David Dudley Field attempts to state who should count the votes, what should be counted, and the remedy for a wrong count. Upon reading the pamphlet, I find he might consistently with any practical purpose have entirely omitted to consider the last two questions, for he assumes the two Houses alone have the power to count the electoral vote, and states: "The result must be that what the two Houses do not agree to count cannot be counted." This conclusion appears from the tone of his pamphlet to be quite satisfactory to him. To me it is otherwise, for it is discouraging to learn that after the people have, through their electors, cast their votes for President and Vice President, there should be found no tribunal having the power, and whose duty it is, to determine the persons actually elected; and this is especially so when I reflect that at the close of another election, should one

be held, Mr. Field may again declare, "The result must be that what the two Houses do not agree to count cannot be counted."

Possibly he might weary of this repetition; perhaps a change of circumstances might lead him to reconsider and even change his conclusion; but supposing him to stand firm, there would be no mode of relief unless a majority of the people or the President of the Senate should differ with him. He goes on a brief mission to Congress, where, as his pamphlet indicates, he will be enrolled among the followers of Mr. Tilden. If he should assist in defeating the will of the people as already expressed, and in compelling a resort to another election, a national misfortune, to which the *World* refers with apparent favor, the injury, nay, destruction, which such success will entail upon the business and social interests of the country, may lead Mr. Field and those with whom he acts to the conclusion that such a mode of counting the electoral vote as was recommended and adopted by the framers of our Constitution is more wise, more just, and better calculated to insure the happiness and prosperity of our people than a method founded upon the proposition that "the result must be that what the two Houses do not agree to count cannot be counted."

E. W. STOUGHTON.

MR. TILDEN'S DEFEAT.

There is an element of unutterable meanness mixed up in the Democratic clamor over Mr. Tilden's defeat for the Presidency. No man knew Mr. Tilden better than John Kelly, and no man labored with greater vehemence to prevent his nomination, on the simple yet specific ground of his thorough unfitness for the office, and the impossibility of concealing from the public a knowledge of his character. While Mr. Kelly took no pains to hide the motive of his opposition to Mr. Tilden, and went about expressing his regret at the certainty of Mr. Tilden's defeat, and through him of the defeat of the party he represented, it is curious to know that the Democrats in the House of Representatives—both the Southern rebels and their sympathizers—were laboring to expose him by means of the investigating committees, and happily

succeeded in doing so. These investigating committees which the Democrats designed to break down the Republican party and turn back the progress of the Republic, provided the people with a double-edged weapon. Every report exhibited the animus of the Democrats on the committee making it, and furnished facts, which even Democrats were forced to admit, as food for public thought. The Democracy take no note of the intelligence of the audience they address. They forget the people are as much interested in the information published as themselves, if not more so. Certainly the people love the truth, and are better able to arrive at the truth than the wretched Democratic partisans on committees. The time has passed to lead the people astray by a public document. They prefer to judge for themselves from the

evidence before them, and in many instances they have turned away from the lying Democratic reports to see what the witnesses said and to determine what credit should be given them. This spirit of investigation and judgment is the fruit of the centennial year, and the Democrats having been caught in their own trap, are submitted by Republicans, as any other specimens of creation, to the political microscope for the purpose of ascertaining what they are and what their chief characteristics.

Mr. Tilden's defeat at the polls was the defeat of the Democratic party as its standard bearer, and the wide-spread fear of Democrats all over the country arose from a dark presentment that they would be beaten. The Democratic party was before the country. It had been suddenly called upon to give an account of itself, for the reason that one of the weakest and worst of its copperhead leaders had been thrust into undue prominence. Mr. Tilden was ambitious. Without the weight or character necessary to sustain the office of President of the United States, if elected, he wanted the office. He said he wanted the office—almost as a child cries for a new toy. He was, indeed, so foolish as to bow to the whirlwind, blowing to the four winds of heaven the facts of his life as a Democratic politician, and to lift up his voice and declare that the people wanted him—for he was a reformer! He had reached political dotage or second childhood.

Mr. Tilden's friends were in agony at the *contretemps*. Only such as Mr. Hewitt, Mr. S. S. Cox, and others of the same kindey, thought the silliness grand. Respectable Democrats looked on with horror, because they knew that the investigations which had to be made would put Mr. Tilden in a position which would cut him off forever from any chance of regaining the pedestal from which he would be thrown. The knowledge of this *now* even Mr. Hewitt cannot deny; for President Grant told him that the election of Mr. Tilden would be a national calamity. As for Mr. Cox, he may grin or he may weep over Mr. Tilden's defeat; it was the deliberate and direct act of the people from their knowledge of the man.

Nothing is more offensive to an intelligent American citizen than the commission of election frauds. How much intensified, therefore, must such a charge be, when brought home to the Democratic candidate for President? His connection with past election frauds cannot be obliterated, and there is a moral conviction that he has been guilty of inspiring or sanctioning the same kind of frauds to assist in his own election. The Congressional report on "Disbursements under the Registration Act," dated August 5, 1876, made by the Republican members of the committee, takes the bull by the horns, and says that whatever may have been the origin and purpose of the numerous Democratic investigations, they had long ago been perverted from their object, and that it was necessary to go back to the history of the gigantic election frauds in New York, "when Tammany ruled the city by means of money which Tweed accumulated and Samuel J. Tilden, as chairman of the State Democratic committee, disbursed it. * * * Tweed held the keys to the city Treasury, and Samuel J. Tilden was the cashier and general disbursing officer." Congress having passed the necessary laws the books of registration prepared by Mr. Davenport did much to prevent fraud. But if the recommendation of the Democrats on the committee had been accepted, against which Republicans protested, and the acts of Congress repealed, as was desired, it was said that "the repeal of those acts would again usher in the same state of fraud and corruption that existed under the reign of Tweed and Tilden before their passage."

The ominous part of the report was seen in connecting Mr. Tilden's name with the commission of frauds and corruption when he had the power. He had, then, it is true, but a common interest in the success of the Democratic party. But the publication of the report itself during the canvass was significant, and made many people tremble for the man who was then appealing to the country to elect him as its President, who had been guilty of inciting fraud at the previous election of a chief magistrate of a State. He had sent out instructions from the "Rooms of the Democratic State Com-

mittee" a circular asking that "some reliable" Democrat should be instructed to telegraph to William M. Tweed, Tammany Hall, *at the minute of closing the polls*, the reliable Democratic estimate of the vote, as follows:

"This town will show a Democratic gain (or loss) over last year of, (number;) or,

"This town will give a Republican or Democratic majority of — * * *

"SAMUEL J. TILDEN."

With the knowledge that the country has of the perpetration of Democratic frauds, it is further known that Mr. Tilden directed the canvass of his own election, and has been busily employed in manipulating since the vote was cast. He desired the office of President. Would such a man lose an opportunity of advancing his own interest, or hold the hand of a zealous friend from serving him from a sense of honor?

Such a course of procedure as had counted in Governor Hoffman was too valuable to be abandoned, and it is said that the same tactics were resorted to by Mr. Tilden and his Democratic friends during the recent election for the Presidency. Tammany Hall had managed to have its services accepted, and the Democratic managers went to work with the old enthusiasm, the old recklessness, the same determination to defy the will of the people, and render the use of the ballot a farce, a mockery, and a snare. Less than an hour after the polls were closed the Democratic manipulators who were hanging about the rooms obtained sufficient information from all the districts in the State to fill in the blank spaces of a circular the estimated number of votes that had been cast; and these numbers were telegraphed to the committee sitting in the city of New York. Then the scoundrelism commenced. Within a few of the actual number of votes that had been cast, the returns were received. These were placed in columns and summed up, and the Republican majority was seen with enough accuracy to enable the managers to manipulate the votes of the city of New York and King's county. The State had gone Republican beyond question; but it was necessary to steal the State bodily from the Republican victors, and hand it over

silent and dishonored to the Democratic party on behalf of Tilden and Hendricks. To counteract the Republican majorities in the rural districts, the Democratic committee added to the Democratic votes a number large enough to overcome the Republican vote, and when that was done the vote of the city and the State might be publicly announced. The vote was announced, and then the world learned that all the honor, justice, intelligence of the people outside that great colony of ignorance, crime, and Romanism, New York city, had vanquished the Empire State. Tammany rejoiced at the feat it had accomplished, and Tilden, on whose behalf Tammany had worked and triumphed, accepted the vote of the State as if it really had been Democratic.

Can such a man ever be President? How have the votes of States been manufactured for Mr. Tilden's benefit? It makes one shudder to think that the formalities attendant upon the electoral college hide out of sight the great popular verdict. That verdict was for Hayes and Wheeler. Into the popular heart that verdict has sunk deep, and never were the people more sternly resolved that the Democratic party shall not commit a vaster robbery than that of Tweed, by robbing the nation of its choice for the Presidency, although Mr. Tilden was Mr. Tweed's friend!

REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE.—It is a novel proposition, set forth for the first time in American politics, that either House of Congress can determine the validity of the electoral vote of a State. This is centralization with a vengeance. Had the Republican party advanced this claim a Democratic howl would have gone up from Maine to California. When a State, through its prescribed forms, names the electors chosen, those names must stand, and to say that one branch of Congress can set them aside is to say that one branch can set aside the laws of a State and nullify the constitutional rights of its people. Never before has such a claim been advanced. To admit it as a valid one, is to give to one-half of Congress more power than our wisest statesmen ever claimed for both branches in their joint capacity. It is upon such revolutionary doctrine as this that Democracy demands the inauguration of Tilden.

THE ELECTORAL VOTE—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS, OF KANSAS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1877.

The House being as in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. PHILLIPS, of Kansas, said :

Mr. Chairman : Ever since this session began there has been a disposition to effervesce the moment a question touching in the most remote degree the late Presidential election came up. We are admonished by the belligerent spirit manifested by many on this floor that the political mind is in an unhealthy condition. Crude ideas of the powers of this House over the subject are entertained ; theories hastily jumped at are wildly expressed—theories generally utterly at variance with our history and fundamental law. One of the political parties in the country, long out of power, but which has succeeded in gaining possession of one branch of Congress, makes haste to arrogate to it all the powers of Government, legislative, executive, and judicial. Even men whose whole lives have been devoted to rigid constructions of the Constitution startle us by seeming to keep in countenance schemes which do not find a particle of color in that document, theories obnoxious to its framers and diametrically opposed to our earlier, better history.

I do not hesitate to pronounce these mischievous and revolutionary sentiments. And so are all the plans for compromise, bargain, or adjustment, other than the plain and simple methods pointed out by the Constitution. Nor do I hold in much higher estimation the numerous propositions to remodel the Constitution or add to it an amendment to be hurriedly adopted as a temporary expedient or used to bridge a real or imaginary emergency. It is not necessary to assume that the Constitution is faultless. Our experience has demonstrated that there are several desirable modifications and a necessity for clearer definition of details, whether these can be adopted or not. Yet every man of sagacity must feel that to take such steps for a special purpose, to meet a special case, above all to intervene between the verdict of the people, expressed under the forms of Constitution and law, and the mere declaration of the result according to the mode prescribed under the existing Constitution, is obnoxious on principle and dangerous as a precedent. As a mere practical question, every man knows that it cannot be

done in time, even if it were a proper thing to do. All such propositions, therefore, so far as they are designed to affect this case, are simply disturbing elements. They affect to admit that which it is not necessary to admit, and only add flames to that political excitement which it should be the aim of every patriotic citizen to discourage. Neither can amendments to the Constitution be wisely undertaken under circumstances and at a time when partisan interests and partisan bitterness must deny them that impartial consideration which alone can confer on them utility and crowning glory.

It is, therefore, an unhappy circumstance that makes it appear as if many of our public men had lost their balance or were endeavoring to feed themselves with ideas impregnated with anarchy and revolution. It has been the pride of our Government and the hope of the lovers of republicanism everywhere that we are not as the South American republics. Indeed, I cannot for one moment admit that there is even in this House a majority who will sustain any proposition to elect a President by any other means than the constitutional forms. These latter may not go into all the details we could wish, but their purpose is sufficiently clear to answer the necessity. A departure from them at such a time is simply revolution, and I will not believe that this House will present itself to the country in an attitude so humiliating until partisan folly leaves us no alternative.

If there is any tendency toward political disease of this sort among Representatives, how is it with the people? It is undoubtedly true that a profound interest is manifested on the subject in the press and throughout the country. It is not fair or true to assume that the thousand and one schemes and theories announced make any serious impression on the public mind. In fact, it may be safely believed that the stability of character and purpose which has been the great pride of our Government and our people, rests like a deep and mighty sea beneath the light and frothy foam that fickle winds drive across its surface. The *doctrinaire* and the enthusiast are always on the skirmish line, and, whether their proposition be wise or otherwise, it is not safe to judge society by them. When we hear that a few of the lawyers of one city

meet and speak and resolve that the times are "parlous," and that it is necessary for them to put their spoke in the wheel of Government, or that a few dozen of men calling themselves the business men of the country, and who are probably better politicians than business men, meet and resolve that "it is a crisis," and that they have a panacea for it, we are reminded of the convocation of nine tailors, who began their resolutions, "We, the people of England;" and they also remind every thinking man that their studies in political science have not taught them the dangers of revolutionary innovation. Nor can it be admitted that the public mind is so diseased that it could tolerate the mere victory of party, no matter how illustrious the party might be, at the sacrifice of the stability of the Government or the public tranquillity. I do not deny that I should look upon the election of Mr. Tilden and the triumph of a reactionary party as a great calamity, but not half so great as the election of a President by fraud or revolutionary proceedings.

The facts of the case are plain and simple. While more than two candidates were in the field no third or fourth candidate received a single State or electoral vote. Hayes or Tilden received them all, and as the electoral vote cannot be evenly divided one of them was of course elected. If the electoral vote could have been, and had been, equally divided there would have been no election, and the election of President would have gone to the House. But one of them was elected under the forms of the Constitution.

It might have been desirable that the majority should be larger, but it was not at all necessary. If a close result is to invite and justify revolutionary proceedings there is an end of Republican government. Does any one for an instant think that, if there had not been a Democratic majority in this House, there would have been an attempt or even a thought of trying to create confusion and throw the election into the House of Representatives? Is there one man of intelligence who reveres the Constitution who believes that the House has the slightest authority for pretending to select a President when it is an indisputable and positive fact that one man was certainly elected?

We may dislike the machinery by which the result was determined in some States. We may have no faith in some of the State governments. We may even have a poor opinion of the people of some States. We did not make the latter, and it is doubtful if they would have been any better if we had. The State governments are supposed

to have at least some powers reserved to them, and I am amazed at any one on the other side of the House for calling them in question. The world witnesses the extraordinary spectacle of a party, fresh from a great war and rebellion, into which they entered under an extreme view of State rights, clutching at the ghost of a coveted victory by sacrificing the last remnant of State rights, which no party has ever before dared to call in question. Do they object to reconstruction? Do they hold with Mr. O'Connor that when the Union army marched on Richmond the Constitution was forever broken, or do they hold that all that has happened since has been a chapter of war and violence and intrigue expedient to gain time and power? I think not. I believe patriotic gentlemen on the other side of this chamber who took the oath on this floor to support the Constitution meant honestly and honorably all they said. It behooves them to remember that, whatever faults reconstruction may have had or with whatever errors they may be inclined to charge it, but for reconstruction many of them would never have been here. Is it for them to break the pedestal on which they stand? Is it for them to benefit by just so much of it as may serve their party purposes? I believe they are wiser and shrewder men than to do that.

There are many now in our party who believed that when a State failed to maintain a government loyal to the Union, and went to war against it, there was of necessity an end of its powers as a State in the Union, and as it was an integral portion of the territory of the United States that it should be treated as territory, and, when it could safely be done, that a territorial government of limited powers be given it until there was sufficient evidence that it could come in as a peaceful, loyal Union State. That plan was not adopted. There was in the minds of a number a horror of losing sight of the idea of an existing autonomy of all the States. To get rid of the war, which was a hard, incontrovertible fact, a fiction was resorted to, and on this plan of reconstruction, the most generous and liberal to those States, they were admitted to full fellowship and power. For the wisdom of that plan posterity will judge us. They will judge us when passion and sentiment and partisan bitterness have all passed away. We look to you gentlemen of the reconstructed States for a vindication of the magnanimous policy that gave you your power. It is for you to show to your country and the world that our course was not a rash experiment, and that your acceptance of the situation was honest and made with an honorable intention to carry

gone other than Republican. I would quote from the report of the committee of last year, of which the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell] was chairman; but I do not wish at this time to aggravate the sensibilities of my hearers or excite fresh feeling by repeating its horrors. It is enough to quote from the report that the Democracy of Mississippi "at last have gained supremacy in the State by acts of violence, fraud, and murder, fraught with more than all the horrors of open war, without its honor, dignity, generosity, or justice." The measures suggested as remedies are given, one of which is to deny a State in anarchy or controlled by bodies of armed men representation in Congress. Another is to remand States where such disorders exist to a territorial condition.

Of the election in that State last November I will give but one specimen. Our friend from the sixth district of Mississippi was elected to this Congress by 18,000 majority, as I have been informed. Last November he was defeated or, as he says, "counted out" by 5,000 majority. Is there not something astounding in such a change? Can it be accounted for on any reasonable hypothesis? Has not the thing been so much overdone as to startle us as to the meaning of what they called an election there? Is it not a revolution, varying only in its mode of operation from the revolution that sought to overthrow the Union? It has been stated on this floor on the evidence of General Sheridan that there were three thousand political murders in Louisiana, and that nearly that number of colored voters were slain.

Are we then to consider the region we tried to reconstruct in a state of anarchy? Shall we throw out the votes and reject the representation from Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, and shall we examine the vote of North Carolina?

And this brings us directly to the main question, what are the powers of Congress on the subject? Has either House or both the right to say that any portion of the vote of a State shall be accepted or rejected? Has Congress the right to act as a returning board to purge the vote of any or all States? Was this power conferred on it by the Constitution? Would it have been wise to so confer it?

In article 2 of the Constitution it is simply provided that "each State may appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct," such electors as it is entitled to. In the same article Congress is given the power to determine the *time* when the electors shall be chosen and the day on which they shall cast their votes, and these for an obvious reason, and that

time and that place are elements in the legality of such electoral vote. Both Houses are to be present when the President of the Senate, who is the custodian of the votes, shall open the votes and count them, as witnesses, and no other powers are given them over the electoral vote or over the question, unless there is a tie or no one has a majority.

The language of the Constitution is therefore plain. As the Constitution originally stood the electors made a list of the votes and sent it with a certificate to the President of the Senate, who was the custodian of the returns.

The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted.

As it now stands in article 12, the electors meet in their respective States and ballot for President and Vice President. They make distinct lists of persons voted for by the electors, but are not required to show the State vote. They certify these distinct lists and signing them send them to the President of the Senate, who is the custodian; and in the same manner as it originally stood the President of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, opens all the certificates and the votes are then counted. Does the President of the Senate open and does some one else count? Certainly not. There may be tellers, but they have certainly no judicial functions, whether he has or not. If there is any doubt on that point the early practice ought to determine it.

In September, 1787, the Constitution was submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for adoption, and among others the following resolution was adopted by the convention:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention that, as soon as the conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceeding under the Constitution. That after such publication the electors should be appointed and the Senators and Representatives elected; that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the President, and should transmit their votes—certified, sealed, and directed as the Constitution requires—to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled; that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for President; and that after he shall be chosen the Congress, together with the President, should without delay proceed to execute this Constitution.

The above is no carelessly worded resolution, but attests the precision and skill of Franklin, Hamilton, and Madison,

On the 6th of April, 1789, Congress having assembled under the Constitution, ordered "That Mr. Ellsworth inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is formed; that a President is elected for the *sole* purpose of opening the certificates and *counting the votes* of the electors of the several States in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States, and that the Senate is now ready in the Senate chamber to proceed, in the presence of the House, to discharge that duty, and that the Senate have appointed one of their members to sit at the Clerk's table to make a list of the votes *as they shall be declared*, submitting it to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of their number for the like purpose," who reported that he "had delivered the message." A message was received from the House, as follows:

Mr. President, I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that the House is ready forthwith to meet the Senate, to attend the opening and counting of the votes of the electors of the President and Vice President of the United States.

John Langdon was duly elected by the Senate as President of the Senate, and the record declares:

MONDAY, April 6, 1789.

The President of the Senate, *elected for the purpose of counting the votes*, declared to the Senate that the Senate and House of Representatives had met, and that he, *in their presence*, had opened and counted the votes for electors for President and Vice President of the United States; whereby it appears that George Washington was unanimously elected President.

The record shows that of the thirteen Colonies ten had voted, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia. Sixty-nine electoral votes were cast. It will be noticed that New York had ratified the Constitution on the 26th of July, 1788, nine months before, but had no electoral vote there. North Carolina did not ratify the Constitution until seven months after this election, on the 21st of November, 1789, and Rhode Island not until May 29, 1790.

It will thus be seen that these men, who were the framers of the Constitution, conferred all power of opening, counting, and declaring the vote on the President of the Senate. The two Houses were merely the witnesses to give force and dignity to the event. The tellers were only the recording witnesses for that purpose, as the President of the Senate declared the vote.

At the second election of Washington a joint resolution of both Houses was adopted, as follows:

That the two Houses shall assemble in the Senate Chamber on Wednesday next at 12 o'clock;

that one teller shall be appointed on the part of the Senate to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared; that the result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote, and the persons elected, to the two Houses assembled as aforesaid, which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the Journals of the two Houses.

Resolutions nearly the same, word for word, were adopted from the first elections until a very recent period. At the first election of Jefferson, when he and Aaron Burr had seventy-three votes each, the following words were interpolated in the resolutions: "And if it shall appear that a choice hath been made agreeably to the Constitution." That election forced the amendment of the Constitution by which the President and Vice President should be voted for separately, instead of taking the second on the list for Vice President. Jefferson and Burr had the same vote, not that the people intended to elect Burr, but because the design was to elect Jefferson President and Burr Vice President. The elder Adams at that election had sixty-five votes, and Mr. Pinckney sixty-four, which shows that the Federalists managed it better by keeping Mr. Pinckney one vote behind Mr. Adams. At the opening of the electoral votes on that occasion, the Vice President, who was President of the Senate, was Thomas Jefferson, himself the candidate for the Presidency. With a feeling of delicacy he opened the sealed envelopes and handed them to the tellers to count, although the resolution under which he acted, and the Constitution, made it simply his work. The tellers in that matter were his assistants.

On that occasion, and the only other occasion when the election went to the House, the dangers of the system presented themselves. No one doubted for a moment that the people intended to elect Thomas Jefferson President; and yet, as the Constitution then stood, the election was thrown into the House, the House showed what kind of an electoral college it was capable of making. On the 11th of February, 1801, it voted nineteen times, and Jefferson, who had carried 73 out of 138 electoral votes, got but eight States; nine were necessary to a choice. One whole week was spent in balloting before Jefferson was elected. It is not for us to listen to or believe all the current stories rife at that time in the public mind of intrigue, bargain, or sale. I would only refer to a speech of Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, made in February, 1802, to be found on page 417 of Debates on the Judiciary. It exposed the system of electing by the House and the House itself to severe criticism. And here let us admire the good

features of the electoral system. There is no national electoral college; no body to assemble in Washington to vote for President; no body possessed of a discretionary power to reverse the decree of the people; no body to be tempted by the eminent places of the Government, where a few votes or one vote might change the result.

The electoral college is purely in and for the State. The law of Congress designates when they shall be elected and when they shall meet. The Constitution fixes the representation. It provides that one copy of the returns shall be sent to the President of the Senate. So much importance is attached to these returns that by the act of 1792 it was provided that other two copies should be made. One goes to the nearest judge, to be held by him as security for their preservation, and besides the copy sent by mail one is sent by special messenger, both to the President of the Senate. The messenger has no authority save to bring the returns, which are sealed, in his possession. The President of the Senate receives the certificate of the State electoral college. He is the custodian. In case both the copy from the messenger and by mail are lost or not received by the first Wednesday of January, the Secretary of State sends a messenger for the copy in the hands of the judge.

I have said that there was no perceptible change in form of the joint resolution adopted by both Houses for counting the electoral vote until a very recent period. That period was the second election of Mr. Lincoln. At that time, in the Senate, February 6, 1865, Hon. Lyman Trumbull, then a Senator of the United States, reported the joint rule the first part of which reads as follows:

Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring therein,) That the following be added to the joint rules of the two Houses, namely: "The two Houses shall assemble in the hall of the House of Representatives at the hour of one o'clock P. M., on the second Wednesday in February next succeeding the meeting of the electors of President and Vice President of the United States, and the President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer; one teller shall be appointed on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, the certificates of the electoral votes, and said tellers having read the same in the presence of the two Houses then assembled, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates, and the votes having been counted the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote, and the names of the persons, if any, elected, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the Journals of the two Houses."

It will be at once seen that there is a very remarkable change of form, and one inter-

fering with the functions of the President of the Senate. Formerly tellers had been appointed, and on many occasions the President of the Senate handed them the certificates to count. This resolution conferred on them the power from Congress. When the portion I have quoted was read, Mr. Trumbull said, (page 608, volume 54, Congressional Globe:)

That is the usual form, as far as I have read, of the resolutions heretofore adopted. The committee have proceeded further to provide for a contingency.

Let us see whether it was the usual form. It is singular that Mr. Trumbull was also chairman of the committee that reported the resolution at the first election of Mr. Lincoln. That resolution was in the usual form adopted since the second election, and reads:

Resolved, That the two Houses will assemble in the chamber of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, the 13th day of February, 1861, at 12 o'clock, and the President of the Senate shall be the presiding officer; that one teller shall be appointed on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to make a list of votes as they shall be declared; that the result shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote, and the persons elected, to the two Houses assembled as aforesaid, which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, shall be entered on the Journals of the two Houses.

As a matter of fact, the precise mode of counting the vote has varied. At first, under resolutions very carefully framed by the authors of the Constitution, the President of the Senate was the sole actor in counting the vote. Afterward a number of Vice Presidents were either candidates for re-election or candidates for the Presidency, and as a question of delicacy they handed the returns, when they opened the certificates in their possession, to the tellers. The functions of the tellers, however, have always been purely those of assistants to the President of the Senate. The function of counting may be said to have been always purely ministerial. If any function of a judicial character was vested anywhere it was, of course, in the President of the Senate. There is a natural repugnance to putting into the hands of one man the power to settle a great question, and yet it is clearly certain, by the language of the Constitution and of the first resolution, and, above all, by the debates in the old constitutional convention, as recorded in the Madison papers, that there was a fixed purpose that Congress should have no control over the Presidential election until the President of the Senate declared that there was no election under the terms of the Constitution.

The mode of electing a President was

one of the vexed questions of that old constitutional convention. None of the colonies when they became States wished its influence weakened or destroyed. There were two parties then as now, a national party and a State-rights party. The former wished a National Government, entirely distinct from and independent of the States and President elected either by Congress or the people directly; the latter party wished the Chief Magistrate selected by the States as such. So intense was the feeling on this subject that at one time it threatened to destroy all hope of uniting on a form of government. Neither side succeeded, or rather the result was a compromise. The electors for the districts represented the people, the senatorial electors the States, and yet the electors might be voted for by the people, elected by the Legislature, or appointed by the governor under authority of law. The electoral colleges were State colleges. All supposed corrupt influences were avoided. The steps taken to have the electoral vote polled and sent were supposed to be taken with great care. The President of the Senate received, opened, and counted the vote, and his declaration of the result was held as final and sufficient. Counting or rejecting the votes of States was a contingency never contemplated, and for which, of course, there was no provision. It was never intended that Congress should make itself a returning board to canvass a State election, and determine which States should or should not be counted, because it was foreseen that if they did it would not be long before the congressional machinery would elect all Presidents. Some little discretion was undoubtedly understood to vest in the President of the Senate. As a matter of course he would not receive returns from everybody. He must be satisfied they were the genuine returns. If he was assisted by tellers he never asked them and they never asked him whether the package he handed them as the vote of a certain State was such a vote or not. Their acts were plain and simple.

Neither is there a word to countenance the idea of a joint convention with legislative and judicial powers "in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives." Both bodies together and yet both bodies distinct. The disposition to convert the witness into a judge was to be expected. The tendency in that direction is very strong. If the Constitution conferred the necessary power on the President of the Senate, it did not confer it on the House. Shall the witness called in first raise a question and then decide upon it? Is it safe to give Congress the power of receiv-

ing or rejecting the votes of States? Is it necessary that it should furnish a law or machinery to this end? Is doing this so inevitable that the power to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers" confers it on Congress? If we accept that claim in its broadest sense there is nothing which Congress may not do.

I am not insensible to a necessity which may arise calling for congressional interference. I am equally impressed with the danger of innovations which may lead the way to a complete overthrow of the old system. I do not know that precedents are worth much in the face of constitutional provision, yet let us beware of the precedents we make.

What are the precedents made? In 1821 Mr. Livermore, of New Hampshire, objected to the vote of Missouri because Missouri was not a State in the Union. The Houses separated and a vote to count the vote of the State of Missouri was laid on the table. A resolution had been adopted that if the counting or omitting to count the vote of the State of Missouri would not change the result it should be announced: "With the vote of the State of Missouri, so much, without the vote of the State of Missouri, so much;" in either event — is elected President.

In February, 1813, when Mr. Monroe was elected President, Mr. Taylor, a member from New York, objected because "the votes of the electors of the State of Indiana for President and Vice President had been given *previous* to the admission of the State into the Union." When the Houses separated they promptly voted to count Indiana, and the vote is registered like the other States.

In February, 1837, objection was made to the State of Michigan, and a resolution to announce the vote as in the case of Missouri was agreed to in joint resolution before the two Houses met. The President of the Senate declared the result: "With the vote of Michigan Martin Van Buren has 170 votes; without it, 167;" and as 148 was a majority he was elected President.

At the election February, 1837, the question of the ineligibility of electors came up. From the resolution of Mr. Grundy and the other records of the transactions it appears that the second section of the second article was supposed not to have been very rigidly observed. From the report made by Mr. Grundy to the Senate it appears that there were five cases at that election of electors who were deputy postmasters or other Federal officers. We quote from it:

What ought to be done with them, and whether

any and, what provision ought to be made for securing the faithful observance *in future* of that section of the Constitution.

Also :

The committee cannot adopt the opinion entertained by some that a single illegal vote would vitiate the whole electoral vote of the college of electors in which it was given, particularly in cases when the vote of the whole college has been given for the same person.

And the following :

Should a case occur in which it became necessary to ascertain and determine the qualifications of electors of President and Vice President of the United States, the important question would be presented, what tribunal would, under the Constitution, be competent to decide? Whether the respective colleges of electors in the different States should decide upon the qualifications of their own members, or Congress should exercise the power, is a question which the committee are of opinion ought to be settled by a permanent provision on the subject.

It was not permanently settled, however. Constitutional amendments relating to the election of President have been found difficult to obtain. The same difficulties that existed during the first convention exist still. In both cases when the election went to the House it was followed by popular clamor for amendments to the Constitution. In the first instance, when it was merely on voting on President and Vice President separately, it was easily obtained, but when it touched the essential points the amendment was lost.

At the election of Mr. Buchanan, February, 1857, after the President *pro tempore* had declared the result, Mr. Humphrey Marshall, a member of the House, raised the question "as to the right of the President of the Senate *pro tempore* to determine whether or not the State of Wisconsin had cast a vote that could be counted." He had counted it on his own volition, and having declared the result, adjourned the meeting of the two Houses.

The Houses separated. The tellers reported to them that the electors, instead of meeting on the 3d of December, the day fixed by law under provision of the Constitution, they met and cast their vote on the 4th, the day after. On this report of the tellers no action was taken, the Senate evidently being disinclined to take action as to the powers of the President of the Senate. This, too, was in a case of violation of act of Congress on one of the two only points on which Congress expressly has power under the Constitution; the one to fix the day for the election of electors, the other that they fix the day on which they shall meet and cast their vote.

It was not until the second election of Mr. Lincoln occurred that graver questions arose. War was still raging. Should States at war be permitted to vote, or should the States under the control of the

Federal armies or Government, in process of reconstruction, be permitted to vote? Under these circumstances legislation to prevent the counting of such votes, or of rejecting the vote of any State, was for the first time undertaken, and the twenty-second joint rule was also adopted.

I cannot conceive that any statesman should take any other view of many of the provisions of the twenty-second joint rule save as necessary war measures. Of the necessity and absolute force of such action under such circumstances no question can be had, yet it was not done under any constitutional provision. When the imperative causes for such action are removed, are we to determine that they shall enter into future Presidential elections? Was this the design or expectation, or are we warranted in adding this to the powers of Congress? The most objectionable feature of the twenty-second joint rule, as it stood, was that it permitted one House of Congress to disfranchise a State. If we are to adopt legislation to meet difficulties, real or imaginary, no State should be deprived of the power of voting but by the concurrent action of both Houses. On this very point the ablest Democratic Senators were eloquent last session.

It will be observed that the Presidential elector is one of the few officers whose eligibility there is no tribunal to inquire into. The right of every other person to the position he claims may be judicially determined. It is clearly a State office. "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." The Legislature may elect them. They may authorize the Governor to appoint them. The law of the State has entire control of their mode of appointment. Their vote is sealed, but that merely refers to being put in a sealed package. No appendage of State seals is required. If present they are surplusage, merely for better identification.

I think there is but one course to pursue in this Presidential matter, to go straight ahead under the forms of the Constitution. The two Houses are to be present when the officer who has the authority under the Constitution opens the certificates, counts the votes, and declares the result. They do not meet to make motions, offer resolutions, or vote. They do not meet to determine that the President of the Senate shall not do that which the Constitution has said he shall do. Does the withdrawal of each body to its own chamber to vote give either House any more power than both have jointly to enact a law? Is there a single matter in legislation which they can determine separately? Has the House judicial powers on any subject, or has the Senate

on counting the electoral vote? These are questions for us to ponder and answer.

I think it must be admitted that to give Congress the power to fill up by legislation the supposed gaps in the Constitution, and in doing so to add to its own powers in electing a President, is a matter of questionable expediency. Where is it to end? The ancient landmarks may not be all we could wish them, but where is to be our safe anchorage when we have swept them away? In the interests of a quiet and peaceable adjustment of this question we might consent to yield anything not fundamental. I have no desire to be captious or hang on mere technicalities. If, under the Constitution we have the power to determine anything, let us do it in a spirit rising above all party or its interests and above the claims of all candidates; yet, before we embark on such a course let us think of the difficulty of harmonizing legislation at such a time. Compromise, always of questionable utility, never had such a difficult task before it.

Are the supposed difficulties really entitled to the great interest they have aroused? I must confess I cannot dismiss the idea from my mind that a large portion of excitement and disturbance is caused by those who expect to divert attention from the only legitimate and constitutional modes of settling the question. They wish to drive Congress to some new and unauthorized mode for the sake of peace. Such proposals are the only things that can disturb the public tranquillity. Those who resort to them ought to receive the condemnation of all good citizens. Nor is there anything necessarily startling in the situation. One majority is, to all intents and purposes, as good as fifty. Nor can there be any serious doubt as to which are the State returns. It is in some respects new in the aspects it presents, and yet the crowning test to our institutions. Must close elections be followed by intrigue and violence to change the result? Does any man for a moment suppose that a scheme so monstrous as the attempt to defeat the fair and unmistakable election in Oregon on a mere technicality could be for one moment tolerated by the American people, even if the technicality had, what it *has not*, the slightest color of law?

The question as to whether we should allow such of the reconstructed States, recently in war, and who do not furnish us the evidence that they are able as yet to conduct fair and peaceable elections, to vote, is one pregnant with the most important issues. Must we forever be kept in this condition of half war, half peace? Shall we permit wholesale fraud and mur-

der to elect a President? or, having admitted them, shall we accept such machinery as these States present to us, and count the vote of Vermont side by side with the vote of Mississippi?

What are we to think of a great party like the Democratic party resorting to turbulent means from a fear that they are beaten? How questionable and unpatriotic to call popular assemblages to pass on the situation. What shall the Democratic convention of Indiana do? Are they not satisfied with the constitutional machinery that has elected our Presidents since the days of Washington? Is the design to browbeat or threaten? The will of the people is law, but in our American system its only force lies through forms; for nothing is law, or can have the sanctity thereof, save the will of the people legitimately expressed. The only turbulent element is in such movements. Will the shrewd Democratic leaders countenance such a scheme in the vain hope of a temporary success?

I do not wish to hear any of the insane talk of fixed ammunition and thousands of muskets in the hands of mobs to intimidate or assail our constitutional authorities. All such rodomontade only exposes those who use it to ridicule. Nor do I for a moment fear that armies will be lawlessly organized to march on Washington, prepared and preparing for disturbances. If such talk for a moment disturbs the public mind, it is at once tranquilized by the reflection that we have a *man at the helm*. No weak, vacillating old man is declaring he has no power to crush conspiracy and rebellion, and weeping himself out of the Presidency. I do not rise here as the special eulogist of the President, but I do not hesitate to declare him among the best of our Presidents. Vainly shall conspirators seek to weaken his influence. Cruelly assailed, he has modestly withheld just, but possibly undignified vindication. For long months remorselessly pursued by men, many of whom were recently in arms against him, and who had shared his unparalleled magnanimity when, at the head of a great army, flushed with victory, his only thought was—

To soothe and save
The feelings of the conquered brave.

Misrepresented and hounded by partisan committees, his character comes out of the ordeal unspotted. He is charged with Cæsarism, and events prove the charge false. He is charged with conspiring to name his successor so that his dynasty might be continued, and as events prove that to be false he is charged with selfish indifference as to the candidates of his own party. He is charged with sending troops into the reconstructed States, and yet he never sent

them save under the strict forms of the Constitution and law. Were they asked for needlessly? Let Hamburgh and kindred horrors answer. Something was due the sanctity of law, something to the blood of our slaughtered countrymen.

Yes, we will have peace. The President the people have elected under the prescribed forms will be quietly inaugurated. We have proven to the world that rebellion

could not destroy this Republic, and we will now prove that intrigue cannot accomplish what war failed to do. The forms by which we have maintained our Government are sacred, and rest under the ægis of the Constitution. Behind it stands the American people, and as they have never permitted an armed enemy to crush, so will they never permit bargain to compromise or treason to tarnish.

A SAMPLE OF THOUSANDS.

The people of the North have but a faint conception of the lawlessness existing in certain sections of Louisiana. If the facts were known men of all parties would rise up and say with emphasis, this reign of terror must cease. The question is asked, Why does the Governor permit these outrages—why do not the courts punish the offenders? The answer is a simple one. The Governor has the white element of the State arrayed against him, and this element tolerates the commission of these crimes. The courts in certain parishes are overawed by armed desperadoes and have no power to execute their decrees. Justice is but a mockery, and officers of the law are defied or shot down. To kill a negro or a Republican, white or black, is no crime in the eyes of the Democrats in some of the parishes of the State. Think of it, citizens of this boasted land of liberty! Citizens of a State outraged because they are Republicans; driven to seek refuge in woods and swamps because they are Republicans; murdered in the presence of their wives and children because they are Republicans; treated worse than wild beasts for no other cause than that of their loyalty to the Union and the Republican party. The devotion shown by the colored people of the South to the Republican party is little less than martyrdom.

The Republican party has had control of the nation, but through a mistaken policy it has stood with folded arms and witnessed the persecution of its friends in the South without any effort to protect them. They have been left to the mercy of their enemies, and yet they are true to the party that represents liberty. Peace, work,

money, have been held out to them if they would but vote the Democratic ticket. In some cases they have yielded to save home and life, but in many instances they have gone to their death, sublimely heroic, rather than deny their political birthright. To show a single instance, taken from a volume of testimony in the same direction, and published by Congress in the shape of a report on Louisiana affairs, we append the following statement. It shows clearly the cold-blooded character of the lawless Democrats in Louisiana, who to-day are savage with rage that the returning board had the nerve to reject the votes that were cast under the shadow of the rifle and knife. Riley Norfliss, a colored man, twenty-four years old, a farmer at West Feliciana, testified before the board as follows:

“The 11th of July last past, about midnight, a body of armed men came to my house, about sixty, as near as I could count. They called out to me some three or four times to come out, then, getting impatient, called again, ‘Ain’t you coming out?’ I answered yes, as soon as I could find my pants. They then said, ‘If you don’t come out we will smoke you out.’ I went out, and there I saw Cody Smith, Mr. Domings, Robert Wilson, Tom West, Charley Barrow, Robert Phillips, Hugh Connor, Geo. Townes, Will. Gilmore, Matt. Gilmore, Joe D. Smith, Lewis Smith, Page Barrow, Herman Barrow, and a great many whose names I do not now remember, and some I did not know. All were on horseback, and were armed with guns and pistols. They had dismounted. I was accosted at once by Cody Smith, who said, ‘I want to know all about that club, Republican, you have out here that is going to kill the Democrats.’ I told him that was a club I didn’t know anything about. He says, ‘You are

a damned liar. You follow us all. We'll get it out of you to-night or we'll kill you.' They then got on their horses and made me go with them on foot in their midst, about 250 yards from my house, where they came across a big tree. There they made me get up upon a horse. Then Tom West said to me, 'Now, by G—d, I want you to tell me all you know.' I told them I didn't know anything. West said, 'Yes you do, by G—d. Ain't some of you got a rope?' Then Robert Phillips spoke up, saying, 'Yes, I've got one.' He then passed to West a new grass rope that he had tied to his saddle. West immediately put it around my neck, after making the slip-noose, saying, 'Now, by G—d, I want you to up and tell us the whole thing. If you don't we'll break your neck to-night.' I told them I knew of no club of Republicans to kill people. The boys had spoke of having a club meeting, as had always been the case in all election times. Robert Wilson spoke, saying, 'Oh, by G—d, boys, he is trying to dodge us. Break his neck at once and be done with it.' Robert Phillips then climbed the tree, taking up the end of the rope, and fastened it to a limb. Lewis Smith then caught hold of the bridle-rein of the horse I had been placed on and started to lead him from under me. I caught hold of the rein and pulled him back. I begged for a chance to talk. They waited. I told them I did not know of such a club as they spoke of, but if they would turn me loose I would join a Democratic club. One of them then said, 'Turn him loose. Let him go home and behave himself and be a good Democrat now.' They turned me loose. After I had got off about one hundred yards one of them shouted out, 'Hold on there, you black son of a b—h, we ain't done with you yet.' I saw I had no chance to run, so stopped right still. Cody Smith, Robert Wilson, and Hugh Connor, Robert Phillips, and Lewis Smith came back for me and told me to go and follow them. They put me in advance, and being too slow in walking for them, Wilson said to Smith, 'If you've got a whip, whip him with it, and make him go faster. If you have not a whip get a stick and knock him in the head. He'll go then.' They took me to Charley Barrow's place, a mile from my house. They went into his quarters and took two other colored men, named Gilbert Carter and Isaac Vessell, and brought them to where I had been left with a guard over me, about a hundred yards from the quarters. When they had got Carter and Vessell within about ten yards of me, the white men said to each other, 'Where can we find a tree to hang these two sons of bitches? When they said

this Carter and Vessell broke and ran. The whole crowd immediately fired after them. Gilbert Carter was filled with buck-shot in the small of the back, and his thigh was broken. The other man escaped. Robert Phillips rode up to where Carter had fallen and said, 'Boys, by G—d, this fellow's pulse is beating yet.' Then Charley Barrow went up to Carter and placing a pistol to his head, fired it and killed him dead, saying, 'By God, we've got the captain of this Republican club, and if he ain't religious he's gone to hell.' They then said to each other, 'What shall we do to this other?' meaning me. Hugh Connor says, 'Kill him and leave him here.' The guards who had me in charge said, 'No, we will take him to the captain and see what he says.' They carried me to the captain, and when we got to him I found it was Charley Barrow. He told them—he gave me to them and said, 'Do whatever you want to with him. He belongs to the Sage Hill club, he don't belong to mine.' He permitted me to talk to him. I said, 'I don't belong to anybody's club, but if you will turn me loose and don't hurt me I'll join your Democratic club.' He said, 'By G—d, you needn't expect to join my club and then after join the Radical club, for you will be in a worse fix if you do than you are now. If you join our club you must vote the Democratic ticket, for if you vote any other you might just as well take your carpet-bag on your back and travel. All Radicals now are played out. We are all Democrats now. You tell all others and colored men that if in two weeks they have not joined my club they will be sorry for their own selves. They had better leave the parish.' They then let me go, telling me to get home as quick as possible, and not let them catch me before I got home, for if they did they would kill me sure. From that time up to election they rode over the whole parish, threatening the lives of the people unless they voted the Democratic ticket. They done it night and day."

NOT EASILY FRIGHTENED.—The American people are not easily frightened out of their just rights. If Mr. Hayes is declared elected by the President of the Senate, under the forms of the Constitution, he will be inaugurated, and the better portion of the Democratic party will say, Amen!

FORTUNATE.—It is fortunate for the Republic that the Democratic ballot-box stuffer who can vote forty times can shoulder but one musket.

"A CONGRESS PRESIDENT."

HOSTILITY TO AN ELECTION BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES A FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE OF DEMOCRACY.

In the Presidential election of 1824 the primary colleges failed to elect a President. Before the people there had been four candidates, to wit :

	Who received
Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee	99 votes
John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts	84 "
Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia	41 "
Henry Clay, of Kentucky,	37 "

The whole number of electors being 261

And a majority 131

Consequently, the election of a President, under the Constitution, devolved upon the House of Representatives, from the three highest on the list—Messrs. Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. The contest really was between Jackson and Adams. At the time Henry Clay was Speaker of the House. He possessed a commanding influence over that body, and exerting it in favor of Mr. Adams, decided the election in favor of Mr. Adams. The election of Adams excited the wildest indignation among the Democracy. They saw in the election of a President by the House of Representatives a destruction of the sovereignty of the nation—a degradation and collapse of our free institutions—a subversion of the fundamental principle of the Constitution, which declares that a majority shall rule. In the electoral colleges Jackson had 99 votes, and Adams but 84. They contended, therefore, that Jackson, having the largest number, was the choice of the people, and entitled to the Presidency. His defeat could only be the result of a corrupt combination, animated by the vilest motives—of "bargain and intrigue." Adams, Clay and the House were accordingly overwhelmed in furious anathemas.

Democracy, with an instinct for the spoils as irrepressible then as now, instantly assumed, rather arbitrarily, it was thought, that the Republican or Democratic party in the election had voted for Jefferson as President and Burr as Vice President ; and upon such an assumption they demanded Jefferson's election. They denounced the delay of the House in declaring him President. They threatened revolution and the most terrible vengeance if Jefferson was defeated, and vituperated Bayard, of Delaware, (a Federalist preferring Burr, and holding the decision in his hands,) because he hesitated in deciding the contest, against his convictions, in favor of Jefferson.

Hence, in 1825, the Democracy, now under the lead of Jackson, adopted as a fundamental principle of its organization undying hostility to elections by the House of Representatives of President of the United States. They determined upon an immediate revolution. Mr. Benton, in the Senate, and Governor McDuffie, of South Carolina, in the House, moved for an amendment to the Constitution which would divest the latter body, in every event, of all control over the election of President.

In the protracted and eloquent debate which followed in both Houses, these motions were supported by the ablest and most distinguished of the Democratic leaders—by Messrs. Benton, Hayne of South Carolina, R. M. Johnson of Kentucky, Martin Van Buren, James Buchanan, C. C. Cambelling, James K. Polk, J. S. Barbour, of Virginia, and others, and finally passed the House by a vote of yeas 138 to nays 52.

These gentlemen maintained that all experience demonstrates that the power lodged in the House to elect in a certain contingency is corrupt and corrupting ; it threatens the sovereignty of the nation in a probable defeat of the will of the people ; it frustrates the manifest design

of the Constitution, which contemplates that in all cases a majority shall rule—the will of a majority legally expressed, without intimidation, violence, force, or fraud in the choice of a President. They maintained that the President of the Constitution is a President of the people; that a "Congress President," a President elected by the House, was a political monster execrated by the people. Such a President was a menace to the liberties of the nation—his "creation" an usurpation in Congress of the sovereignty of the people. Besides, the exercise of such a power by the House necessarily destroys all the salutary checks contemplated in the Constitution by the framers of that instrument for the purity of the Government.

"Responsibility" is the very essence, "the vital principle" of our constitutional system; upon it depends our "safety from anarchy and despotism." Hence the danger of a participation of the House in the election of President; it destroys "that separation of the legislative from the executive indispensable to the effective responsibility of the latter." "What," they exclaimed, "a Congress President! Who makes him—'we, the people of the United States?' No, sir; we, the servants of the people, a grade of workmen below the journeyman, fixes him up; the master hand is not in the work. Who is he responsible to"—to the people or Congress? Who but to those who made him—to Congress? And what the inevitable result? Intrigue and faction, the opening wide of the flood-gates of corruption through the "barter and sale" of patronage. Congress, "instead of enforcing a very vigorous accountability against the President of its own creation," "instead of standing to the executive in the relation of an independent and co-ordinate department, becomes the partisan of his power and the apologist of his transgressions."

They urged that "the tide of corruption never flows backward." "Corrupt Congress and you assail liberty in the very seat of its vitality;" for corruption, not force, was the destroyer of all free governments. The participation of the House in the election of President necessarily degrades

alike the Legislature and the Executive. In the language of Governor McDuffie: "Instead of statesmen profoundly versed in the sublime art of rendering the Republic flourishing and happy, the members of this House will degenerate into mere managing politicians trained in the little arts of intrigue"—"engrossed exclusively in making Presidents." Truly, what a faithful description of the last and the present House. Upon "mercenary intriguers" and "interested office hunters"—the Tildens, Hewitts, Randalls, etc.—Governor McDuffie was very severe. He says:

"In political affairs the vicious, the ambitious, and the interested are always active. It is the natural tendency of virtue, confiding in the strength of its own cause, to be inactive." * * * "Show me a hundred political factionists—men who look to the election of a President as the means of gratifying their high or low ambition, and I will show you the very materials for a mob, ready for any desperate adventure connected with their common fortunes."

Hence, Governor McDuffie looked upon the interference by the House in the election of President in any event "with perfect abhorrence." The "abhorrence" of James K. Polk was equally pronounced; and James Buchanan had even an amendment of his own for ridding the Constitution and country of an abomination so monstrous; he would not tolerate it, nor would the people. He and they demanded that the constitutional clause conveying the power to the House be expunged. So, too, Van Buren declared: "Upon no point were the people so united;" and Richard M. Johnson "in vain expected to see a President elected by Congress hailed as the President of the nation." "In no event" would he vote to continue in the House a power so anti-Democratic and vicious, and Mr. Benton "pledged himself to the Senate and the American people" to persevere in the movement "with all the energy he was master of."

In the subsequent campaign of 1828, in which Andrew Jackson was elected President, hostility to an election of President by the House entered largely into the canvass, and was advocated by the Democracy as one of their cardinal or fundamental

notions of reform. The Democratic orators were great upon the theme. In the sublimities of the subject their "patriotism transcended all party." In Congress, in the State legislatures, in the press, upon the stump, and even in the pulpit, their philippics on an election of President by the House abounded in eloquence and fire. Jackson indorsed their utterances. A genuine patriot, Jackson heartily believed in the principles they proclaimed. Hence, *in every one of his eight annual messages to Congress, Jackson earnestly recommends the adoption of such an amendment to the Constitution as will sever forever the corrupt, corrupting, and dangerous connection of the House with the election of a President in every contingency.*

Why, now, do the Democracy plot to consummate a contingency so denounced by Jackson as corrupt and dangerous—as an usurpation in the House which destroys the sovereignty of the people and nation in the highest and most important functions of that sovereignty, the selection of a Chief

Magistrate of the Republic? Denounced, indeed, by the greatest, and wisest of their leaders, the fathers and founders of the party—by Jefferson, Jackson, Benton, Hayne, McDuffie, Van Buren, Polk, Buchanan, Richard M. Johnson, etc.—by the men who so often led them to victory under the inspiring enthusiasm created by their determined and uncompromising hostility to an election by the House of a President. Why, now, do they labor to reverse all this? Why, now, do they fill the land with seditious vaporings, threats, and plottings in the criminal effort to trample under their feet the teachings, principles, and gospel of the old prophets of Democratic reform?

Is not their purpose plain? Is it not to introduce into the House and Government that very corruption so dangerous to the sovereignty and liberties of the people, and as a means of consummating the end and aim of all their plotting—the seizure of the Government through organized violence and fraud?

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

It is important at this time to obtain from historic records an account of the proceedings adopted in the various States for the purpose of securing Presidential electors, and the grounds on which their selection was made. Of course it will be understood that the Presidential candidates were taken from the great political parties, and that the election would turn upon the fact that a majority of votes would indicate the choice of the people. The nearer we can go to the founders of the Republic to ascertain what they did in the matter the more certain we may be of the correctness of their action; and if we are willing to be guided by them the greater will be the satisfaction of the country. One thing, however, deserves remark upon the threshold, from its influence upon all their subsequent movements, and that is, the entire absence of doubt as to the propriety of what they were doing, and the reliance they had on the good faith of the men to be elected that they would carry into effect the wishes of the majority of the citizens

who were to intrust them with power. The Republic could not have been established if the right of the majority to rule had not been recognized. And again, the *honesty of a majority* seems never to have been questioned in those early days, because it was felt that the patriotic love which distinguished all classes was too great and pure and loyal in its purpose to permit the unscrupulous politician to lead the masses into crooked ways in order to defeat the popular choice. The thing was never thought of, and therefore the arrangements made in a public meeting for the nomination of Presidential electors looked to the election of the right persons, with a view to obtain a result, humanly speaking, without the chance of disappointment or failure.

In illustration of this position, and to show how grandly true and loyal were the fathers of the Republic who voted for Madison as President, the following account is substantially taken from *Niles' Weekly Register* of February 29, 1812: It appears that the members of both branches of the

General Assembly of Virginia met in the Capitol, in that month, to nominate suitable persons to be supported at the ensuing election as electors of a President and Vice President. The Speaker occupied the chair. There were twenty-five districts in the State; and on motion, and the question being taken on each of twenty-five names, a list is given of twenty-five persons who were recommended as electors for President and Vice President. Corresponding committees were also nominated, and a central corresponding committee in the city of Richmond was appointed, in which occur such names as William Wirt and Peyton Randolph, showing its character and influence. The reason is then given for all the care taken in the selection of the electors. It is very simple, but it nevertheless inspired them in the execution of their duty, and lay at the foundation of their hopes and labor.

It may be proper to say that but one sentiment reigned through the meeting, and that the only test laid down, whether *they* should or should not vote for such and such an elector, was whether *he* would or would not vote for *James Madison* as President of the United States.

Nothing can be clearer than this—that a person nominated for Presidential elector, if elected, has undertaken to perform a duty, the character of which he knew beforehand. He has no discretion; nor has any other person the power or the right to instruct him. A certificate of election from the proper officers under the law cannot legally be withheld from him or given to another. It is the evidence of his authority to act, and that he has been trusted by the people to cast his vote, on the assembling of the electoral college, for the Presidential candidate they named to him—a duty which he pledged himself to perform at the time of his nomination; and his election only gives him the opportunity of redeeming his pledge, by performing the duty in the way he was instructed. The people in the case cited in Virginia had no doubt of the elector's qualification when his name was accepted. His election, therefore, and his casting his vote in the direction indicated, or for the candidate the

people desired to see elected, simply enabled him to confirm the confidence the people had in him as an upright and honorable citizen. This, too, is the case with every Republican Presidential elector. He cast his vote for Hayes and Wheeler, whom the majority had elected, as the country well knew. Had a majority of votes been cast for Tilden and Hendricks the country would have acquiesced; and however much the Republican party might have deplored the calamity it would have offered no opposition. There would have been no dishonest efforts to complicate the vote of the Presidential electors; no desire to buy off members of returning boards or votes in the electoral college, held by mean and weak Republicans waiting to be bribed. Republicans would have let the election go to Mr. Tilden, and have redoubled their diligence to lessen the evils of such an event. But Mr. Tilden was *not* elected. *Mr. Tilden knows he was not elected.* Mr. Hewitt and Mr. Randall and other Democratic blusterers know the same—that Mr. Tilden was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls, and is in a minority in the electoral college, which no bragging, no lying, no bribing can reverse in Mr. Tilden's favor. What, then, is at the bottom of the tactics of the Democratic party who want to snatch victory from the hands of the victorious Republicans? Tilden's defeat is the death-blow of the Democracy. The country did not know the depths of degradation to which the Democratic party had sunk until revealed by Tilden's defeat, so ignominious and so signal. ADDITION, DIVISION, and SILENCE was the Democratic gospel in the reign of Tweed and Tilden, those truly good men. Tweed vanished out of public gaze, and threw Tilden on his own resources. Left by himself he assumed control of the Democratic party, and, aspiring to the Presidency, added another chapter to the Democratic gospel of FRAUD and BLOODSHED and CORRUPTION, which, being applied to the events of the canvass, determined the people to reject Tilden, the corruptionist, and elect Hayes to the Chief Magistracy of the nation, because they believed in Republican honesty and truth.

THE SILVER CONTROVERSY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL FACTS ON THE DOUBLE AND SINGLE
MONETARY STANDARDS.

LETTER FROM MINISTER WASHBURNE.

The American Minister to France, in December last, transmitted to the State Department at Washington an interesting summary of the views of the more prominent European minds on the decline in the value of silver, and also on the propriety of a double monetary standard. The following is the text of this important paper :

UNITED STATES LEGATION, PARIS.

SIR : The rapid and growing depreciation of silver, which had for some time attracted the attention of the principal economists and financial men of Europe, is now becoming a matter of serious uneasiness to the Governments that have the largest proportion of silver currency in the world. I mean America, France, Germany, and England, the last named for her Indian empire.

The question is of such vital importance, it threatens to assume such vast proportions, and is, in so many respects, connected with the measures at present under consideration in our country regarding the resumption of specie payments, that I have thought it would not be uninteresting to you to know how it is presented in Europe, and what solutions the most competent French economists propose for a crisis whose consequences might prove disastrous for the whole commercial world.

The European States may be divided into two classes with regard to metallic currency: those which have adopted gold alone for their monetary standard, and those which use both a gold and silver standard. The first are England, Germany, (the latter since the 1st of January only,) and Holland. It may be noticed, however, that while England recognizes no other legal standard than gold, her immense Indian empire has no other currency than silver. The second class comprises France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece. To these we should, temporarily at least, add Germany; for though the German Empire has begun to withdraw its various silver coins, and has decided by law that on and after the 1st of January of the present year the gold mark shall be the only legal tender, it has, nevertheless, authorized, for an indeterminate lapse of time, the circulation of thalers,

Russia and Austria, which are both doomed to paper currency for a long time to come, need not be taken into consideration.

The bimetallic or double-standard system can evidently subsist but by the assumption of an unvariable ratio between the value of gold and that of silver. In France, that ratio was determined by a law of the year XI, (1803,) which is the basis of the French monetary system, and which established for the relative value of gold and silver the ratio of 1 to 15½. This means that to have in silver the equivalent of any given weight of gold, we must multiply that weight by 15½.

The French ratio was successively adopted by the six above-named States, and during a long time the value thus settled underwent very slight variations. When gold was discovered in California, it was believed in Europe that this metal would suffer a certain depreciation, and various measures were resorted to in order to avoid the impending danger. Holland even went so far as to declare that *gold* should no more be a legal tender, but after a short perturbation the relative value of the two metals was brought back to its former state, and the ratio of 15½ to 1 remained unchanged.

It was not until 1867 that this ratio began to experience variations detrimental to silver and favorable to gold. Eighteen hundred and sixty-seven was the year of the universal exhibition at Paris. On that occasion an international monetary conference was held there, the great object of which was the investigation of the means of establishing monetary unity. The conference, in which nearly all the civilized countries, the United States among others, were represented, and to which men eminently skilled in financial matters had been called, gave a large majority in favor of the adoption of gold as the sole monetary standard. From that moment the value of silver began to decline. At first the depreciation was very slow and hardly perceptible, but by degrees it went on accelerating. In 1872 it was as yet but 2 per cent.; in 1873 it had become 1 per cent. more. In the course of the latter year the French Government, in hopes of preventing, or at least restraining, the further de-

preciation of silver, determined to restrict the coining of that metal. This measure, which was contrary to the spirit if not to the letter of the law of the year XI, (for till then any denizen had a right to send to the mint for coining as much metal as he chose,) produced an effect quite the reverse of what was expected; the value of silver continued declining, and in 1874 its depreciation with regard to gold was 4 per cent.

At that time other events took place which seem also to have essentially contributed to the depreciation of silver.

Germany, whose metallic currency had, up to 1870, been almost entirely limited to silver, finding herself after the conclusion of peace possessed of an immense capital, resolved to unify her monetary system and adopt gold as the sole standard. She therefore ordered that none of the foreign coins, of which a great number were in free circulation throughout the Empire, should thereafter be a legal tender, called in the florins and other silver coins of Southern Germany and of the Hanseatic cities, decreed that on and after the 1st of January, 1876, the sole legal tender should be the gold mark, and coined gold pieces of ten and twenty marks, to the amount of 1,200,000,000. In order to complete this reformation, it would have been necessary to call in all the thalers then in circulation; but as their total amount is equal to 74,000,000 francs, and as the sudden withdrawal of so great a mass of metal presents difficulties of all kinds, Germany has decided to accomplish it gradually, and has therefore retained the thalers as a legal tender, assimilating them, however, to gold pieces of three marks, and adopting for their value with regard to gold the ratio of 1 to 15½, accepted by the bimetallic States, so that every thaler, now worth three marks, weighs 15½ times as much as the three-mark gold piece.

Therefore, though adopting as a principle the monometallic system, and declaring the thaler to be a provisional currency, which is retained, but not allowed to be increased, Germany belongs *de facto* to the class of bimetallic States, since the thaler, or silver mark, and the gold mark are, in that country, exchangeable at par. The consequences of such a state of things were not slow to appear. As the value of silver abroad was everywhere declining, while it suffered no depreciation at home, the German bankers exported German gold to meet their payments in foreign countries, and kept the German silver for their liabilities at home, so that the Government was obliged to buy and import its own gold, with which it paid for the silver called in, and then sell that same silver at a loss.

Such being the situation, all the bimetallic States had reason to fear that Germany might send to their mints the silver she withdrew from her own circulation, and which she could dispose of only at a heavy loss in London, the great mart of the precious metals of the world.

In fact, at that time, 1874, silver which was then, and still is, a legal tender in France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland, could be coined to any amount in those countries. There was no law to prevent a French, a Belgian, an Italian, or a Swiss citizen from carrying to the mint all the silver he could obtain; the coining of it could in no case be denied him. It would, therefore, have been an easy matter for Germany to have her florins and thalers, which could not be advantageously disposed of in England or the United States, converted into francs and lires, circulating at a par with gold. France hoped to avert this danger—if there was any danger in the case—by the formation of a monetary league, the object of which was to restrict the liberty of coining. This is what is known as the Latin Monetary Union. It was constituted in 1874 by a convention signed at Paris. These countries bound themselves not to produce during the year 1874 more than 120,000,000 of francs in silver coinage. Such an agreement was of reality nothing else than a step toward the adoption of gold as the sole standard, since the measure of precaution was against silver alone, while leaving the coinage of gold completely free.

The results of this measure, however, did not correspond to what its authors expected. The value of silver still declined, and at the end of 1874 it was 5 per cent. below par. In 1875 a second conference of the Latin Union fixed the limit of the coinage of silver in the four States at 150,000,000 francs for that year. Nevertheless the decline continued. It had reached 8 per cent. when the conference held its third meeting at the beginning of the present year. No other remedy was sought for than that which had been attempted so far, and the amount of silver coinage was still further reduced for 1876. France was allowed to make five-franc pieces only to the amount of 54,000,000 francs instead of 75,000,000 which had been authorized in 1875; Italy, 36,000,000 francs instead of 50,000,000; Belgium, 10,800,000 francs instead of 15,000,000; Switzerland, 7,200,000 francs instead of 10,000,000. Greece, which had recently joined the Union, was authorized to coin 15,600,000 francs, of which 8,400,000 francs were allowed in the place of the old silver specie withdrawn.

This determination had scarcely been

adopted when silver suffered a new decline much more rapidly this time than previously. In the space of two months it lost 3 and even 4 per cent., so that the difference between the commercial and the legal value of the metal reached 12 and 13 per cent.

Such was the state of things when the new chambers of France met. One of the first acts of the new Minister of Finances was to present a bill empowering the Government to restrict the coinage of silver in so far as it might be deemed necessary, or, in other words, not to avail itself to the full extent of the right granted to France by the monetary convention. It must be observed, in fact, that while the convention established a maximum amount of coinage, it establishes no minimum, and that in 1874 and 1875 France coined the maximum allotted to her only because her laws did not allow her to do otherwise.

The object of the bill introduced by Mr. Léon Say is to alter this state of things; it was brought before the Senate on the 21st of this month, and gave rise to a long and interesting debate, in which Mr. De Parieu, a man eminent by his special knowledge of monetary matters, attacked the principle of the double standard vigorously, while Mr. Roland, governor of the Bank of France, with marked ability, defended it. The bill will certainly pass, but the question now is whether the new law will produce the result expected from it. When France has completely stopped coining silver, will the depreciation of this metal be prevented thereby, or even partially checked? It is, at least, doubtful.

On this highly important question two essentially distinct doctrines are entertained by the financial men and economists of Europe.

On one side stand the monometallists, or champions of gold as the sole monetary standard; on the other, the bimetallics, or supporters of the old system of the double standard. Among the former are Messrs. Louis Bamberger, of Berlin; Max Wirth, of Vienna; Frère Orban, of Brussels; Feer Herzog, of Berne, and in France, Michel Chevalier, De Parieu, Victor Bonnet, Frédéric Passy, and Leroy Beaulieu. Their principal organs are, in London, the *Economist*; in Paris, the *Journal des Débats*, and the *Economiste*.

On the other side are Messrs. Malon, Minister of Finances in Belgium; Laveley and Allard, of Brussels; Count Sclopis, of Turin; Léon Say, Magne, Wolowsky, André Courcelle-Seneuil, and Henri Cernuschi, of France. The principal organs of this group are the *Siècle*, and the *République Française*.

The theory of the monometallists may be summed up as follows: The first cause of the perturbation now prevailing in the monetary market is the superabundant production of silver. The mines of the New World, by pouring in upon us tons of this metal at the very time when the coinage of silver is restricted in almost every country, have produced such a difference between its value and that of gold that the balance is irretrievably destroyed. Every attempt, moreover, to maintain a constant ratio between the values of the two metals, both of which are subject to so many causes of variation, must always prove utterly useless. There exists but one remedy of real efficacy for the state of things created by the bimetallic system. We must completely abandon that system and adopt gold as our sole monetary standard. On that condition only we shall be able to extricate ourselves from the dangers and difficulties of two metallic standards legally exchangeable at par, though one of them is much more abundant than the other, and at the same time very bulky.

To these arguments, which the very able economist of the *Journal des Débats*, Mr. Leroy Beaulieu, advances with great force, and which M. de Parieu presented in the Senate with all the authority of his long experience in financial matters, the bimetallics oppose the following answer:

It is not the superabundant production of silver that has caused the perturbation; it is the limitation of the coinage of silver, a measure almost equivalent to total suppression, and the withdrawal of a great part of the silver coin already existing. Silver having lost the principal use to which it has always been applied, remains partly unemployed, and its depreciation increases as the demand for it goes on decreasing. The total adoption of the monometallic system, far from improving the present state of things, would do nothing but aggravate it, and infallibly result in a fearful financial catastrophe. To extricate ourselves from these difficulties, we should, on the contrary, hasten to retrace our steps and restore silver to its destination, by repealing all measures restricting its coinage. So soon as the great Powers, resuming the bimetallic system fully, shall decree that the coinage of gold and silver is unlimited, and that the two metals shall always be exchangeable at a rate established once for all—that of 15½ for 1, for instance, which is already generally accepted—there will be no more fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver. As the two metals will constitute but one monetary mass, the greater or less quantity produced by the mines of either of them can then affect

only the total mass. The purchasing power of this mass may increase or diminish, according to its greater or less abundance, but gold and silver, whatever may be the quantity of either, will retain their relative value, since the one will always be the representative of the other. ●

This theory is certainly very attractive, and it has found in Mr. Henri Cernuschi a most ardent, indefatigable, and ever-ready advocate. In the daily notes, which he published in the *Siècle*, as well as in a multitude of pamphlets that are immediately translated into English and German, this bold and original economist defends the double-metallic standard by arguments which I cannot undertake to reproduce in this summary, but which certainly deserve the serious attention of all who take an interest in the question.

Among the considerations invoked by the bimetallists two are certainly of special importance. The first is that every measure restricting the coinage of silver has immediately been followed by a decline of the metal. The fact is undeniable; but it may be a mere coincidence, and not a consequence. It is possible that silver would have declined even if its coinage had not been restricted. The bimetallists here merely invert the argument of the monometallists, who say that the coinage was restricted for the very reason of the decline of silver. The second consideration bears on the enormous perturbations that would infallibly follow the general application of the monometallic system. In order to accomplish it, it would in fact be necessary to withdraw from circulation an enormous quantity of metal. What, for example, would be the amount of it for France, Germany, and British India alone?

In France, from 1795 to 1871, inclusive, silver has been coined to the value of 5,122,000,000 francs. Of these, 236,000,000 have been withdrawn by Government, and it is estimated that of the balance only 1,200,000,000 to 1,500,000,000 in five-franc pieces still exist in France, of which 495,000,000 are at present in the vaults of the bank. Suppose 400,000,000 be kept for small payments and as change, 800,000,000 to 1,100,000,000 will be left for withdrawal.

In Germany, according to official statements published in Berlin, the total amount of the silver coined by the different German States before 1871 was £68,000,000 sterling. The silver still circulating amounts to £21,000,000; thus leaving a balance of £47,000,000. Suppose about £17,000,000 to have disappeared by exportation or melting, there would remain £30,000,000 sterling, or 750,000,000 francs, to be withdrawn.

For India we have no statistics. It is generally supposed that the circulation of that country amounts to £150,000,000, which is not at all extraordinary when we consider that the population of India is seven times that of Great Britain, and that gold coin is unknown in the country. In India alone the sum to be withdrawn would, therefore, be as much as 1,500,000,000 or 2,000,000,000 of francs, so that the total amount to be called in would be at least 3,500,000,000 of francs; that is, \$700,000,000 rendered useless as a currency, and of which the Government would have to dispose at an enormous discount. The bare mention of these figures is sufficient to give an idea of the crisis that would take place in the whole world as a consequence of so gigantic an operation as that recommended by the monometallists.

I shall not undertake to discuss and still less to propose a solution for the great monetary problem now impending over the world. I hope, however, that this summary of the question, perhaps too long extended, may be of some utility in helping you to a clearer understanding of the manner in which it is viewed in France.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. Hamilton Fish.

HAD ENOUGH OF IT.—The people of the South have had all the war they want, for a century at least. They are not inclined to invite desolation by offering themselves as willing sacrifices to Mr. Tilden's ambition. Another war would be no holiday affair to the South. The black man would prove a more unwelcome citizen with a musket in his hand, than he is now regarded with the ballot. Now, he may hurt his white neighbor's feelings, but with a war on hand he would be apt to hurt something else. For this reason the South prefers peace to war, and neither Mr. Tilden nor his bad advisers can induce it to fall into line for a new revolution, which, while it might bring untold disasters upon the North, would bring annihilation upon the South. Hayes and peace is the watchword of the hour.

A TOUCHING PICTURE.—Democratic leaders, cracking champagne bottles, and under the influence of Tilden's wine and boned turkey, clamoring for war because of oppression and hard times, is one of those touching pictures of human suffering that are calculated to bring tears to the eyes of a cast-iron statue.

WADE HAMPTON'S CLAIMS.

Wade Hampton has never ceased to call the people of South Carolina to witness that he would be their next Governor. He said so from the first announcement of his candidacy to the close of the polls. He said so when the counting of the ballots proclaimed his defeat, and every honest man in the State knew that the majority of the citizens did not want him, and had determined not to have him. In all this Wade Hampton was but playing a part in a conspiracy plotted by rebel Democrats, into which he naturally fell, being a rebel Democrat himself. The great curse of the South at this moment is the rebel Democracy. They have not only done their best to prevent the restoration of peace and order, but have really combined together for the purpose of securing representation of rebel citizenship. In South Carolina Wade Hampton did not appeal to *the people* to support him for the office of Governor; he knew too well that such an appeal would have been made in vain. Nothing is more repulsive to Southern Republicans, and to those truer Democrats who have accepted the situation, and in whose heart the love of country has triumphed over the passions of the past, than the persistent crowding of unreconstructed rebels into prominence. These men ask to be sent to Congress or elected to office because they are rebels. Wade Hampton stoutly maintains that he is a rebel, and on that ground asks to be rewarded with the governorship. This rebel plea for reward is not intended to be, and cannot be, addressed to the people; and the reason of its being put forward was to fire the Southern heart and lead to demonstrations of rebel strength, for the purpose of intimidation and bloodshed. So certain was Wade Hampton that what he calls South Carolina would respond to his invitation by doing just what they did, that he calculated upon an inauguration as Governor in the presence of the rifle clubs and all that class of Kuklux assassins, whose only claim to notice springs from habitual violation of law and habitual prac-

tice of bloodshed. These were the noble sons of South Carolina who were to redeem the State. Wade Hampton sighed to be *their* Governor. It was of no consequence to him that he was not elected. At the head of such banditti, he would soon have reduced the people to submission without consulting their wishes. He had great faith in rifle clubs. While Columbia, South Carolina, was swarming with such ruffians, and train after train bringing them there, Wade Hampton telegraphed the President to withdraw the troops and he would guarantee peace. The President took in the situation at a glance. He would not withdraw the troops; "for," said General Grant, "peace there is the peace of death." So the troops remained, and Chamberlain was inaugurated, as he had been elected, while Wade Hampton, chafing at being restrained from having a grand *battue* of Republicans and drenching the streets of the State capital with blood, counted the hours until the day came when he, too, was to be inaugurated, because he wanted the office, and there were rebel Democrats foolish enough to go through the ceremony, and an audience of red-shirted rebels to look upon the farce.

But Wade Hampton had made calculations for a different termination. As a rebel, he meant to redeem the State in the interest of rebels. How he would have reveled in disloyalty; with what intense hatred he would have scorned the Administration, had the President been weak enough to leave the State at Wade Hampton's mercy, to inaugurate a reign of terror and murder. In such times as the present the hand of the rebel is kept from putting the muzzle of a revolver or a rifle to the head of a Republican citizen by the presence of Federal troops, and however much the necessity for the troops may be deplored, their presence certainly afforded leisure to the State poets who desired to indulge in strains of rebel pathos or of praise. This is learned by the issue of an "extra" of the *Columbia Daily Register*,

on the afternoon of December 17, 1876. The size of the paper is not much larger than a lady's visiting card, and the contents consist of two poems, the first of which is entitled, "D. H. Chamberlain's Farewell Address"—a very clear indication that it was the intention of "Gov." Wade Hampton to drive him out of the State. It says :

" I am sitting on the train to-night,
With carpet-bag by my side,
Which I with plunder well have filled
Since the 'Sunny South' I tried.

* * * * *
" The State I ruled is now redeemed,
The people at me scoff,
And, having taken all things else,
Myself I'll now take off."

These are the first and last verses of the "effusion." They are neither elegant nor poetic, but what can be expected from a rebel poet, who is celebrating the enforced *exit* of a Governor elected by the people, as Governor Chamberlain was, at the hands of a rebel like Wade Hampton, who wanted to be Governor, but who found out when too late that the people did not want him? Nevertheless, "The Answer of the People of South Carolina" to the departing Governor's rhymes is said to be the substance of the second poem, which limps along in this wise :

" TO DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN.

" Go, traitor, go ! Thy broken trust
Is monumental crime ;
We spare thy life, for God is just,
And we will bide His time.

" The legislative bayonets gleam
Above our broken laws ;
Thy country's Constitution pierced
To stab the people's cause.

" Though we have quaffed the bitter cup
Held by thy stranger hand,
The law inviolate we keep,
And spurn thee from the land.

* * * * *
" Here, where you sowed the seeds of strife,
Two races blessed shall stand ;
Their rights inviolate maintained,
While justice rules the land.

" The law supreme in peace shall sway
The soldier and his sword ;
And all shall bless the happy day
That trusted Hampton's word."

The President, however, would not believe a word of Hampton's peaceable intentions. This he said, too, while the rhyming *rodomontade* was being written. No ; Hampton did not believe the stuff himself,

as he carried revolvers in his pocket, like every true son of the South. And the assertion is ventured that not a man believes a word of it, North or South. Yet the publication of this insignificant "extra" of the *Daily Register* made a sensation. Hundreds of "riflemen" and pedestrians stood on the curbstone and in the road, publicly reading it, wondering at Hampton's shrewdness, and thinking that he must capture the intelligence of the country. What a country that must be to be captured by such stuff ! And what a cause that has to be supported by such falsehood and impudent disloyalty on behalf of a man who has not common sense enough to know the value of truth and honor !

Will not the Democratic House committee tell him that the people are sick of his efforts to keep up rebellion and bad feeling between the North and the South ; or, as Democrats, do the members of the committee approve his action on behalf of Mr. Tilden ? Are they, too, busy in searching for votes to elect Mr. Tilden to the Presidency, in order that Mr. Wade Hampton's merits as a rebel may receive a greater measure of reward ? Be it what it may, their labor will be lost. The honest sentiment of the country is crystallizing upon the election of Mr. Hayes and the fact that he will be inaugurated. Southern rebels won't fight, and Northern Democrats, who deceived the South into rebellion once, are not known much for feats of arms. Mr. Speaker Randall would look well, doubtless, carrying a musket in another rebellion, but he deals more with words than with the intention of committing the overt act ; and there's danger for him and his Democratic friends if the step were taken. Moreover, he and they and the Democratic party may as well understand first as last that the best men in the country are in no mood to be trifled with. A people may be made angry by reckless assertion and treasonous boasting. The people are quiet now and determined. Woe to the Democratic leaders who dare to bring on a conflict by the ill-timed use of words ! It will be better for them if they had not been born !

THE RETURNING BOARD OF LOUISIANA.

The returning board of Louisiana, under the laws of the State, was clothed with the power of rejecting such parishes as were controlled by violence or fraud. The only question to be determined is, did the board reject any votes without good reason for so doing? To answer this question correctly we must examine the evidence upon which the board acted. This evidence shows a condition of affairs in certain parishes disgraceful to the nation, and a blot upon our civilization. We have but to apply the same method of securing majorities to Northern communities to fully understand the situation in Louisiana. Imagine a county or a congressional district so controlled by the rifle policy that a Republican was continually in danger of his life because of his opinion's sake. Imagine armed bands of Democrats riding around, both day and night, threatening, whipping, killing Republicans, in order to prevent them from voting. Imagine the roads leading to the polling-places picketed with armed ruffians to prevent Republicans from going to the polls, and an armed mob in possession of the ballot boxes, killing on sight any one who dared to differ from them, and a fair picture may be had of certain parishes in Louisiana, whose votes were rejected by the returning board in accordance with duty and law. Does any one believe that such a district in the North could have its vote counted? We venture to say that no intelligent Democrat can be found in any of the Northern States who would justify the counting of votes cast under a system that crushes the opposition by violence and intimidation. The following is but a sample of the cases before the returning board. Some of them are sickening in their details, and unfit for publication. The recital of these outrages perpetrated in the interest of the Democratic party is simply horrible, and should bring the blush of shame to the faces of all who are in any way responsible for this deplorable state of affairs :

"Ellen J. Dunham, being duly sworn, says : I live in the tenth ward, in the parish of East Baton Rouge. On the night of

the 12th of April, 1876, I was at the house of my mother, in company with my husband; at about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning we heard a noise in front of the house; my father, Jerry Myers, went out to see what it was; I heard some one say to him, 'Halt, you damned old Radical nigger.' My brother, Sam Myers, jumped out of bed and said it was the bull-dozer; my husband jumped out of bed and ran out the back door, and I did not see him again until an hour after the sun was up. My brother ran out the front door and toward the woods. The bull-dozer, who were ten or twelve in number, began shooting at my brother; he ran about one hundred yards from the door and fell down dead, and when I saw him after he was carried into the house he was filled with bullet-holes. While the bull-dozer were looking at my brother running my father hid himself in an old potato-house, and when they turned around again they hallooed, 'Hunt the damned Radical nigger;' four or five came into the house. When mother and I were crying, they told us to shut our damn mouths and get the guns and pistols belonging to my father and brother; they found a pistol and an old musket, and said they wanted my mother to find them another shot-gun, but mother told them she did not know anything about it. They by this time found my father and dragged him out, and hallooed, 'Get a rope, boys, we have got the damned old son of a b—h,' and said to father, 'You got away from us once before, but we will fix you this time.' My mother and I began to scream and halloo; the bull-dozer told us to take a last look at the old man, as all you can do is to pray. The bull-dozer then took my father about a mile from the house and hung him to a tree on the side of the road. I think I recognized the voices of some of the bull-dozer, although they had their faces blackened, striped, and covered with handkerchiefs. I think one of the bull-dozer was Henry Kew; I think two of the other men were the Watts men. My father, brother, and husband were all Republicans, and would not join any Democratic club, and I think that was the reason they came to our house and killed my brother and father."

STAY HOME, GENTLEMEN.—If one hundred thousand "unarmed" conspirators march into Washington for the purpose of bull-dozing the Senate, it is safe to say that some of them will be "unlegged" before they leave. Stay home, gentlemen. What Watterson's tongue cannot do your unarmed or armed legions cannot accomplish.

A LEAF FROM THE RECORDS.

The old, musty records of the early history of the Republic are interesting reading in these times of Democratic assumption. From the *Senate Journal*, of April 6th, 1789, we clip the following. It sheds light on the vexed question of counting the electoral vote. As the vote referred to was counted in the presence of many persons who had assisted in framing the Constitution, this extract from the *Journal* comes to us with the force of Holy Writ :

"The Senate proceeded by ballot to the choice of a President for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for President of the United States.

"John Langdon, Esq., was elected.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Ellsworth inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is formed ; that a President is elected for the sole purpose of opening the certificates and counting the votes of the electors of the several States in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States ; and that the Senate is now ready, in the Senate Chamber, to proceed in the presence of the House to discharge that duty ; and that the Senate have appointed one of their members to sit at the Clerk's table to *make a list of the votes as they shall be declared* ; submitting it to the wisdom of the House to appoint one or more of their members for the like purpose."

On the same day Mr. Ellsworth subsequently reported that he had delivered the message. Then

"Mr. Boudinot, from the House of Representatives, communicated the following verbal message to the Senate :

"Mr. President : I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that the House is ready forthwith to meet the Senate to attend the opening and counting of the votes of the electors of the President and Vice President of the United States.

"And he withdrew."

That sheds no light on the subject.

"The Speaker and the House of Representatives attended in the Senate Chamber for the purpose expressed in the message delivered by Mr. Ellsworth ; and after some time withdrew.

"The Senate then proceeded by ballot to the choice of a President of their body *pro tempore*. John Langdon, Esq., was duly elected.

"The President elected for the purpose of counting the votes declared to the Sen-

ate that the Senate and House of Representatives had met, and that he, in their presence, had opened and counted the votes of the electors for President and Vice President of the United States, which were as follows."

On this subject, and referring to the extract above quoted, Mr. Burchard of Illinois said :

"Now, if there is any doubt as to this action, whether the members of the First Congress, or the Second, or Third, or Fourth Congresses rightly understood the intention of the framers of the Constitution, that doubt is removed when we find that there were members of the constitutional convention which framed the very Constitution under which we are acting, who were members of the Senate and House of Representatives at the time when these votes were first counted. In the First Congress there were fifteen members of the constitutional convention who as members of the Senate or House were present at the time when the electoral votes were first counted, namely : In the Senate, John Langdon, William S. Johnson, Oliver Ellsworth, William Patterson, Robert Morris, George Read, Richard Basset, Pierce Butler and William Few. In the House, Nicholas Gilman, Roger Sherman, George Clymer, Daniel Carroll, James Madison, Jr., and Abraham Baldwin. Nearly all of them were present at the counting of the electoral votes, and tacitly assented to the proceedings and count.

"In the Second Congress there were twelve members of that constitutional convention present, and in the Third and Fourth six members of that constitutional convention. Will gentlemen of the present day say that the men who helped frame the Constitution of the United States, the very men most prominent in that constitutional convention, did not understand what the Constitution meant and did not know what they intended in adopting its provisions? Would they not have risen in their places and protested with all the vehemence they could that the count was not being conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution? It seems to me the conclusion is irresistible that the manner in which this count was then conducted under the resolution of the constitutional convention and under the resolutions of Congress immediately afterward, is the extent of the power that it was deemed, by the members of the convention itself and by the first Congresses after the adoption of the Constitution, this House had the right to exercise."

THE RIGHT TO OPEN AND COUNT.

The following extract from the able speech delivered in the House of Representatives January 18th, by Burchard, of Illinois, will be read with interest. It clearly establishes the right of the Vice President to open and *count* the electoral vote. In fact, the early precedents of the Republic are so clear upon this now disputed point that we wonder that any one can be found to doubt the right at the present time. Mr. Burchard said :

"It cannot be claimed that because in the first meeting of Congress under the Constitution, and subsequently until the present time, tellers have been appointed, therefore Congress took control of the count. What is the duty of a teller? It is merely the ministerial duty of enumerating. In this House no teller has power to say what vote shall be counted. That power never has been exercised by a teller. If it is believed that a person not authorized to vote is passing between the tellers, the question is submitted to the presiding officer or the person having charge of the count, and there is no appeal from his decision, which is final and peremptory, subject merely to the right of the bodies, after he has disposed of the question, to act upon and criticise, and, if they deem proper, to censure the officer who makes that decision.

"But until the count is concluded and the declaration of the count made, the tellers have no authority to stop the proceedings or to interfere with the count. All that the two Houses authorized to be done was that the tellers should be appointed, who should sit at the Clerk's desk and make lists of the votes as they are declared.

"But there is another remarkable circumstance. The committee to devise a method for notifying the President as to the result of the count, and to certify to him his election, prepared a form. There were three members of the constitutional convention who were members of the committee which drafted that form of notification, namely, Mr. Patterson, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Ellsworth. They devised a form which was signed by John Langdon, the President appointed under the resolution to count the vote, in which he certified that he had opened the certificates and counted the votes. Congress directed him to certify that he had opened the certificates and counted the votes, and he did make such a certificate and signed it. John Langdon, who had been a member of the constitutional convention himself, certified that *he*

had opened the certificates and counted the votes. The form of the certificate, carefully prepared by the committee and reported as a form, was passed upon by the Senate and approved and entered upon the Journal, as follows :

"Be it known, that the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, being convened in the city and State of New York, the sixth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, the undersigned, appointed *President of the Senate* for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes of the electors, *did*, in the presence of the said Senate and House of Representatives, *open* all the certificates and *count* all the votes of the electors for a President and for a Vice President; by which it appears that George Washington, Esquire, was unanimously elected, agreeably to the Constitution, to the office of President of the United States of America.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal. "JOHN LANGDON."

DECLINE IN BRITISH FOREIGN TRADE.

—"The official returns of the British Board of Trade of the commerce of Great Britain for the first seven months of the year 1876 shows an adverse balance of £102,453,000 against that country, the imports being £217,767,000 and the exports £115,294,000. The *London Times* observes that "except Spain and Brazil every customer we have is buying less hardware, and the demand for pig iron is lower than it was everywhere except in Holland, Belgium, and France; the export of railway iron has ceased altogether to Turkey, and has dwindled into insignificance for Holland, Belgium, Egypt, France, the United States, Peru, and Chili; it is also fast falling away for Russia and much lower for Australia." The *Times* goes on to say that the British trade with the United States is dwindling in almost every article of any importance. Commenting on this the *Philadelphia North American* believes that there are two reasons why the import trade with Great Britain is diminishing. The country, it thinks, has been much less able to purchase either at home or abroad since the steady and resistanceless contraction of credits and prices has told heavily upon business of all kinds, and the domestic interests have suffered equally with the foreign. Nevertheless it thinks there must be some foundation for the general belief that very much of this decline in the British exports to the United States is attributable to the amazing progress of American industrial interests and to their success against British competition.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

Under Governor Dix there were a few thousand idle laborers in the State of New York. The panic of 1873 had brought about a partial stagnation in business. Democratic demagogues seized upon the prevailing hard times as a good hobby to ride into power again. They went before the people with the cry of "elect Tilden and he will banish hard times." Their promises were golden. There should be no idle men. Everybody was to be employed at high wages; poverty was to be banished by a single wave of the Democratic wand. Enough dupes were found to believe this silly talk, and Tilden was elected Governor; but hard times continued. Instead of growing better, they grew worse. In vain have the workingmen appealed to the politicians whom they elevated into power to help them. They turn the hungry crowd away with empty promises, and have done this so often that hope has given place to despair, and starvation or beggary are the alternatives of tens of thousands who cast their vote for the Democratic ticket because they thought the success of democracy would be the dawn of prosperity to them.

The city of New York is the great stronghold of democracy. Its foreign element and the elements of ignorance and vice are so strongly intrenched that nothing but a political millennium will ever bring about a change. Deeper and deeper it is plunged into debt, until now the interest on its indebtedness bears upon its prosperity like a hideous nightmare upon the sleeping dyspeptic. In vain the tax-payer grumbles and growls. In vain they combine to throw off the load. The heavy load of corrupt officials bears them down each month and year, sucking the life-blood of the city, until the victim can stand no more, and bankruptcy brings all to a common level. John Kelly, the boss of Tammany, with his \$10,000 a year; Morrissey with his dazzling diamonds; Tilden in receipt of his millions, and wining and dining his chief wire-pullers in his palatial mansion, while the dupes who have given power to these political

princes starve in their fireless homes or toil from morning till night for eighty cents a day, and most of this in store orders on which some rich Democratic contractor is making fifty per cent. profit, may be a pleasing sight to those who, having got the poor man's vote, care nothing for his soul or body, but to the thoughtful citizen it is a sight that brings regret and pain—pain to see the sufferings of the poor close to the groaning tables of those who have plundered them, and regret that human nature is so weak, and political prejudice so strong, as to keep these wretched men self-chained to the car that for years has been dragging them along the road of human misery.

Is it not about time for the workingmen of America to divorce themselves from the Democratic party, and come out boldly for the party of improvements and national progress? The Republican party makes no empty promises. Its past record shows that under its control both State and nation have prospered in a marvelous degree. Not until the democracy divided its power by false charges and empty promises, did the shadow of dull times encroach upon the fields of industry. As democracy grew in strength, our industries fell off, until now in the midst of an uncertainty, or rather in the presence of a fear, that it might by some accident or trick come into power, hundreds of thousands are idle and breadless, while a fatal paralysis seems to have seized upon every branch of trade and commerce.

What is the remedy? It is as simple as it will prove effective. It is to be found in the peaceful inauguration of Mr. Hayes, and in the crushing out by the force of public opinion of those public enemies who are preaching armed resistance to the constituted authorities of the land. Under President Hayes the nation will again go forward; internal improvements will be pushed with zeal; industry will revive; capital will come out of its hiding places, and old-timed prosperity will again bless our land. Let the workingmen throw off the yoke of democracy; cast down the idol which they have prayed to in vain, and with renewed faith in the Republic, put their trust in the party which broke the chains of the slave and which to-day stands as the best friend of labor that the world ever saw.

COUNTING OF THE ELECTORAL VOTES.

THE REPORT AND BILL OF THE JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

In the Senate, Thursday, January 18th, Mr. Edmunds said:

"I am directed, Mr. President, by the select committee raised under the resolution of the Senate on the subject of the counting of the electoral votes, to submit a report in writing, with an accompanying bill. The report is signed, I am happy to say, with great unanimity by the members of both committees, it being a report in form, joint and several, to the two houses. It is signed by all with one exception."

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEES.

The committees of the Senate and House of Representatives appointed under the following several resolutions—

HOUSE RESOLUTION.

Whereas there are differences of opinion as to the proper mode of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice President, and as to the manner of determining questions that may arise as to the legality and validity of returns made of such votes by the several States;

And whereas it is of the utmost importance that all differences of opinion and all doubt and uncertainty upon these questions should be removed, to the end therefore that the votes may be counted and the result declared by a tribunal whose authority none can question and whose decision all will accept as final; Therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of seven members of this House be appointed by the Speaker, to act in conjunction with any similar committee that may be appointed by the Senate, to prepare and report without delay such a measure, either legislative or constitutional, as may, in their judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the desired end, and that said committee have leave to report at any time.

SENATE RESOLUTION.

Resolved, That the message of the House of Representatives on the subject of the Presidential election be referred to a select committee of seven Senators, with power to prepare and report, without unnecessary delay, such a measure, either of a legislative or other character, as may, in their judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the lawful counting of the electoral votes, and best disposition of all questions connected therewith, and the due declaration of the result; and that said committee have power to confer and act with the committee

of the House of Representatives named in said message, and to report by bill or otherwise—

Beg leave to report to their respective houses that they have considered the subject named in said resolutions, and have had full and free conference with each other thereon, and now report the accompanying bill and recommend its passage. The substance of the bill embraces—

First. Provisions for the meeting of the two houses, as required by the Constitution, and the general course of proceeding, and the declaration of the result.

Second. Provisions for the disposition of questions arising in respect of States from which only one set of certificates has been received; that each house shall consider the question and shall only decide against a vote by concurrent, affirmative action.

Third. Provisions for so-called double returns from a State; that such conflicting returns and papers shall be submitted to the consideration of a commission, composed of equal numbers of members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives and of the Supreme Court of the United States; that this commission shall be organized and sworn and have power to consider and decide, according to the Constitution and law, what is the constitutional vote of the State in question: and that such decision shall govern the disposition of the subject, unless both houses shall determine otherwise.

Fourth. It is provided that the act shall not affect either way the question of the right of resort to the judicial courts of the United States by the persons concerned as claimants to the offices in question.

We have applied the utmost practicable study and deliberation to the subject, and believe that the bill now reported is the best attainable disposition of the difficult problems and disputed theories arising out of the late election. It must be obvious to every person conversant with the history of the country and with the formation and interpretation of the Constitution that a wide diversity of views and opinions touching the subject, not wholly coincident with the bias or wishes of the members of political parties, would naturally exist. We have in this state of things chosen, therefore, not to deal with abstract questions, save so far as they are necessarily involved in the legislation proposed. It is, of course, plain that the report of the bill implies that in our opinion legislation may be had on

the subject in accordance with the Constitution, but we think that the law proposed is inconsistent with few of the principal theories upon the subject. The Constitution requires that the electoral votes shall be counted on a particular occasion. All will agree that the votes named in the Constitution are the constitutional votes of the States, and not other; and when they have been found and identified, there is nothing left to be disputed or decided; all the rest is the mere clerical work of summing up the numbers, which being done, the Constitution itself declares the consequence.

This bill, then, is only directed to ascertaining, for the purpose and in aid of the counting, what are the constitutional votes of the respective States; and, whatever jurisdiction exists for such purpose, the bill only regulates the method of exercising it. The Constitution, our great instrument and security for liberty and order, speaks in the amplest language for all such cases, in whatever aspect they may be presented. It declares that the Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof." The committee therefore think that the law proposed cannot be justly assailed as unconstitutional by any one, and for this reason we think it unnecessary, whatever may be our individual views, to discuss any of the theories referred to. Our fidelity to the Constitution is observed when we find that the law we recommend is consistent with that instrument.

The matter then being a proper subject for legislation, the fitness of the means proposed becomes the next subject for consideration. Upon this we beg leave to submit a few brief observations.

In all just governments both public and private rights must be defined and determined by the law. This is essential to the very idea of such a government, and is the characteristic distinction between free and despotic systems. However important it may be, whether one citizen or another shall be the Chief Magistrate for a prescribed period, upon just theories of civil institutions, it is of far greater moment that the will of the people, lawfully expressed in the choice of that officer, shall be ascertained and carried into effect in a lawful way. It is true that in every operation of a government of laws, from the most trivial to the most important, there will always be the possibility that the result reached will not be the true one. The Executive officer may not wisely perform

his duty, the courts may not truly declare the law, and the legislative body may not enact the best laws; but, in either case, to resist the act of the Executive, the courts, or the Legislature, acting constitutionally and lawfully within their sphere, would be to set up anarchy in the place of government. We think, then, that to provide a clear and lawful means of performing a great and necessary function of government, in a time of much public dispute, is of far greater importance than the particular advantage that any man or party may in the course of events possibly obtain. But we have still endeavored to provide such lawful agencies of decision in the present case as shall be the most fair and impartial possible under the circumstances. Each of the branches of the Legislature and the judiciary is represented in the tribunal in equal proportions. The composition of the judicial part of the commission looks to a selection from different parts of the Republic, while it is thought to be free from any preponderance of supposable bias; and the addition of the necessary constituent part of the whole commission, in order to obtain an uneven number, is left to an agency the farthest removed from prejudice or any existing attainable one. It would be difficult, if not impossible, we think, to establish a tribunal that could be less the subject of party criticism than such a one. The principle of its constitution is so absolutely fair that we are unable to perceive how the most extreme partisan can assail it, unless he prefers to embark his wishes upon the stormy sea of unregulated procedure, hot disputes, and dangerous results, that can neither be measured nor defined, rather than upon the fixed and regular course of law, that insures peace and the order of society, whatever party may be disappointed in its hopes.

The unfortunate circumstance that no provision had been made on the subject before the election has greatly added to the difficulties of the committees in dealing with it, inasmuch as many of the people of the country, members of the respective political parties, will perhaps look with jealousy upon any measure that seems to involve even the possibility of the defeat of their wishes; but it has also led the committees to feel that their members are bound by the highest duty, in such a case, to let no bias of party feeling stand in the way of a just, equal, and peaceful measure for extricating the question from the embarrassments that at present surround it.

In conclusion, we respectfully beg leave to impress upon Congress the necessity of a speedy determination upon this subject. It is impossible to estimate the material

loss that the country daily sustains from the existing state of uncertainty. It directly and powerfully tends to unsettle and paralyze business, to weaken public and private credit, and to create apprehensions in the minds of the people that disturb the peaceful tenor of their ways and mar their happiness. It does far more: it tends to bring republican institutions into discredit, and to create doubts of the success of our form of government, and of the perpetuity of the Republic. All considerations of interest, of patriotism, and of justice unite in demanding of the law-making power a measure that will bring peace and prosperity to the country, and show that our republican institutions are equal to any emergency. And in this connection we cannot refrain from the expression of our satisfaction that your committees, composed of equal numbers of opposing parties, have fortunately been able to do what has been attempted in vain heretofore, almost unanimously agree upon a plan considered by them all to be just, wise, and efficient. We accordingly recommend the proposed act to the patriotic and just judgment of Congress.

GEO. F. EDMUNDS,
FRED'K T. FRELINGHUYSEN,
ROSCOE CONKLING,
A. G. THURMAN,
T. F. BAYARD,
M. W. RANSOM,
Senate Committee.

H. B. PAYNE,
EPPA HUNTON,
ABRAM S. HEWITT,
WILLIAM M. SPRINGER,
GEO. W. MCCRARY,
GEO. F. HOAR,
GEORGE WILLARD,
House Committee.

THE BILL TO PROVIDE FOR AND REGULATE THE COUNTING OF THE VOTES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Senate and House of Representatives shall meet in the hall of the House of Representatives at the hour of one o'clock P. M. on the first Thursday in February, A. D. 1877; and the President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer. Two tellers shall be previously appointed on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes, which certificates and papers shall be opened, presented, and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States,

beginning with the letter A; and said tellers, having then read the same in the presence and hearing of the two houses, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates; and the votes having been ascertained and counted as in this act provided, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote, and the names of the persons, if any, elected, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the Journals of the two houses. Upon such reading of any such certificates or paper when there shall be only one return from a State, the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one Senator and one Member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all objections so made to any vote or paper from a State shall have been received and read, the Senate shall thereupon withdraw, and such objections shall be submitted to the Senate for its decision; and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall, in like manner, submit such objections to the House of Representatives for its decision; and no electoral vote or votes from any State from which but one return has been received shall be rejected except by the affirmative vote of the two houses. When the two houses have voted, they shall immediately again meet, and the presiding officer shall then announce the decision of the question submitted.

SEC. 2. That if more than one return or paper purporting to be a return from a State shall have been received by the President of the Senate, purporting to be the certificates of electoral votes given at the last preceding election for President and Vice President in such State, (unless they shall be duplicates of the same return,) all such returns and papers shall be opened by him in the presence of the two houses when met as aforesaid and read by the tellers, and all such returns and papers shall thereupon be submitted to the judgment and decision, as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of such State, of a commission constituted as follows, namely:

During the session of each house on the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, 1877, each house shall, by *viva voce* vote, appoint five of its members, who, with the five Associate Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, to be

ascertained as hereinafter provided, shall constitute a commission for the decision of all questions upon or in respect of such double returns named in this section.

On the Tuesday next preceding the first Thursday in February, A. D. 1877, or as soon thereafter as may be, the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States now assigned to the first, third, eighth and ninth circuits shall select, in such manner as a majority of them shall deem fit, another of the Associate Justices of said court, which five persons shall be members of said commission; and the person longest in commission of said five justices shall be the president of said commission. The members of said commission shall respectively take and subscribe the following oath:

"I, ———, do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the commission of which I am a member, and a true judgment give thereon, agreeably to the Constitution and the laws; so help me God;" which oath shall be filed with the Secretary of the Senate.

When the commission shall have been thus organized, it shall not be in the power of either house to dissolve the same or to withdraw any of its members; but if any such Senator or Member shall die or become physically unable to perform the duties required by this act, the fact of such death or physical inability shall be by said commission, before it shall proceed further, communicated to the Senate or House of Representatives, as the case may be, which body shall immediately and without debate proceed by *viva voce* vote to fill the place so vacated, and the person so appointed shall take and subscribe the oath hereinbefore prescribed, and become a member of said commission; and, in like manner, if any of said justices of the Supreme Court shall die or become physically incapable of performing the duties required by this act, the other of said justices, members of the said commission, shall immediately appoint another justice of said court a member of said commission; and, in such appointments, regard shall be had to the impartiality and freedom from bias sought by the original appointments to said commission, who shall thereupon immediately take and subscribe the oath hereinbefore prescribed, and become a member of said commission to fill the vacancy so occasioned.

All the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes of each State shall be opened, in the alphabetical order of the States, as provided in section 1 of this act; and when there shall be no more than one such certificate or

paper, as the certificates and papers from such State shall so be opened, (excepting duplicates of the same return,) they shall be read by the tellers, and thereupon the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any. Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one Senator and one member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all such objections so made to any certificate, vote, or paper from a State shall have been received and read, all such certificates, votes, and papers so objected to, and all papers accompanying the same, together with such objections, shall be forthwith submitted to said commission, which shall proceed to consider the same, with the same powers, if any, now possessed for that purpose by the two houses acting separately or together, and, by a majority of votes, decide whether any and what votes from such State are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and how many and what persons were duly appointed electors in such State, and may therein take into view such petitions, depositions, and other papers, if any, and shall, by the Constitution and now existing law, be competent and pertinent in such consideration; which decision shall be made in writing, stating briefly the ground thereof, and signed by the members of said commission agreeing therein; whereupon the two houses shall again meet, and such decision shall be read and entered in the Journal of each house, and the counting of the votes shall proceed in conformity therewith, unless, upon objection made thereto in writing by at least five Senators and five members of the House of Representatives, the two houses shall separately concur in ordering otherwise; in which case such concurrent order shall govern. No votes or papers from any other State shall be acted upon until the objections previously made to the votes or papers from any State shall have been finally disposed of.

SEC. 3. That while the two houses shall be in meeting, as provided in this act, no debate shall be allowed and no question shall be put by the presiding officer, except to either house on a motion to withdraw; and he shall have power to preserve order.

SEC. 4. That when the two houses separate to decide upon an objection that may have been made to the counting of an electoral vote or votes from any State, or upon objection to a report of said commission, or other question arising under this act, each Senator and Representative may speak to such objection or question ten

minutes, and not oftener than once; but after such debate shall have lasted two hours, it shall be the duty of each house to put the main question without further debate.

SEC. 5. That at such joint meeting of the two houses seats shall be provided as follows: For the President of the Senate, the Speaker's chair; for the Speaker, immediately upon his left; the Senators in the body of the hall upon the right of the presiding officer; for the Representatives, in the body of the hall not provided for the Senators; for the tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the Clerk's desk; for the other officers of the two houses, in front of the Clerk's desk and upon each side of the Speaker's platform. Such joint meetings shall not be dissolved until the count of electoral votes shall be completed and the result declared; and no recess shall be taken unless a question shall have arisen in regard to counting any such votes, or otherwise under this act; in which case it shall be competent for either house, acting separately, in the manner hereinbefore provided, to direct a recess of such house not beyond the next day, Sunday excepted, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon. And while any question is being considered by said commission, either house may proceed with its legislative or other business.

SEC. 6. That nothing in this act shall be held to impair or affect any right now existing under the Constitution and laws to question, by proceeding in the judicial courts of the United States, the right or title of the person who shall be declared elected, or who shall claim to be President or Vice President of the United States, if any such right exists.

SEC. 7. The said commission shall make its own rules, keep a record of its proceedings, and shall have power to employ such persons as may be necessary for the transaction of its own business and the execution of its powers.

SENATOR MORTON'S SPEECH ON THE BILL.

U. S. SENATE, January 22d.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The morning hour has expired. The unfinished business is the bill (S. No. 1153) to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877, which is before the Senate as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, as the

member of the committee who did not agree to this bill, I have thought it proper that I should make a brief statement of the grounds on which I did not concur with my colleagues; but I am not well this morning and am unable to speak as I should desire. Still, as the bill is about to come to a vote apparently, I will very briefly state the reasons why I could not give my assent to its being reported.

This bill is presented for the consideration of Congress under very peculiar circumstances. The Congress of the United States is scarcely left free for its consideration. We are aware that there is great uneasiness in the public mind throughout the country; apprehensions are entertained of violence, of revolutionary action on the part of the House of Representatives, of some course being taken that may result in disturbing the peace of the country. A member of Congress has said in a speech in this city that 100,000 men would be here on the 14th of February to witness the counting of the votes. That may be regarded as an extravagant utterance, but it is one of very many of the kind that come up to us from different parts of the country, so that the business interests of the country have become alarmed, and there is a disposition to take almost any measure that may be proposed that will give assurance of peace without very much regard to the character of the measure.

THE BILL A PRODUCT OF THE MISSISSIPPI PLAN.

I do not think I am at all out of the way when I say that this bill is a literal product of "the Mississippi plan;" that the shadow of intimidation has entered this chamber, and that in proposing this bill, and in the consideration of it, members of the Senate and of the House are acting under the apprehension of violence, of some great revolutionary act that will threaten the safety and continuance of our institutions. I do not myself believe in the reality of this danger. I believe that this sort of talk is intended for a purpose, and I very much fear that it will accomplish that purpose. The real danger that we are in results from weakness, results from timidity, results from not daring to stand up to do our whole duty as we understand it.

It is said by geologists that there was a period in the history of the earth's crust when there were skull-less vertebrates; and it would seem now that we have come to that period when there are vertebrateless skulls. The thing to do is to do what is right, and to do it fearlessly. For one, I am not afraid that, if this vote shall be counted as it was for the first seventy-two years in the history of our Government,

there will be any revolution ; I believe that any one who attempts it will be utterly destroyed.

I regard this bill, Mr. President, as a compromise. It will take its place alongside of the compromise of 1820, and the compromise of 1850. By the compromise of 1820, all the territory south of 36° 30' was given over to slavery ; and, when the time came to settle the territory north of that line, the compromise was destroyed. By the compromise of 1850 the institution of slavery got the immediate benefit of the fugitive-slave law, which gave it such prestige, power, and confidence as made it aspire to the complete conquest of the country.

HAYES ELECTED ACCORDING TO LAW AND IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE.

I believe that Rutherford B. Hayes has been elected President of the United States ; he has been elected under the forms of law and according to law, and that he is elected in the hearts of the people ; and I believe that if he should be counted in, as eighteen Presidents were successively counted in from the beginning of this Government, he would be inaugurated and there would be no violence and no revolution.

There have been upon this question a great many loose opinions given from time to time on the first impression, without examination, and perhaps most Senators have indulged in them, so that very few can entirely claim to be consistent. I have indulged in them myself. But within the last few weeks this question has been presented as a case in hand, not simply as a matter speculative, something to come in the future ; and there has been a flood of light poured upon it such as had never been before ; many new things have been discovered, many things have been said, and we have the counsel of the best legal minds all over the country.

I brought forward a bill some two years ago, which was afterward reported by the Committee on Privileges and Elections, for the purpose of having a law for the counting of the electoral vote. I did not claim that that bill was perfect. It was not in view of any contingency or case. It, however, was in one respect a safe bill, and that is, leaving out of view who should count the vote, whether the President of the Senate or the two houses, it contained no word by which the two houses could be authorized to go behind the returns of a State, to go behind the decision made by the returning officers of the State appointed by the State for that purpose ; and the bill of 1800, if I remember correctly, expressly

provided that the two houses should not go behind the returns so far as to count the votes for electors. I am not an advocate for State sovereignty ; I never have been ; but I have been a consistent advocate of State rights as I am now. The Constitution of the United States confers upon the State the power to appoint electors in such a way as the Legislatures of the States may prescribe. This is the absolute right of each State. The mode of appointment is left to the Legislature of the State. The determination as to who have been appointed is left entirely to the State.

Should Congress assume to determine who have been appointed so far as to go behind the action of officers of the State appointed by the laws of the State for that purpose, Congress would absorb to itself the entire power, would become a grand returning board, without limit and without restraint. The very moment we undertake to go behind the determination of the officers of the State as to the result of a State election and to count and determine the result for ourselves, that moment we establish a revolution which ultimately will be the end of Presidential elections. I am not now referring to the certificate of the Governor, which is prescribed not by State laws but prescribed by the act of Congress ; but I am referring to that determination of the result of elections as prescribed by the laws of the States. The States have the right to appoint electors ; the Legislature has the right to prescribe the method ; and the evidence as to the appointment, as to who has been appointed, is left to the States as absolutely and as completely as the appointment itself.

I listened to the very able speech of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Edmunds] on Saturday last with great interest. If I understood him correctly he assumed that there was no provision of the Constitution that executes itself except one, and that is in regard to the recovery of fugitives from labor, fugitive slaves ; that the rest of the provisions of the Constitution are not self-executing, but require legislation to carry them into operation. He made a distinction, I believe, which is correct, that there are two classes of powers conferred by the Constitution. Where a power is conferred directly upon any department of the Government by the Constitution, that power cannot be taken from that department ; that power cannot be delegated ; but where the Constitution simply imposes a duty, but does not vest any particular department with the performance of that duty, then Congress may by law determine who shall discharge that duty.

If I understood the Senator aright, he

took the ground that the counting of the votes was a duty imposed by the Constitution, but that the Constitution had not located it, had not said who should do it. He denied that the duty was imposed upon the President of the Senate. He said the President of the Senate was directed to open all the certificates, but he was not directed to count them. He was directed to open them "and the votes shall then be counted." The power and duty to count were not located in the two houses; the Constitution did not say that any more than it said the President of the Senate should count them. It said the votes should then be counted. Assuming, for the sake of the argument, his position to be true that there is nothing in the Constitution, any part of it, that indicates that the President of the Senate shall count the votes as well as open them; assuming it to be true that the Constitution simply imposes a duty to count the votes, but does not say by whom the duty shall be performed, and therefore that Congress is left free to impose the performance of that duty upon a commission and upon any person it sees proper to put in that situation, his position would be tenable. The Senator in applying that to this case made use of the following language:

"But, as I have said, I only intended on this occasion to explain in as brief a way as I could exactly what the bill is and in a general way the grounds upon which it rests. The illustrations that might be still further made to show that this deciding power of which I am speaking does not rest with you, and as I think to show equally that it does not rest with either house of Congress until Congress provides a law that allows it to rest there, are so numerous that the whole day might be spent upon them."

The position of the Senator is that the Constitution created the duty to count the votes, but did not locate the power or duty anywhere, and that Congress, under the general power to pass all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution the powers given to any department or to the Government of the United States, may by law devolve that duty upon a commission or upon any person. If I do not state his position correctly, I hope he will correct me.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Mr. President, if the Senator wishes me to correct him now, he states a part of my position correctly, but he only states half of it; but I will take the opportunity to correct him, so as not to disturb him afterward.

Mr. MORTON. Well, Mr. President, I am stating the Senator's position correctly and fully as I understand it, and I understand this position of his to be necessary to another part of his argument, because if the power to count the votes, which I believe he expressly disclaims, is lodged in

the two houses by the Constitution and is not a general power to be executed by law, then this power must be exercised by the two houses only and cannot be delegated; whereas if it is simply a duty imposed to count the vote then Congress may locate that duty wherever it sees proper by law. The position of the Senator is that neither the President of the Senate is vested with this power nor are the two houses of Congress, that neither can exercise it in the absence of a law passed for that purpose.

IMPORTANT PRECEDENTS CITED.

And this brings us then to a very great fact, which is that for eighty-four years Presidents were counted in and inaugurated without any authority in point of law by any person. The President of the Senate had no power to do it because there was no law authorizing him to do it. The two houses had no power to do it because there was no law authorizing them to do it. It was a part of the Constitution which had not been carried into operation by legislation. Now, sir, is it true that for eighty-four years Presidents were counted in and inaugurated without authority of law? That would be a very great discovery if it were true. It would show that the men who made the Constitution did not understand it. I believe that they thought the first President and all succeeding Presidents were counted in and inaugurated according to law. They may have been mistaken. Their opportunities for knowing what the Constitution is were not so good as ours, I suppose. They undoubtedly believed that the votes were properly counted for George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and so on.

I believe that this power is vested somewhere, located somewhere, that if it does not belong to the President of the Senate it belongs to the two houses. It is in one place or the other. But whatever may be the location, in theory, that the two houses cannot exercise this power without legislation I think is correct. I think the Senator from Vermont occupies a sound position in that respect; and whatever we may say about the power of Congress to legislate, and conceding that, as I have done heretofore and have presented bills to this chamber upon that hypothesis heretofore, yet that in the absence of legislation the President of the Senate must count the votes, that this results not from any theory but results from necessity to prevent a deadlock, to prevent the Government from coming to a stand-still, that until legislation has been had under which the vote can be counted by the two houses or providing some tribunal for it the President of the Senate must count the vote, and the vote

was counted for seventy-two years upon that theory. If that theory was not correct, then it was unlawfully counted without authority, and for three-quarters of a century this Government proceeded illegally. Chancellor Kent stated the law on this subject as I think it has been generally understood in Congress and out of it until very recently :

"The President of the Senate, on the second Wednesday in February succeeding every meeting of the electors, in the presence of both houses of Congress, opens all the certificates, and the votes are then to be counted. The Constitution does not expressly declare by whom the votes are to be counted and the result declared. In the case of questionable votes, and a closely-contested election, this power may be all-important; and I presume, in the absence of all legislative provision on the subject, that the President of the Senate counts the votes and determines the result, and that the two houses are present only as spectators, to witness the fairness and accuracy of the transaction, and to act only if no choice be made by the electors."

Now, conceding as Chancellor Kent seems to do, that there may be legislation on the subject, a doctrine to which I have subscribed, yet in the absence of legislation the President of the Senate must count the votes to prevent the Government coming to a halt, and he has counted the votes for eighty-four years, at least for seventy-two, from 1789 until the time of the adoption of the twenty-second joint rule. I do not intend now to go into an argument as to the right of the President of the Senate to count this vote against the powers of Congress. I am simply stating what I have heretofore understood to be the general doctrine, that in the absence of legislation the President of the Senate must count this vote; that if now we fail to agree upon a bill, we should simply leave this question where it has been left for eighty-four years; and that the President of the Senate in counting this vote will be guilty of no greater usurpation than he has been guilty of for three-quarters of a century.

We are discussing this bill in the presence of a case. We are discussing it in the presence of an actual condition of things. I shall be

ANXIOUS TO HAVE A FAIR BILL ADOPTED.

I was exceedingly anxious to agree with the committee in the recommendation of a fair proposition; but when we are preparing a bill in the presence of a case made up, ready to be tried, the papers all signed and in due order, I insist that it shall be a fair bill under which the condition of things shall not be unfairly changed.

As I said before, I believe

R. B. HAYES IS ELECTED PRESIDENT, elected upon the papers, elected under every form of law; that he ought to be inaugurated, and that he must be inaugurated

unless a bill shall be passed which shall allow him to be counted out in defiance of the well-settled principles of law. I am not well enough, Mr. President, to go into this question to-day as I should like to do.

I wish to say a few words in regard to this bill. If the power to count this vote is vested in the two houses, and is not in the President of the Senate, then the duty must be performed by the two houses; it cannot be delegated. This was the precise point, as I understood it, of the argument of the Senator from Vermont, because, if he were to admit that the power is vested in the two houses under the Constitution, he would be compelled to admit, good lawyer as he is, that that power cannot be delegated; but by placing it as a floating power, that is located nowhere until it is located by an act of Congress, then Congress would have the right to deposit this power with a commission.

THE JUDGES TO BE POLITICAL JUDGES.

The commission created is a mixed commission, partly inside and partly outside, five Senators, five Representatives, and five judges. The judges are taken, not because they are judges, not because they are members of the Supreme Court, but because they are men of eminent character who happen to occupy that position. Four of them are chosen by circuits. The Senator from Vermont hardly did himself justice on Saturday when he argued that they were chosen by circuits on account of geographical distribution. They were chosen by circuits, as I understand it, not because of geographical distribution, but because of the political antecedents of the men who preside in those circuits. When the bill, instead of naming the judges, names the circuits, it presents a harmless little sham that deceives nobody.

Four judges are taken by the bill because of their political antecedents, two on each side. In other words, the judges are selected upon political grounds, equally divided, it is said, in order to make the bill a fair one. *Nevertheless, selection is made in the Supreme Court on political grounds.* If we are to deal with the Supreme Court—and I confess I looked upon that proposition with more favor than the other—I thought we ought to have taken the whole court, and not admit by any form of provision that we believed politics entered into the court; not divide it up on political grounds; not assume that the duties of that court are liable to be influenced by their political prepossessions, but take the whole court as a court. I thought that the least objectionable. It is true the other day, when there was a constitutional amendment here referring this matter to the Su-

preme Court, I voted against it; but I did so chiefly because it re-enacted the electoral college and re-enacted an election of President by the House of Representatives by States. But if we are to take an outside tribunal it seemed to me to be far better that we should take the court and take it as a court, take all the judges, and not pick around them to get an equal number on political grounds. *I thought that was a blow at the court and would do it more injury than any course that could be taken.* They are to take a fifth. Four judges are to select a fifth.

ILLEGAL MANNER OF APPOINTING THE JUDGES.

Here is a very grave question presented, right at the threshold: What is the character of these commissioners? Are they officers? They are sworn; the very highest duty is imposed upon them, the decision of the greatest case that can arise under our institutions. If they are officers, are they not to be appointed as other officers under the Constitution of the United States are appointed? Can we take four men by name and authorize them to appoint the fifth and submit to this court thus organized this great case? Is it not a court to all intents and purposes? You call it a commission, but names are nothing. It is a court invested with the very highest jurisdiction to decide both law and fact, expressly charged with deciding the question, What are the powers of each or of both houses of Congress? and expressly charged with finding the fact as to who have been elected electors for President of the United States. If it is a court, should it not be appointed as the Constitution requires other courts to be, and if these men are public officers, should they not be appointed as officers of the United States are required to be appointed? This is a contrivance, to use the very mildest words, *a contrivance, a patched-up thing*, five Representatives, five Senators, four judges first, and they to choose a fifth, and thus this tribunal is to be created that is to make a President of the United States. There are no analogies for it in our Constitution or in our laws or in our history. We have no tribunals made up in that way.

THE TRIBUNAL ILLEGAL.

If we were to make this tribunal exclusively in the two houses, make it consist of Representatives and Senators entirely, and stop there, the question would then arise, can we do it? If the decision of this question belongs to the two houses, can you leave it to a few members of these two houses and agree to be bound by their decision? Can you pass a law in that way?

Can you by joint resolution or by bill authorize a conference committee to pass a law and to make it binding unless it is reversed by a majority of both houses. Committees are but facilities of Congress, and their action amounts to nothing unless ratified by Congress. The decision of a conference committee amounts to nothing in point of law until after both houses shall have confirmed its action; but here you create a commission partly of Senators, partly of Members, and partly of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and you provide that the finding of that commission shall be valid unless reversed by a majority of both houses. Here is a clear delegation of power. If it were provided that the finding of that commission should not be valid until confirmed by both houses of Congress, there would be no delegation of power. You could just as well provide that it shall be binding unless reversed by two-thirds of each House, or you could provide that it should be absolutely binding and that there shall be no appeal at all. Here you create a court and you give an appeal from this court not to a higher court known to the Constitution of the United States, but you give an appeal to the Congress of the United States, provided that if the appeal shall be sustained by both houses concurrently the decision of the court below shall be reversed. I will say one word further in regard to the bill.

It is a fundamental principle of law, in connection with the election of a President, in preserving and defining the rights of the States, *that the action of the States shall be received unquestioned by the Congress of the United States, or by that power, whatever it may be, that shall count the vote*; and any authority conferred upon this commission, or that might be conferred by an act of Congress upon the President of the Senate or any other agency selected to go behind the returning board of a State and count the votes, would be, in my judgment, a gross violation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, revolution, and the end of Presidential elections under our system.

I wish briefly to call the attention of the members of the Senate to this bill. I speak of the jurisdictional part, that part conferring jurisdiction upon this commission, and it is the vital part of the bill. We need not deceive ourselves for a moment about this business. We know that both parties are looking intently to that question and at that particular point. We may affect to be oblivious of it here, but we understand that the decision of this Presidential question depends absolutely upon that question, for *if the principle*

shall stand that the action of the State authorities, those that are appointed to count the votes and to say by State laws who are elected, Rutherford B. Hayes is elected and Mr. Tilden cannot be counted in except by overturning that principle. It is all in that, and the able lawyers of the Democratic party on this floor and everywhere understand that just as well as we do. I call attention to that part of this bill which gives the jurisdiction to this tribunal:

"Every objection shall be made in writing, and shall state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof, and shall be signed by at least one Senator and one Member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received. When all such objections so made to any certificate, vote, or paper from a State shall have been received and read, all such certificates, votes, and papers so objected to, and all papers accompanying the same, together with such objections, shall be forthwith submitted to said commission, which shall proceed to consider the same; with the same powers, if any, now possessed for that purpose by the two houses acting separately or together."

I may here remark that the bill proceeds upon a theory different from that of the Senator from Vermont, in his argument. He assumes that the Constitution does not locate this power anywhere, but that it is to be located by law, while this bill goes upon the hypothesis that this power is located in the two houses, and that this commission shall have what the two houses have, more or less—

"which shall proceed to consider the same, with the same powers, if any, now possessed for that purpose by the two houses acting separately or together, and, by a majority of votes, decide whether any and what votes from such State are the votes provided for by the Constitution of the United States, and how many and what persons were duly appointed electors in such State, and may therein take into view such petitions, depositions, and other papers, if any, as shall, by the Constitution and now existing law, be competent and pertinent in such consideration."

First, they are required to find what were the constitutional votes of a State. They are required to do a thing there which in my opinion the Constitution does not authorize, whether the power to count the votes be vested in the President of the Senate or in the two houses. They are required to find, for example, under that provision whether the electors were eligible or ineligible as to their qualifications, while I maintain there is no time or place under the Constitution when the votes are counted for an inquiry of that kind. The duty is short and simple. The President of the Senate shall open the certificates in the presence of the two houses and the votes shall then be counted. There is but one thing to do and that is to count the votes. There is no time, there is no place to try the question of the eligibility of the electors.

Suppose it should be said, if you please, that the President himself, the candidate,

is not a citizen of the United States; that he is not eligible to be elected, and that that charge should be made when the votes are counted. The candidate takes issue; he says he is a citizen; was born in this country, or he says he is thirty-five years old. That may be denied. An issue of fact arises. Can you try that issue then? Will you count him out because you say he is not thirty-five years old when he says he is? You cannot try that question of fact then. Will you count him out because it is said he was not born in the United States? He says that he was; that there are those living who were present and can prove it. If that issue is made you cannot possibly try it at that time. And so with regard to electors. If they suggest that an elector was not eligible, that he was postmaster, if you please, he may deny the fact; he may insist that he had resigned before that time, and his resignation had been accepted. Is there any time or place there to try the issue of fact, whether he was eligible or not; whether he was postmaster or not; whether he was qualified or not to become an elector? No, Mr. President, whoever may count the votes, there is no time or place when you count the votes to try that question.

The two houses are to come together. The President of the Senate is to open all the certificates. That does not mean every kind of certificate that may be placed in his possession. It does not mean any paper that may purport to be a certificate, but he is to open all the certificates from the electors of the several States and the votes shall then be counted, the votes in those certificates, be they good, bad, or indifferent, be they for an alien, or be they for a citizen of the United States. At that time and at that place there is but one thing to do, and that is to count the votes. It may be said that the candidate is not qualified to be elected; it may be said that the elector was not qualified to be an elector, but you cannot try that issue of fact then and there; there is but one thing to do, that is to count the votes. The President of the Senate has his duty, and that is to open the certificate that comes from the electors of the States. He is not bound to open certificates from pretended authority, from outsiders, from persons unknown officially. I am going on a little further, Mr. President.

NO POWER TO GO BEHIND THE RETURNS FROM THE STATES.

This bill requires this commission to find the facts, whether these electors were duly appointed. We will just put the word "elected" instead of "appointed," for in this connection it means the same thing.

They are required to find were these electors duly appointed? They are not required to find whether they have been duly certified by the State authorities as having been elected. No, sir; but they are required to find the fact were they duly appointed or elected? If it had said that this commission shall find how many electors there were, and whether they were duly certified as having been elected by the State authorities or the returning board created for that purpose, we could understand that; but they are required to find the facts as to who was elected, and thus, as I apprehend this bill, they are required to go behind the returns from the States. If it was intended that they should find who had been certified by the States as having been appointed or elected, that would be simple and easily understood; but the bill quietly and innocently requires the commission to find the fact as to who was duly elected. Then it provides that for that purpose they—

"May therein take into view such petitions, depositions, and other papers, if any, as shall, by the Constitution and now existing law, be competent and pertinent in such consideration."

In finding the fact as to who was duly elected, they are authorized to take into consideration petitions, unsworn evidence, depositions, papers of all kinds, reports, everything that may be put in for the information of Congress. If these things are not to be considered in determining who has been elected, then the reference is useless. If this commission is to be controlled by the State authorities, by those who have been certified as elected by the returning officers of the several States, then they have no occasion to look at these petitions, memorials and reports. The bill invites them to look at these papers, invites them for a purpose, and there can

be no use in looking at them if the other principle of law is to be observed, that they are to be governed by the returns made by the officers of the several States.

Now, Mr. President, I think I do the intelligence of these distinguished democratic Senators but justice when I say that they would not go for this bill except that it gave them a chance for the only thing that can count Mr. Tilden in, and that is to go behind the returns. Outside of that he has no chance, no possible hope; and that these distinguished and eminent lawyers go for a bill which at the very beginning cuts off and shuts out this their only hope, I must be excused for saying that I do not believe it.

THE VOTE.

The debate was continued until Thursday morning, January 25th, when, after a night's session, a vote was taken with the following result:

YEAS.—Alcorn, Allison, Barnum, Bayard, Bogy, Booth, Boutwell, Burnside, Chaffee, Christiancy, Cockrell, Conkling, Cooper, Cragin, Davis, Dawes, Dennis, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Goldthwaite, Gordon, Howe, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Kelly, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, McMillan, Maxey, Merrimon, Morrill, Price, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Saulsbury, Sharon, Stevenson, Teller, Thurman, Wallace, Whyte, Windom, Withers, Wright—Total, 47.

NAYS.—Blaine, Bruce, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Clayton, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Hamilton, Hamlin, Ingalls, Mitchell, Morton, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, West—Total, 17.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

THE RETURN.

Congress did not yield the time so fully during the holiday season, as it has done in former years. There was not really what may be termed a substantial vacation, as the two houses successively adjourned over the three customary days to suit their own convenience. These adjournments continued so that in case of emergency Congress might immediately convene. The principal reason, however, seems to have arisen from the request of Mr. Morrison, the Democratic chairman of the House In-

vestigating Committee, sent to Louisiana to ferret out the alleged election frauds of the Republicans, and who was then anxious to compel certain parties to break the seal of secrecy and give up papers, telegrams, and documents, which it was hoped by the Democracy would be damaging to the Republican party. Hence, the machinery of Congress was kept going from time to time through the holidays, and Speaker Randall stood by the bellows, occasionally forcing a puff on the fire to keep it from going entirely out. At last, how-

ever, the Members, many of whom had gone away in spite of the public emergency, came back to their work, and about Wednesday or Thursday, January 4th, 1877 the Congress had settled down to steady business for the balance of the session.

ROUTINE BUSINESS.

During the last month the morning hour in both houses has been spent in presenting and briefly considering a great variety of memorials, resolutions, and bills proposed or reported, which are referred to their appropriate committees or otherwise disposed of. Private bills have, however, received very little attention. The lobby men and women, though in large numbers hovering about Congress, have not been able to make much progress with their various schemes for plundering the public treasury, although it would appear that the rigid virtue of retrenchment and economy displayed by the Democratic House last year has perceptibly relaxed since the event of November last.

The regular appropriation bills are only advancing at a snail's pace through their customary long and circuitous legislative route, none of them having yet reached the end of the journey and entered into a condition of law. The affairs of the District have received some attention. Matters pertaining to the pavement of Pennsylvania avenue, to Glenwood cemetery, to an appropriation of \$20,000 for the relief of the poor, to a form of government for the District, to a reform school for girls, and to the present organization of the Police Commissioners and the police force have claimed the attention of Congress. The Silver Commission, authorized at the last session of Congress, are still at work collecting and collating materials for their report. The rules of the Senate, which have for the last two years been under revision at the hands of the committee of which Senator Ferry of Michigan and President *pro tem.* of the Senate is chairman, have at length been adopted, and a very great and good work has thus been accomplished. The action of Congress on the broad question of the Pacific railroad acts, which looks to the use of these important lines of communication by the Government for the public conven-

representatives. These, with other minor matters in the regular order of legislative business, comprise about all that has been done by Congress since the holidays.

RECUSANT WITNESSES.

An important question has been raised in the House upon the refusal of Messrs. Barnes and Orton, officers of the Western Union Telegraph Company, to produce the alleged Republican telegrams sent southward since the November election. After much conflict and opposition the affair has ended by the submission of those two gentlemen to the will of the Democratic majority of the House. This will open a wide field of inquiry and create a demand for the production of all the Democratic telegrams sent over the country during the same period.

The Democratic majority of the House have also insisted that the members of the returning board of the State of Louisiana are in contempt of the House for refusing to produce, on the call of Mr. Morrison, chairman of the House investigating committee in Louisiana, all their documents, papers, &c., relating to the late Presidential election in that State; and two members of the said board being at the Federal capital have been arrested and brought to the bar of the House for this alleged contempt. The matter is, however, at this writing, left undecided.

Meanwhile the elections committee of the House with Mr. David Dudley Field, a New York lawyer and counsel for the robber Tweed, but now a member of the House and of the committee, for chief manager, have been prying into the operations of the national and congressional executive Republican committees, and their communications to the Republicans in South Carolina, Florida, and elsewhere to see if something cannot be unearthed to the scandal of the Republican party. But thus far all these herculean efforts have proved utterly unsatisfactory to the democracy.

At the same time Senator Morton's committee have been following up a money transaction of some \$8,000 between certain parties in New York city, and the famous Mr. Cronin, the Tilden elector of Oregon, and others complicated with him in the infamous trick perpetrated in that State by Grover, the Democratic Governor, and the rest of them.

THE INVESTIGATIONS.

The eight or nine committees sent out in December last, to take testimony of election frauds in the several "bull-dozed" States have all finished their work and have returned to Congress with a mass of testimony which it will take weeks if not months to bring to the full knowledge of Congress and the country. That a state of violence and terrorism has existed all through the South, as well as fraudulent voting in some parts of the Northern States, there can be no manner of doubt. But that the majority of the people in the Eastern and Western States can have any conception of the Southern condition as it really is, would seem almost beyond the bounds of possibility. The story now to be told officially will disclose the matter more fully than ever before.

THE PRESIDENT'S USE OF THE TROOPS.

Attempts have been made by the democratic House to bring out the action of the President of the United States in his use of the army, as it would seem with the design if possible to bring such action into disrepute, or make it the foundation of accusation and complaint against the Administration. Calls have been made upon the President for information, and he has just answered by a special message in such a manner as to set the matter forever at rest with every fair-minded man. He states the different sources of information which had come to him showing beyond any reasonable question the disturbed condition of affairs in several of the Southern States. Upon this information he could not fail to act. He gave orders for the disposition of the troops at points where the public peace was threatened, but in no case did they interfere with the lawful and free exercise of the rights of the people. He shows how his predecessors had done the same thing

before even on a larger scale, and nobody ever questioned their right or their duty to do so.

COUNTING THE VOTE.

As from the beginning of the present session, the all-absorbing topic in Congress as well as out of it now is the electoral count and the final declaration of the result. This has in one form or other absorbed the attention and engaged the time and labor of both houses. Various propositions have been submitted both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives by individuals and from standing committees. Memorials on the subject from various parts of the country and from various classes of citizens have been presented, all urging a peaceful adjustment of the present difficulties. Protracted discussions upon the whole subject have followed. In the meantime the joint committees of the two houses, appointed to report a mode of counting the votes, have devised a plan which was signed by all the members of the two committees with the exception of Senator Morton. The report of the committees with the bill agreed upon by them was then presented. This report and bill will be found on pages 124-134.

ARMY VULTURES.—There are bad men who live upon the misfortunes of others. There are men who would plunge the nation into civil war so as to better enable them to plunder their neighbors. A yoke of oxen could not drag them into the service. They are not fighters; they are bummers and thieves who hang on the outskirts of an army ready to descend upon it like so many hungry vultures at the proper time, to feed and fatten upon the carcasses of the slain. This is the class that is shouting for Tilden or war! If they should get Tilden they would be as valiant as Falstaff astride the dead body of the gallant Percy. If they should bring about war, they would sneak to the rear, and while honest people cut each others' throats, they would rob their homes and steal away the substance of the soldiers' widows and orphans.

Out upon this class of public enemies! They should be scourged with the lash, and if this fails to impart wisdom, they should be sent to stand guard over the Black Hills during a few months of winter. If, after this experience, they still clamor for war, they should be sent to capture Sitting Bull or transferred to the Mexican army.

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DEVOTED TO

THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

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THE REPUBLIC.

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VOL. V.

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No. 2.

GROWTH OF THE NATION UNDER REPUBLICANISM.

The Republican party, as a political organization, dates its history from 1856. It came into power March 4, 1861, and from that time to the present, it has been responsible for the administration of national affairs.

Has it been faithful to its trust? This question has been passed upon by the people three times since 1861. First, in 1864, in Mr. Lincoln's re-election; second, in 1868, at the election of General Grant; third, in 1872, when the people returned the present incumbent by the largest popular majority ever given to a President. Thus it would appear that up to 1872, at least, the people had an abiding faith in Republicanism, and by their votes proclaimed to the world that the party had been faithful to its trust. Has it done anything since the last popular endorsement, to forfeit the confidence and good will of the American people? We think not, for we believe its public services have been as faithfully performed since 1872, as they were before. If it has made mistakes, it has been quick to correct them—and in this it has shown a desire to conform to the wishes of a nation that has entrusted it with power for the past fourteen years. This prompt reflection of the popular will has been a leading trait in the character of Republicanism. All its public measures have been based upon public wants, and to discover these wants, and to administer to them, have been the chief aim and object of the party.

As we are on the eve of a political campaign whose issues are to have a direct bearing on the Presidential campaign of 1876, it is well to briefly review the past history of the Republican party, and to again ask the question, "has it been faithful to its trust?"

The trust confided to its care in 1861, was the nation itself. Never was a more sacred trust given to a party to keep, and never has one been guarded with equal fidelity, or with more religious care.

To this fidelity and this care the people of the United States are indebted for the Government they now enjoy. It must ever remain as a recognized fact worthy of historic preservation, that the Republican party took up the theory of self-government and made it a grand success, at the very moment when Democracy proclaimed it a failure.

Democracy had abandoned all hopes of saving the Union, had announced its willingness to see its bonds severed, had proclaimed its determination to make no efforts to stay the tide that was sweeping the nation to certain destruction, when the loyal people called the Republican party into power and gave into its hands a trust which Democracy was about to betray.

A nation without credit at home and abroad, its treasury nearly bankrupt, its currency insecure, its navy scattered, its army small and demoralized, its authority repudiated and defied in eleven States, its Southern forts and arsenals in the hands of insurgents, a powerful political party which had been instrumental in bringing about this disastrous state of affairs—holding sufficient influence to prevent unity of action, was a fair picture of the condition of the trust when Republicans came into power.

It was a moment of extreme peril to the nation—the darkest period in its history. True, the enthusiasm of the loyal millions

as they rallied to the support of the Union, lightened up this period of gloom, but the actual danger which beset the Union was greater than any before encountered. The South was in open rebellion and the North was divided in sentiment. The Democratic party maintained its organization, and used it to encourage the South and to discourage the efforts of the North. Yet in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles, the Republican party followed the dictates of loyalty and justice, and turned neither to the right nor the left until the rebellion was crushed, and the Union saved. Therefore, to the Republican party, to its wisdom and fidelity, its patriotism and courage, the people owe the existence of the Union. If it had no other claim on the gratitude of the nation than this one of preserving its nationality, it should outweigh all the claims of Democracy, and entitle it to the confidence and support of every loyal American citizen.

But it has other claims. It has not only organized the means for saving the nation, in the face of the greatest rebellion of modern times, but it has, by the operation of wise laws and a liberal policy, developed a growth of material prosperity rarely equalled in the history of nations.

To fully comprehend the advancement made during a single decade of Republican ascendancy, let us briefly compare the condition of the country in 1860, with its condition in 1870, as shown by the 9th census:

INCREASE IN POPULATION.

In 1860 the population of the United States was, according to the census, 31,153,744. Including Territories, 31,443,321. According to the census of 1870, the population was 38,115,641. Including Territories, 38,558,371. The following table shows the popula-

tion of each division, and the gain in ten years:

STATES.	POPULATION.		GAIN.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern ...	3,135,583	3,487,024	352,641
Middle....	3,258,550	10,158,729	1,900,479
Western ...	9,091,879	12,916,930	3,875,051
Southern...	10,259,016	10,808,379	549,381
Pacific.....	439,316	693,661	254,345
Territories	259,577	442,731	183,153
Total....	31,443,321	38,558,371	7,115,050

The percentage of increase, from 1860 to 1870, was somewhat smaller than that shown between 1850 and 1860. This can be readily accounted for by causes directly traceable to the war. The Surgeon General United States Army fixes the losses of the Union armies, by death, at 304,000—by discharge, 285,000. The Confederate losses are estimated at 300,000. Add to this the large number, on both sides, who died after the close of the war, from causes chargeable to the service, and we have not less than 1,000,000 of the decrease accounted for. The loss of so large a number of able-bodied men would necessarily affect the ratio of births during the decade. Therefore, the difference between the estimated population for 1870—41,609,000—and the actual count—38,558,371—may be properly attributed to the rebellion, and causes directly chargeable to it. Yet, despite these unfavorable causes, which retarded the natural growth of the nation, the close of the first decade of Republican administration finds the nation with a substantial increase of over seven millions. The increase up to the present time, may safely be assumed to reach not less than 11,500,000, making the present population about 42,000,000.

INCREASE IN PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES.

The substantial growth in the products of manufactures from 1860 to 1870, illustrate the industrial prosperity of the nation. It is safe to assume that the increase of products of manufactures to June 30, 1874, would be upward of \$3,000,000,000. The following table shows the increase from 1860 to 1870:

STATES.	PRODUCTS OF MANUFACTURES.		INCREASE.
	1860	1870.	
Eastern States.....	\$168,599,287	\$1,009,116,772	\$840,517,485
Middle States.....	790,926,290	1,783,813,923	986,887,633
Western States.....	346,675,290	1,072,933,458	726,258,068
Southern States.....	193,462,511	253,618,436	60,155,915
Pacific States.....	71,229,989	89,342,482	18,112,493
Total	\$1,876,893,377	\$4,208,824,971	\$2,331,931,594

GROWTH IN TRUE WEALTH.

The increase of the true wealth of the nation for the same time, will better illustrate the character of the Government which, in a large measure, has been instrumental in bringing it about. This increase shows the wonderful growth of the nation under a single decade of Republican rule, and dis-

poses of the charge so often made by Democracy, that Republicanism has impoverished the country. No better evidence can be found of the fallacy of this assumption than that contained in the impartial returns of the ninth census. From this we tabulate the following :

STATES.	TRUE WEALTH.		INCREASE.
	1860.	1870.	
Eastern.....	\$1,863,848,765	\$4,039,875,247	\$2,176,026,482
Middle.....	4,150,920,784	12,181,738,740	8,030,817,956
Western.....	3,966,735,753	9,536,453,603	5,569,717,850
Southern.....	5,868,292,219	3,343,007,589	2,525,201,630*
Pacific.....	23,803,250	721,459,961	484,654,711
Territories.....	73,093,297	245,983,367	172,887,070
Total.....	\$16,159,616,068	\$30,068,518,507	\$13,908,902,439

* Decrease. Value of slaves included in 1860.

It will be seen from the above, that the true wealth of every section, with the exception of the Southern, has increased in a marvelous degree—the total increase being nearly \$14,000,000,000. The loss of slave property, the value of which was included in the census of 1860, partially accounts for the apparent decrease of the true wealth of the Southern States. To this should be

added the general depreciation of real estate, which has taken place in every Southern State with the exception of Kentucky and Tennessee.

ASSESSED VALUATION OF REAL ESTATE.

The following table shows the decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate in the the Southern States, from 1860 to 1870 :

SOUTHERN STATES.	ASSESSED VALUATION OF REAL ESTATE.		DECREASE IN REAL ESTATE.
	1860.	1870	
*Virginia.....	\$417,952,228	\$279,116,017	\$138,836,211
North Carolina.....	116,366,573	83,322,012	33,044,561
South Carolina.....	129,772,684	119,494,675	10,278,009
Georgia.....	179,801,441	143,918,216	35,883,225
Florida.....	21,722,810	20,197,691	1,525,119
Alabama.....	155,034,089	117,223,143	37,811,046
Mississippi.....	157,836,737	118,278,460	39,558,277
Louisiana.....	280,704,988	191,343,376	89,361,612
Kentucky.....	277,925,054	311,479,694	33,554,640†
Tennessee.....	219,991,180	223,035,375	3,044,195†
Arkansas.....	68,254,740	63,102,304	152,436
Texas.....	112,476,013	97,186,568	15,289,445
Total.....	\$2,132,838,537	\$1,767,727,431	\$365,111,106

* West Virginia not included in 1870. † Increase.

The great falling off in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Southern States as indicated in the table given, is due, not so much to the destruction which attended the war, as it is to the bitter political prejudices held since its close by the property-owners of the South against Northern capitalists, especially those who favor the Republican party. These prejudices have been so marked, that Northern men, with money to invest, have sought other and safer channels for their investments. Had the South laid aside its political hatred to the Republican party, and extended a cordial welcome to Northern men; skill, industry and wealth would have poured into its States, and ere this, restored to it the prosperity which it lost by the rebellion. Numerically, Republicanism has been stronger in certain Southern States than Democracy, but the latter has

controlled the property and moneyed interest, and thus checked the growth which would otherwise have followed the ascendancy of Republicanism. No political party, however pure, can of itself restore prosperity to a people who combine the money power against it. A cordial relation must exist between the party in power and the business elements with which it has to deal, before true prosperity can be attained, and if the South had long since recognized this truth, to-day her real estate would have shown as large an increase in value as that of other sections.

In order to show the increase in the assessed valuation of real estate in those States where the Republican party has had the active sympathy of business men and property owners, we present the following table, collated from the last census :

	Assessed Valuation of Real Estate.		
	1860.	1870.	INCREASE.
EASTERN STATES.			
Maine.....	\$ 86,717,716	\$ 134,580,157	\$47,862,441
New Hampshire.....	59,638,346	85,231,288	25,592,942
Vermont.....	65,639,973	80,993,100	15,353,127
Massachusetts.....	475,413,165	901,037,841	425,624,676
Rhode Island.....	83,778,214	132,876,581	49,098,377
Connecticut.....	191,478,842	204,110,509	12,631,667
Total	\$962,666,246	\$1,538,829,476	\$576,163,230
MIDDLE STATES.			
New York.....	\$1,069,658,080	\$1,532,720,907	\$463,062,827
New Jersey.....	151,161,942	448,832,127	297,670,185
Pennsylvania.....	561,192,980	1,071,680,934	510,487,954
Delaware.....	26,273,803	48,744,783	22,470,980
Maryland.....	65,341,438	286,910,332	221,568,894
Total.....	\$1,873,628,243	\$3,388,889,083	\$1,515,260,840
WESTERN STATES.			
Ohio.....	\$687,518,121	\$707,846,836	\$20,328,715
Michigan.....	123,605,084	224,663,667	101,058,583
Indiana.....	291,829,992	460,120,974	168,290,982
Illinois.....	287,219,940	348,433,906	61,213,966
Wisconsin.....	148,238,766	252,322,107	104,083,341
Minnesota.....	25,291,771	62,079,587	36,787,816
Iowa.....	149,433,423	226,610,638	77,177,215
Missouri.....	153,450,577	418,527,535	265,076,958
Kansas.....	16,088,602	65,499,365	49,410,763
Nebraska.....	5,732,145	38,365,999	32,633,854
Total	\$1,888,408,421	\$2,804,470,614	\$916,062,193

	Assessed Valuation of Real Estate.		INCREASE.
	1860.	1870.	
PACIFIC STATES.			
California.....	\$66,906,631	\$176,527,160	\$109,620,529
Oregon.....	6,279,602	17,674,202	11,394,600
*Nevada.....			
Total	\$73,186,233	\$194,201,362	\$121,015,129
Grand total.....	\$4,797,889,143	\$7,926,390,535	\$3,128,501,392

* Assessed valuation of real estate in 1870, \$14,594,722.

The above table indicates an aggregate increase in the assessed valuation of real estate in the Eastern, Middle, Western and Pacific States, during the first decade of Republican rule, of \$3,128,501,392, while the Southern States, during the same period, show a decrease in the assessed valuation of real estate, amounting to \$365,111,106.

The question may be asked, why has not the Republican party advanced the material interests of those States in the South where it has had control? The answer is, because it has met the organized opposition of the intelligent, wealthy and business elements of those States. Its control has been the control of a majority, cut off by deep-rooted prejudice from the sympathy and support of an influential minority. Thus, insurmountable obstacles have been placed in its way. Its efforts to build up have been met by counter efforts to tear down, and this conflict carried on through a series of years, has borne its natural results, the paralyzation of industry and the stoppage of growth. At the North, active party opposition against a State administration ceases when the ballot announces the people's choice. At the South the opposition of Democracy is intensified by the elevation of Republican officials. The choice of the people is disregarded, the minority refuse to cheerfully submit to the decree of the ballot box, and thus the administration of government lacks that co-operation of effort on the part of all classes essential to a complete development of State interests. If one-half the talent and energy shown by Southern Democracy in obstructing the administration of Republican governments had been used to assist officials in

exercising their legitimate functions, the close of the last decade would have revealed an increase instead of decrease in Southern wealth.

The South has many natural advantages, which, if properly used, would make it an attractive field for enterprise and wealth. Its climate, mineral resources, water-power, agricultural privileges, fine harbors and magnificent rivers, ought to have largely increased its population and trebled its wealth in ten years. Why has it failed to advance? Why has it fallen behind? The reason may be found in the narrow political prejudices which have created a policy of exclusiveness that has shut her gates against the enterprising men of the world. In still clinging to a political party that once led them to the brink of ruin, the property owners of the South are committing an act of suicidal folly. By ignoring the party of freedom and progress, which has advanced by its wisdom and energy other sections of the country, the South is putting off the day of prosperity. If she would keep pace with the North, she must imitate the political freedom which the latter enjoys, and break down, of her own accord, those barriers which pride and prejudice have raised against the principles of Republicanism. By the adoption of these principles the South will close the present decade with a degree of prosperity beyond her hopes. The surplus wealth of the North will pour in upon her; hardy immigrants will possess her now idle lands; mills and factories will line her water-courses; shipping will crowd her seaports; and she will become what nature seems to have intended her to be—the very garden spot of America.

To bury her prejudices, turn her back on Democracy, and welcome Republicanism, would be to her the beginning of a glorious era.

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The financial operations of the Government since 1861, illustrate in a marked degree the wonderful resources of the nation, and the integrity of the party that has been responsible for the administration of public affairs. The armed rebellion of eleven States which confronted the Republican party when it assumed control, necessitated extraordinary expenses on the part of the Government, and to meet these expenses, the collection of extraordinary revenues. There was no alternative but heavy expenditures and great sacrifices, or universal bankruptcy and national extinction. True, the full force of the terrible strain to be borne was unknown in 1861, but the party in power never weighed the value of the Union in the scale of dollars and cents. Its preservation was cheap at any price of treasure or blood. It was priceless, not only to the generation which undertook its salvation, but to the countless generations which were to follow. Its defence and preservation were sacred duties, which no loyal citizen could overlook. Freedom, humanity, intelligence, all depended upon the issue; and with its successful termination, each of these elements of human civilization became more deeply rooted in American soil.

We have already shown the material prosperity which the Union has developed. This far outweighs the money expenditures made necessary by four years of war. The compensation for the bloodshed cannot be found in dollars and cents. The elevation of the human race, the extinction of human bondage, the erection of free States throughout the world, and the future preservation of hundreds of thousands of lives which would be sacrificed in the defence of separate nationalities—are among the legitimate fruits which will spring up from the graves of the Union defenders.

The value of the work being conceded, let us look at the means made necessary to ac-

complish it; the revenues and expenditure of the nation during its struggle for existence.

A careful estimate, made in 1872, of the expenses incurred for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1871, showed that the expenditures growing out of the war—such as pensions, interest, premiums, claims, collection of the internal revenue, additional cost of army and navy, payments for illegal captures, suppression of disturbances in the Southern States—amounted to \$214,642,081.03. This amount, deducted from the total expenditures of the Nation, \$292,177,188.25, left \$77,535,107.22 as the ordinary expenses of the Government for 1871 on a peace basis. Reduced to a gold basis—the average price of gold during 1871 being 112.3—it was \$69,042,838.13. The expenditures of the Nation for the year ended June 30, 1860, were \$61,402,408.64. The population of the United States January 1, 1860, was 31,030,750. The population January 1, 1871, was 38,911,616. This would make the expenditures *per capita* in 1860, \$1.98, and in 1871, \$1.77. If we accept the result of this calculation as a fair average of the ordinary expenses of administration, or those which exclude the extraordinary expenditures growing out of, and justly chargeable to the rebellion, we shall have for the fourteen years prior to June 30, 1874, \$966,599,733.82 ordinary expenses, instead of \$6,465,897,922.84, the actual amount required for those extraordinary expenditures growing out of the war. The difference between the two items, represents the financial sacrifice made by the nation to defend the Union, and to resist the fatal doctrine of State Rights as preached by Calhoun, fought for by the Southern Confederacy, and practically maintained by the Democratic party of to-day.

The following table shows the net revenue of the Government from 1789 to 1860, and from 1860 to 1874; also, the net expenditures of the Government during the same periods:

NET REVENUE OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING PREMIUMS AND INTEREST RECEIVED.	
From March 4, 1789, to	
June 30, 1860	\$1,806,354,650.53
From June 30, 1860, to	
June 30, 1874.....	4,437,187,765.12
Total.....	\$6,243,542,415.65

GROWTH OF THE NATION UNDER REPUBLICANISM.

NET EXPENDITURES, INCLUDING PAYMENTS FOR PREMIUMS AND INTEREST.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860.....	\$1,731,734,673.72
From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1874.....	6,465,897,922.84
Total	\$8,197,632,596.56

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.

From March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1860.

War	\$552,534,462.79
Navy	347,733,033.83
Indians	84,091,969.79
Pensions	79,713,465.20
Miscellaneous*	465,237,077.08
Premiums	5,834,626.94
Interest	196,590,068.09

Net expenditures..... 1,731,734,673.72

From June 30, 1860, to June 30, 1874.

War	\$1,534,163,574.37
Navy	563,626,987.74
Indians	67,657,496.77
Pensions	262,814,830.28
Miscellaneous	672,854,238.57
Premiums	59,738,167.73
Interest	1,305,042,627.38

Net expenditures... 6,465,897,922.84

Net expenditures, from March 4, 1789, to June 30, 1874..... \$8,197,632,596.56

The tables submitted show, at a glance, the extraordinary expenditures directly due to the rebellion. The work required of the army and the magnitude of military operations, can only be realized by a comparison of the expenditures. The army expenditures for the years 1862, '63, '64, and 1865, amounted to \$2,713,569,422.83, or nearly five times as much as the entire army expenses of the Government from 1789 to 1860, a period of seventy-one years. The army expenditures of a single year, 1865—the close of the war—were \$1,030,690,400.06, or within a fraction of \$3,000,000 for every day in the year.

The nation has been required to pay for the item of interest alone during the past fourteen years, \$1,305,042,627.38, as against 196,590,068.09, the amount paid from 1789,

*Includes Civil Service Foreign Relations, Light-house and Public Buildings expenditures, and the cost of collecting the internal revenues.

to 1860, or more than six and much as the entire amount of by the Government for seven years. The pension payments, also due to the rebellion, show that \$830.28 have been paid out, three times the entire pension paid by the Government for the seven years prior to 1860.

If a party is to be judged of its responsibilities, then the party in its administration of the Government cannot fail to invoke the favor of impartial minds. It has been laid upon weaker shoulders which well have destroyed a Government of its magnitude of its labors can be measured by their priceless results will grow in value as generations pass.

If the expenditures show parallel in our history, so that employed, the honesty and energy of the statesmanship which created the necessary to carry the Government through the most active period of its existence be regarded as without parallel in the history of nations.

The wisdom and sagacity which created the internal revenue system, a currency system, should encourage the publican party to the glory of the country. The first made possible the revenues necessary to carry the war to a successful issue. The payment of the taxes uniformed the country, provided a security of equal value in all the States, industry, by removing its earnings, and commanded the acquiescence of the moneyed interests of the country in the security of those interests upon the integrity and credit of the Government.

The present system of internal revenue was created to meet the wants of an emergency. Through those wants were supplied particularly, and without shock or injury to the business of the country. So that the system organized, so equis

taxes, levied under it, so cheerfully were they responded to by a loyal people, that the future historian, when he looks for the evidence of those burdens which oppress a people during the prosecution of a great war, will fail to discover that the payment of these countless millions was regarded as oppressive, or checked for a moment the growth of a nation's prosperity.

To show the amount collected under the internal revenue system, and by direct tax, since 1861 to 1874, we submit the following :

Year.	Internal Revenue.	Direct tax.
1862.....	.....	\$1,795,331.73
1863.....	\$37,640,787.95	1,485,103.61
1864.....	109,741,134.10	475,648.96
1865.....	209,464,215.25	1,200,573.0
1866.....	309,226,813.42	1,974,754.12
1867.....	266,027,537.43	4,200,233.70
1868.....	191,087,581.41	1,788,145.85
1869.....	158,356,460.86	765,685.61
1870.....	184,899,756.49	229,102.88
1871.....	143,098,153.63	580,355.37
1872.....	130,642,177.72	.....
1873.....	113,729,314.14	*315,254.51
1874.....	102,409,784.90	.....
Total.....	1,956,323,725.30	14,810,189.37

The other principle source of revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government, was the customs revenue. From this source the following amounts were collected from 1861 to 1874, inclusive :

Year.	Customs Revenue.
1861.....	\$39,582,125.64
1862.....	49,055,397.62
1863.....	69,059,642.40
1864.....	102,316,152.99
1865.....	84,928,260.60
1866.....	179,046,651.58
1867.....	176,417,810.88
1868.....	164,464,519.56
1869.....	180,048,426.63
1870.....	194,538,374.44
1871.....	206,270,408.05
1872.....	216,370,286.77
1873.....	188,089,522.70
1874.....	163,103,833.69
Total.....	\$2,013,292,493.55

* Balances due in 1871, collected in 1872 and 1873, and covered into the U. S. Treasury in the latter year.

During the war period, from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1865, the net expenditures of the Government far exceeded the net ordinary revenue. The following table will show the ordinary receipts and expenditures for the five years named :

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1861...	\$11,476,299.49	\$62,616,055.78
1862...	51,919,261.09	456,379,896.81
1863...	112,094,945.51	694,004,575.56
1864...	243,412,911.20	811,283,679.14
1865...	32,031,158.19	1,217,704,199.28
Total..	\$770,934,635.48	\$3,241,988,406.57

To the above receipts should be added \$33,561,924.24 received as premiums, and to the expenditures should be added \$176,034,714.75 paid for interest, and \$1,717,900.11 paid as premiums, making the total net receipts for the five years named \$814,496,559.72, and the total net expenditures for the same time, \$3,419,741,021.43, or more than four times the amount of the receipts. It will thus be seen that the expenditures exceeded the receipts during the five years of war, \$2,615,244,461.71.

To meet this excess, the nation was forced to look outside of its ordinary revenues, and the amount needed was provided by its loans and Treasury notes. These loans make up the bulk of our present National debt. The following shows the yearly payment for interest from 1861 to 1874 :

YEAR.	INTEREST.
1861.....	\$4,034,157.30
1862.....	13,190,344.84
1863.....	24,729,700.62
1864.....	53,685,421.69
1865.....	77,395,090.30
1866.....	133,067,624.91
1867.....	143,781,591.91
1868.....	140,424,045.71
1869.....	130,694,242.80
1870.....	129,235,498.00
1871.....	125,576,565.93
1872.....	117,357,839.72
1873.....	104,750,688.44
1874.....	107,119,815.21
Total.....	\$1,305,042,627.38

RECEIPTS FROM ALL SOURCES FROM JUNE 30,
1861, TO JUNE 30, 1874, INCLUSIVE.

Customs	\$2,013,292,493.55
Internal Revenue.....	1,956,323,725.30
Direct Tax.....	14,810,189.37
Public Lands.....	23,022,636.56
Miscellaneous	237,108,498.21
Premiums	192,590,748.36
Total	\$4,437,148,291.39

OFFICIAL INTEGRITY, REDUCTION OF DEBT, &c.

Yet, with these immense receipts and expenditures, made necessary by the suppression of the Democratic slaveholders' rebellion, the records show a degree of official integrity without a parallel in the history of governments. Vice President Wilson, in 1872, in referring to this subject, said:

"During the war we paid, through the Paymaster's Department of the Army, more than a thousand million dollars. That money was paid sometimes when troops were on their march, sometimes when they were under fire, and we lost less than a quarter of a million dollars. Never, in the history of the human family, was there any higher evidence of integrity. In the war of 1812, in paying out the little money we paid during that war, we lost about two million dollars. Since Gen. Spinner entered upon his office of Treasurer of the United States, \$55,000,000,000 have passed through his office, counted by from three to four hundred men and women. We have lost between fifty and sixty thousand dollars in these eleven years, while \$55,000,000,000 have gone through the office.

"There has been collected under General Grant's administration, in three years, nearly twelve hundred million dollars—nearly four hundred millions a year; there has been paid out nearly a thousand million dollars—making about twenty-one hundred million dollars. We have lost out of this immense sum, in all the departments of the Government, a million and a quarter—less than a fifteenth part of one per centum!

"We have paid out, during these three years, ninety million dollars, in pensions, and we have had five defalcations, all of them soldiers, and four of them shed their blood for their country. But the Government has not lost a dollar, for the agents made good their accounts, or their bondsmen did it for them."

These remarks are as applicable to-day as when they were uttered. The same honesty and economy which characterized the Presi-

dent's first term have distinguished, in even a greater degree, the first half of his second term.

A very careful calculation of losses sustained was embodied in an official letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, in 1872. As equal honesty has been practiced in all the departments since the date of this letter, it may be safely taken as a basis for present calculations. According to this letter, the per cent. of losses to the Government in the collection of internal revenue since March 3, 1839, was less than one-fiftieth of one per cent. of the amount collected, or less than two dollars in ten thousand.

In the collection of the customs for the same time the loss was \$28,000, out of \$553,000,000, or the one-hundredth part of one per cent., or less than five dollars in every one hundred thousand.

The loss to depositors, through our National banking system, was the one-hundredth and eighty-sixth part of one per cent.—equivalent to five dollars and three-eighths in every one hundred thousand.

The money entries on the books of the United States Treasurer, covering time from June 30, 1861, to January 9, 1872, showed the immense sum of \$55,000,000,000, and out of this vast amount the loss was about \$55,000, or less than one ten-thousandth part of one per cent., or one dollar in one million of money transactions.

With this exhibit of the financial responsibility of the Republican party, and the official integrity which has characterized its public servants, are we not justified in saying that no just comparison can be instituted between the party now in power and those which have preceded it? To determine its merits, and do full justice to its great services to the Republic, we have but to weigh its acts and its responsibilities with the combined acts of all the administrations, from Washington down. Even then, we can obtain but an imperfect understanding of the magnitude of its labors, and of the power of its influence on the civilization of the world.

The excess of expenditures over receipts, or that which far exceeded the ordinary

revenues, and which were met by pledges of public faith, ceased with the close of the war. The public debt had reached its highest point in 1866, being at that time, June 30, \$2,773,236,173.69. Since then the revenues of the nation have exceeded the expenditures, leaving a balance each year for the redemption of the public debt. From June 30, 1866, to June 30, 1874, the public debt has been reduced \$580,305,705.26. This reduction has taken place in the face of reduced taxation. Under the acts of Congress dated July 13, 1866, March 2, 1867, Feb. 3, 1868, March 1 and July 20, 1868, July 14, 1870, May 1 and June 6, 1872—the Internal Revenue taxation has been reduced from its highest point, in 1866, \$309,226,813.42, to \$102,409,784.90, June 30, 1874. In this reduction of the public debt, and this descending scale of taxation, we have at a single glance the policy of the administration to maintain the public credit, and at the same time lighten the burdens of the people.

We have endeavored to show, by the statements submitted, the magnitude of the financial operations of the Government during fourteen years of Republican rule. They may safely be held up, as being without a parallel in our history, if not in the history of nations. To carry on these operations through a long series of years, without infringing upon the constitutional rights of a single citizen, or without oppressing the industrial interests of the country, has required the highest degree of administrative and legislative talent, and the highest order of executive integrity. It should be borne in mind that these heavy financial responsibilities were forced upon the country by treasonable Democracy, and that the part performed by the Republican party was simply the execution of an imperative duty which it owed to the Union, to freedom, to humanity and to the world's civilization.

If we would realize the cost of this treasonable Democracy, we must go over the expenditures of each year, and sum up those which are directly chargeable to the Democratic slaveholders' rebellion. They would not only wipe out our present national debt, but restore an equal amount to those who

were forced to bear the financial burdens of the conflict.

With these figures before us, with a clear remembrance of those terrible years of sacrifice and suffering, when the hopes of the nation centered in the courage and patriotism of the Republican party, with at least \$50,000,000 of yearly expenditures to remind us of a party that betrayed the nation, and with a burdensome public debt, which a loyal people are nobly bearing—who that loves his country, or wishes to see it continue in the path of peace and prosperity, can give his vote or influence to the support of a party that stands to-day as responsible for the rebellion, as it did when its recognized head, James Buchanan, folded his arms and gave it the sanction of his official encouragement, by the admission that he had no power to coerce.

OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY SYSTEM.

We have shown the immense financial operations of the Government during the fourteen years ending June 30, 1874. To those measures which led to the adoption of our present national currency the success of these operations is largely due. Under the old State banking system, financial embarrassments would have attended the collection of the taxes, irredeemable paper money would have become nearly worthless, gold needed for custom duties, and for the payment of interest on our bonds would have become exorbitantly high, the credit of States and individuals would have been destroyed, and before the close of the war, even if such a close had been possible, universal bankruptcy would have stared us in the face.

Therefore to the adoption of our present national currency, the nation is largely indebted for the success of its financial operations. It gave to the country a currency of uniform value; it pledged the faith of the nation for the security of the circulating medium; it removed the possibility of loss on the part of the bill holder, by making the Government the redemption agent; it united the moneyed interests of the country with the efforts of the government to maintain its existence, by making the currency, and through this prosperity, wholly dependent upon the credit and integrity of the nation.

GROWTH OF THE NATION UNDER REPUBLICANISM.

This national currency system operated as a strong bond of union, holding the States to the Government, upon which they depended for financial prosperity. It placed the states in the attitude of creditors, largely interested in maintaining the solvency of the Government.

To this system of currency, due to the wisdom of Republican legislation, the people are indebted for that harmony which existed between the States and the Government, and for that marvelous prosperity, which developed itself in the midst of a devastating war, and which has practically continued unchecked up to the present time.

Under the old State banking system, every financial disturbance entailed heavy losses on holders of bills, while panics like those of 1837 and 1857 wrecked hundreds of banks and entailed hardships upon thousands of individuals holding their notes. Under the present national system, these losses, which generally fell upon the workingmen, are impossible. A bank may be badly managed; it may fail; yet, its notes, being secured by a deposit of United States bonds, are as valuable as the notes of the best managed bank in the country. They continue to circulate, or if the holder desires it, they may be redeemed by the United States. Thus the cir-

ulating notes, under the pro
may be considered absolutely
dollar has been lost by the hold
of a broken national bank sinc
zation of the system. All that
to make the national currenc
perfect as any ever devised by
dom, is, the redemption of its
or its equivalent. If hostile le
not interfere to change or cripp
plans of Republican administ
sumption of specie payments
brought about without shock
to business interests.

The Republican party is pledged to the eventual redemption of every obligation, in gold. It has not failed to make good its pledges, and thus has kept with sacred fidelity, if there be any, through the future the same confidence which has upheld the party in the past.

As a comparison of the old system with the present one may be of value, we have the following statement, exhibiting the bank circulation, the amount of deposits, and the ratio of circulation to deposits, and capital, in 1862 (State bank system) and in 1874 :

	BANK CIRCULATION.*		Circulation per Capita		Ratio of Circulation to Wealth.	
	1862.	1874.	1862.	1874.	Per Ct. 1862.	Per Ct. 1874.
Eastern States... ..	\$65,516,155	\$109,705,018	\$20.90	\$31.45	3.5	2.7
Middle States	82,372,091	123,052,872	9.97	12.66	2.0	1.0
Southern States	71,098,408	36,895,704	6.17	2.81	1.1	0.7
Western States..	19,684,564	77,174,850	2.49	6.86	0.6	0.9
Pacific States and Territories.....	.....	1,962,708	.....	2.00	.....	0.1
Total of States and Territories..	\$238,671,210	\$348,791,152	\$7.59	\$9.04	1.5	1.1

* National bank notes, June 30, 1875, \$351,869,009; of 1 demand and legal ten^der notes, \$375
tional currency, \$42,129,424.19; total paper currency, \$769,840,119.19. Total circulation per c

A comparative table, exhibiting the above tender note, and the national bank notes by States, may be found in the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, for 1874. In speaking of the relative value of the legal tender note, and the national bank notes, the Comptroller says, in his report:

"The amount of legal tender authorized is \$382,000,000; the amount of national bank notes issued is \$382,000,000; the amount of legal tender in circulation is \$382,000,000; the amount of national bank notes in circulation is \$382,000,000."

"The amount of legal tender authorized is \$382,000,000; the a

tional bank notes, \$354,000,000. The amounts of legal tender notes, under the act of June 20, 1874, cannot be reduced, but must remain continually in circulation; the amount of national bank notes, however, may be reduced at the pleasure of the banks. If the value of the paper dollar be determined by the amount of such money in circulation, then the national bank note is more valuable than the legal tender note. The national bank notes outstanding are secured by a deposit of more than \$385,000,000 of United States bonds, which are at a premium of more than 12 per cent.

"If the United States bonds be not of sufficient value to pay the notes, the capital and surplus of the banks, amounting to \$622,000,000, as well as their entire assets, are available for that purpose. The stockholders are individually liable for the full amount of their stock, in addition to the amount invested in such shares. And the United States guarantees the final payment of the notes. There are, then, absolute assets for more than three times the amount of the national bank notes outstanding, available for the redemption of these notes, and in addition, the contingent liability of the shareholders, and the guarantee of their final payment by the United States."

It will thus be seen that our currency is safe not only in times of business prosperity, but in the midst of financial panics. Founded upon the credit of the Government, nothing but the loss of public credit could affect materially the value of our currency. To maintain this credit, to strengthen it at home and abroad, has been the object of the Republican party. Under its wise management our national credit has steadily improved. Our securities are sought for as among the best and safest in the world, and if the party whose administration has brought about so favorable a result is continued in power, we may confidently look forward to the refunding of our national debt at a low rate of interest, thus in this single item saving annually millions of dollars to the Government. We appeal to true citizens everywhere, to all who desire to maintain the credit of the nation, to all who appreciate a good currency, that is gradually approaching a gold basis, to all who are in any way interested in maintaining public faith, to lay aside petty prejudices and local issues, and earnestly support the party that has rendered noble service to the Republic. Its overthrow means

the loss of public credit, the paralyzation of business enterprise, the depreciation of national securities, and eventually a repudiation of national obligations.

A SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENTS.

To do justice to a review of Republican achievements would fill a volume. A brief summary will be a fitting conclusion to the statements already made.

During the period of Republican ascendancy, we have seen the nation increase in population from 1860 to 1870, 7,115,050, with an estimated increase, up to the present time, of 11,500,000. We have seen an increase of the products of manufactures during the same time of \$2,231,931,594, with a probable increase, up to this time, of over \$3,000,000,000. We have seen an increase in the true wealth of the Northern States, up to 1870, \$13,908,902,433, which to-day may be estimated at \$20,000,000,000. We have seen the assessed valuation of real estate increase in ten years \$3,128,501,392, which, at the present time, would make it over \$4,000,000,000. We have seen the Government successfully conducting financial operations of great magnitude, and improving its credit, while meeting obligations which bore heavily upon its resources. We have seen a defective State currency system, supplanted by one of a national character, safe, sound and effective, and destined to become, at no distant day, the most perfect currency system ever devised by man. Yet these items of growth and improvements, are but a few of the many that could be presented if time permitted.

The homestead acts; the building of the Pacific railroad; the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, and the legislation necessary to enforce their provisions; the reconstruction of the Southern States; the settlement of the Alabama Claims, and the vexed San Juan boundary; establishment of life-saving stations; protection to immigrants; encouragement of labor; advancement of science and education; and above all, the crowning work of the century—the abolition of human slavery—are items in the long list of Republican triumphs, which will insure the gratitude of posterity, and ever command the admiration of the world.

This is the party now in jeopardy—the party whose existence is so interwoven with the life of the nation, that to destroy the one is to permanently injure the other.

Is a party record, so glorious and praiseworthy, to be destroyed by the breath of slander, or blotted out from the hearts of a grateful people, by the efforts of partizan malice? Is a party that has given such transcendent evidence of its ability to govern wisely, and justly, and honestly, the affairs of a great nation, to be laid aside, just as the fruits of its noble labors are ripening

to the touch? No! We speak for the American people, who are not ungrateful, who still bear in remembrance the services of the past, who are yet unwilling to trust a country saved by loyal blood and treasure in the hands of those who encouraged its destruction—when we say that despite the efforts of Democracy, and the schemes of bad men, the Republican party will still be supported by the loyal element of the country as the only party that has been faithful to its trust, and that is able to protect the nation's honor, while advancing the nation's prosperity.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC—ITS NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE GUARANTEES.

M. Laboulaye, Chairman of the Committee of Thirty in the Versailles Assembly, who were charged with the consideration of all measures relating to organic laws, declared that the French Republicans of all shades, accepted the compromise measures finally adopted, "through the love of country, in order to obey that requirement of peace and union, which is the desire of a people exhausted by war and tried by revolutions." The speaker, a leader of the left centre or moderates of his party, did not make too large a claim on the respect and admiration of mankind for those who acted with him, in the foregoing declaration. History holds within its ample folds, few events more worthy of praise, than those which have in the main marked the advent of the present Parliamentary Republic of France. That praise is due to the various divisions of the Republican party, which, under the leadership on the one side, of Thiers, Grévy, and other converted Constitutional Monarchists, and of Leon, Gambetta, Laboulaye, Jules Simon, Emanuel Arago and others who have always been Republican in politics, have kept steadily in view the establishment of that form of Government, which, as M. Thiers so tersely put it—"divides France the least."

The constitutional bills under which the Republic in name has been definitely established were adopted in a full Assembly by a majority of 174, on the 25th of February, 1875.

The struggle between Imperialism, Monarchy, and the Republic had continued for over four years, from the date of the establishment of peace, and the removal of the National Assembly, so-called, from Bordeaux to Versailles. That assembly, elected to close the war between Germany and France, refused under the reaction created by the Commune rebellion, to give place to a Constituent Assembly, and succeeded in making itself the government of France, for the time being. At the beginning of this provisional period, the reactionaries had a clear majority of between two and three hundred. When, however, it came to be a question of who should reap the results, the majority divided, and the Legitimists, the Orleanists and Imperialists, could not be induced to agree on an executive or the form of government. The first and third of these factions determined to accept the Comte de Chambord as Henri V., but that logical acceptor of the "right divine of kings," refused to "conquer his prejudices" to constitutional guarantees or a national flag, the tricolor, under which his family had been driven out of France. These parties combined to defeat Thiers and substitute McMahon, but could go no further.

On the other hand time has been the most efficient ally of the Republicans. It has soothed away their own differences; healed the sore partizanship, which is the curse of all political leadership in France, and finally

brought nearly all divisions under the acknowledged leadership of Thiers and Gambetta. No man ever gave another more loyal service than the fiery and impetuous Republican orator has accorded the astute and veteran statesman, who, loving the country more than his own opinions, assumed the functions of Republican leadership with the same earnestness that he served King Louis Philippe and opposed Napoleon III.

In the four years of struggle, many members who sat on the Right or Right Centre benches have died. In the vacancies created by death or other means, amounting to about one hundred and fifty, the Republicans have gained largely on the popular vote, carrying at least one hundred and twenty-five of the elections. They have also received accessions from other parties.

It became evident from all these facts that the Republic represented the will of a majority of the PEOPLE of France. As this became more apparent daily, the Republican policy shifted. The Left, while still denying the power of the Assembly to make a definite Constitution, accepted such proclamation of the Republic as is involved in the laws now adopted, and stand ready to go to the country when the Assembly is dissolved.

Under the organic laws adopted last February, working details of which are now being discussed, the Government of France presents the following features :

1. A distinct acceptance of the Republic as the future government of France.

2. A National Assembly to consist of two Chambers.—Senate and Deputies, the latter of which is to be elected by universal suffrage, for three years, unless dissolved by the President, the Senate concurring. A Deputy must be a Frenchman, without civil disability, and not less than twenty-five years of age. If the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved, a new election must be ordered within three months thereafter.

3. The Senate is to consist of three hundred members, to be chosen in the following manner: Two hundred and twenty-five by the departments and colonies, and seventy-five by the Chamber of Deputies. The term of service for Senators is to be for nine years, after the first Senate has adjusted itself

thereto, which will be done by selecting one hundred to go out at the end of three years, the same number at the end of six years, and the remainder at the end of nine years. The qualifications for Senator are French citizenship, without any disability; age to be forty years and upwards.

The Senate is to be elected, (except those selected by the Deputies,) by an electoral college in each department and colony chosen in the following manner: the Deputies representing the department; the Consul-General and district (arrondissement) councils, (bodies of an administrative character chosen by the popular vote and not heretofore charged with any direct political functions;) and by delegates from each commune (or municipal township,) in the department—said delegates to be chosen from among the electors, by the Commune council. In this way the bodies charged with the election of Senators will become provincial assemblies, and skillfully handled, must hereafter exercise a great influence in national affairs.

The department of the Seine and Nord, (in which Paris and Havre are situated,) are to have five Senators each. Six others, one near Paris, and in which are Calais, Lyons, Marseilles, and other principal cities, will have four each. Twenty-seven others will have three each; the others two each, and the colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion, and the French Indies (Cochin China, etc.,) are to have one each. There are in all 130 departments. Gambetta has declared that the introduction of the Commune delegates as an agency in the election of Senators, is practically the most Democratic measure yet adopted in France.

The electoral college, so-called, will vote the whole list of its nominees, no Senator to be declared elected without a clear majority of the votes cast. The Chamber of Deputies is to choose its seventy-five Senators by ballot. The Senate must be elected one month before the present assembly dissolves, and to assemble for organization on the day of that dissolution.

4. The two Chambers are to constitute the National Assembly.

This body elects the Chief Executive, or President; votes supplies, declares war or peace, and provides by law for the general operations of the government.

5th. The executive power is vested in a President, to be elected for seven years, and to be twice eligible for re-election. The President is to be commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces; has the right of pardon, but not of veto. Ministers are responsible to the executive, who, however, is liable to impeachment. He makes all appointments, civil and military. Treaties to be negotiated by the Executive, but are not ratified until approved by the National Assembly.

These are the principal features of the organic laws under which the government of France is now being organized. The right to declare war and make peace was first claimed for the executive, but has been settled as stated. The chief topic still under discussion is as to the manner in which Deputies shall be elected—whether by general lists in each department or by separate districts. These are termed respectively *scrutin d'liste* and *scrutin d'arrondissement*.

The Republicans and Legitimists in the present assembly support the first named method, and the Napoleonists and Orleanists the second. The reasons are obvious to those who are acquainted with French politics. The administration or executive has so much influence, by reason of its numerous appointments, that its influence and those favoring local celebrities, will be most successfully exerted under the district method; while by the general lists, the great parties and public men of national character will carry far more weight.

It is probable that the parties of the Right and Left will succeed against those of the Centres and the Buffet ministry; while at the polls there seems to be little doubt but that a Republican victory will be obtained. Probably a working majority in the new assembly will crown their sagacious and persistent patriotism. When this question of voting by departments or arrondissements is settled, there will be little left for the assembly at Versailles to do but to prepare for its own dissolution.

A small body of the extremists by Louis Blanc, are, however, fidelity to the policy of conciliation by M. Gambetta. In a recent Blanc declares that the policy was really voted "a non-hereditary in a country where for a century has bequeathed his throne to his historical correctness of the state to have taught M. Blanc that the danger arising from the powers now intrusted to the Executive. The Radical orator holding government to be "only a monarchy, and not that of a Republic summons and dismisses like a king. He appoints all like a king. He can command can be re-elected twice, and go forty-one years."

M. Gambetta's policy, as his speeches and the paper presents him, is very clear and sees plainly that the old order is defensive; that the new order is advancing and aggressive, power of resistance in the future enough (and likely to remain time to come) to hinder any development, or crush any rash effort to-day what could only be safely secured to-morrow. The apprehends that to establish a republic there must be Republic there can be little doubt to observers that a majority have on that side, yet it is equally as the large minority have the weight, with both culture and the prestige of centuries rule behind long breathing spell is wanted in apprehension of Republican in their peaceful formulation in habits and administration there

"A REPUDIATED DEBT CURRENTED quantities," say the Ohio "A sound currency of coin or its say the Maine Democrats. "A revenue," say the Ohio Democrats for revenue only, say the Maine And yet the Ohio and Maine Democrats themselves by the same name, belong to the same political club

INFLATION OF THE CURRENCY INJURIOUS.

The necessity which caused the issue of a paper currency to meet the exceptional wants of the war, caused also a great increase in private and national expenditure by disturbing values, and by driving out of circulation the world's currency—gold and silver. It will be observed that the Republican statesmen who prepared the bill governing the issue of currency, were well aware of the effect it would have; and they constantly kept in mind the time when paper should be of equal value with gold. Of course, it is not to be expected that the subject of National finance is scientifically understood by all who are sent as representatives to Congress. And it may be readily conceived that circumstances might arise in which the solution of a difficulty was said to lie in the issue of more greenbacks, or in allowing the issue already out to remain undisturbed. Such persons, especially if they represented communities who had suffered from financial pressure from any cause, were inclined to throw their influence in the direction of the issue of more currency, and of putting further off the period of return to specie payments. But in view of those who had charge of the finances of the country, it required continuous labor to provide for a judicious contraction of the volume of greenbacks in order to pave the way for specie resumption, and for a reduction from ruling prices.

The difference of opinion thus existing has caused delay on various occasions, and led to fluctuations which have raised or depressed values. It has certainly interfered with the approximation of paper with gold, and prevented gold and silver from being accessible to persons who desired that greenbacks might be convertible at will. While the country has so large an amount of paper currency in circulation, a people so disposed to speculate as ours, will do so regardless of its effects. And had no measures been passed to redeem a given amount of greenbacks, and to withdraw and cancel them, that they might never again be issued, a panic might always be threatened by men who thrive on the destruction of others. To guard against panics,

therefore, and to restore the circulation to its normal condition, preparatory to still further reduction, inflation in the future is absolutely forbidden.

When there is a redundant supply in the market of any commodity, it is always cheap, no matter what the commodity is. And if there is a redundant supply of paper money in circulation beyond the demands of business, it is always depreciated, because gold goes up. The greenback, therefore, buys less than it would if there was less difference between its face value than its quoted value in gold. To inflate the currency would bring upon the people the reverse of what was expected from it. Prices would rise; and with the rise in price, men of fixed incomes derived from labor, would find that they could not obtain from their labor the necessities and comforts they formerly received when gold was low. As an evidence how inflation ran up prices, we have only to refer to any period when the volume of the currency was increased. Then, the stationary incomes which did not increase, and on which families had lived in economical respectability, were felt to be inadequate unless the expenses were diminished in the ratio of increased cost. This was the experience in thousands of cases; and heads of families who had silently borne the pressure of the times in the hope of better days coming, looked around with sorrow on the fact.

Had Mr. Bristow, the present Secretary of the Treasury, the administration of the Act of Congress of 1866, which provided that \$10,000,000 of United States notes or greenbacks might be retired and cancelled within six months from the passage of the act, and under which \$44,000,000 were retired by Mr. McCulloch when the provisions of the act were suspended by the act of February 4, 1868. we do not think that he would have sanctioned the reissue of any part of the 44,000,000. At all events, he is decidedly against inflation in any form. And we find that he has directed the retirement and destruction of \$1,292,420 in legal tenders, being eighty per cent of new national bank circulation issued during the present month.

THE LIFE SAVING SERVICE AND THE REVENUE MARINE.

There are some things in the history of the past, which show how little the country has been indebted to the Democratic party for its progress and development of the higher instincts of our nature. But there is abundant evidence of noble actions having been performed by individuals or by communities, dwelling on the banks of rivers or by the seashore, who sought to save life at the risk of their own and frequently with pleasing success. Their inspiration, however, was not obtained from the Democratic party. That party was in power for many years, and only relinquished it when Mr. Lincoln assumed the office of Chief Magistrate. The quarter of a century immediately preceding the war, was a most eventful period in our annals. Steam, and railroad and telegraph came into common use. The world beyond took gigantic strides, which were followed by men of energy with us. But the Democratic party was too dull to be influenced by the spirit of progress. The opportunity was presented, but it failed to take advantage of it. National advancement had no charms for the unterrified. To confront the known dangers of navigating our own waters, and to plan the means of rescue, was an occupation too flat, stale and unprofitable to be worth Democratic attention; for the highest ambition of the Democratic party, then as now, was to yield, with proud satisfaction, the control of the country, to the threats of the enemies of liberty, and to shape its legislation in the interest of their patrons. In consequence, there were but few inter-State amenities between the South and the North; few efforts were made to build up that humane sentiment which should mark the nobility of a free and intelligent people; and fewer efforts still were made to carry out those broader views of duty which spring so naturally from the principles of the Republican party, which governed during the war of the Rebellion, and which continue to govern in its dealings with the affairs of men. Fierce political conflict was, however, softened by discussions of the claims of humanity exposed to suffering and peril. One of these discussions led

to the consideration of what should be done to lessen the dangers of our coast navigation and to save life and property from shipwreck. And from this arose the Life Saving Service, which is allied to the Revenue Marine.

REVENUE MARINE.

At the beginning of the year 1872, the Revenue Marine consisted of twenty-five steam-vessels, (including two steam-launches), and ten sailing vessels, which, with the exception of two steamers upon the lakes, whose services were not required, were in commission and distributed along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and upon the lakes.

The vessels of the Revenue Marine, patrol our waters chiefly to protect the public revenue against smuggling, and to lend assistance to mariners and vessels in distress. As illustrating the great improvement which has been made in the service during the past two years, the following is a comparative statement of the service rendered by revenue vessels (exclusive of those of a special nature, which cannot be easily ascertained), for each year from 1860 to 1870, inclusive, with those rendered in the last fiscal year. The statement is made by calendar years, because the information happens to be more easily obtainable in that form:

Years.	Assisted in distress.	Seized or reported.	Miles sailed.	Boarded and examined.	Lives saved.
1860.....	88	96	112,939	11,095	5
1861.....	129	111	159,574	12,991	20
1862.....	134	143	147,455	9,728	23
1863.....	117	118	174,111	9,386	19
1864.....	61	103	99,326	38,815	3
1865.....	116	90	126,552	17,375	7
1866.....	143	133	192,597	8,607	33
1867.....	126	154	192,313	10,850	14
1868.....	108	83	155,910	7,922	25
1869.....	109	79	156,910	7,927	25
1870.....	175	149	105,903	9,386	18
Total.....	1,306	1,259	1,623,700	144,033	192
Average per year	119	114	147,599	13,098	17
Fiscal yr end d June 30, 1872.	219	1,594	166,098½	24,932	37

It is proper to say that 1,101 of the 1,594 vessels seized or reported for the violation of revenue law in the last fiscal year were re-

turned by the Jasmine and Uno, the two New York harbor-boats, which, until last year, made no returns; but leaving this number out of the account, there remain 493, being more than three times the number seized and reported in any previous year, and more than four times the average.

The reports for the first quarter of the fiscal year, 1873, indicate great improvement even over the last. They give the number of vessels assisted in distress during the months of July, August and September, as 63; the number seized or reported for violation of law, 539; the number of miles sailed, 57,880; the number of vessels boarded and examined, 10,892; and the number of lives saved, 77.

The running expenses of the service for the fiscal year were \$930,249.81, being \$190,776.62 less than those of the previous year, and \$127,389.19 less than the amount appropriated.

Since 1864 the expenses of sustaining the service have been as follows:

For the fiscal year ended—

June 30, 1865.....	\$1,229,434.04
June 30, 1866.....	1,777,230.70
June 30, 1867.....	1,167,125.41
June 30, 1868.....	1,293,661.67
June 30, 1869.....	1,185,702.26
June 30, 1870.....	1,133,670.15
June 30, 1871.....	1,121,026.43
June 30, 1872.....	930,249.81

Previous to 1864 the cost of maintaining the Revenue Cutter Service cannot well be ascertained, the accounts not having been kept separate from the general expenses of collecting the revenue.

Although there has been a steady decrease in expenses from year to year since 1868, as shown by the above statement, the difference between those of the last year and the preceding one considerably exceeds the reduction of all the intervening years.

The increased efficiency and decreased cost above shown are principally due to carrying into effect, as far as practicable, the recommendations of the special commission convened in 1869, and whose report was submitted to Congress, May 20, 1870, and to the strict enforcement of the revised regulations promulgated August 1, 1871, which has ef-

fects a thorough re-organization of the service.

The services rendered during the fiscal years of 1872—1874, are shown in the following statement:

Fiscal years ending—	Vessels assisted in distress.	Seized or reported for violation of law.	Miles sailed.	Boarded and examined.	Lives saved.
June 30, 1872.....	219	1,594	166,008	24,932	37
June 30, 1873.....	210	1,605	185,638	30,543	109
June 30, 1874.....	153	1,810	169,882	27,748	4
Total.....	532	5,009	521,648	83,223	150
Average per year	194	1,669	173,882	27,741	50

The expenses of the Revenue Marine for the two fiscal years ended—

June 30, 1873, were	\$995,308.88
June 30, 1874, "	903,601.83

This exhibits a reduction of \$94,707.05, notwithstanding the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury states that the number of vessels now in commission is thirty-four, of which thirty are steamers and four sailing vessels. They are so distributed as to embrace in their cruising grounds the entire coast of the United States, with the exception of a portion of the Pacific coast, and afford reasonable protection against the smuggling of goods into the country by the cargo. For the portion of the Pacific coast alluded to, a vessel was authorized to be built at the last session of Congress, and plans and specifications for her construction are now in preparation.

THE LIFE SAVING SERVICE.

In 1848, Hon. William A. Newell, a member of the House of Representatives from New Jersey, called the attention of the government to the practicability and duty of providing means for affording relief to vessels navigating the dangerous coast of his State, and advocated the establishment of station houses at suitable intervals, to be furnished with surf boats and other appliances adapted to the purpose of rendering assistance to vessels cast ashore by stress of weather. Congress at that session made an appropriation of \$10,000 "for providing surf-boats, rockets, carronades, and other necessary ap-

paratus for the better preservation of life and property from shipwreck on the coast lying between Sandy Hook and Little Egg Harbor," and in subsequent years it extended the stations and equipment to other States, and doubled the first appropriation. But it must be said that during the twenty-two years intervening between the beginning of the Life Saving Service and the commencement of the fiscal year of 1871, comparatively little had been expended in its support, yet the instances are rare in which so small an expenditure was productive of so vast an amount of good. Although no official record of disasters was kept prior to the appointment of Superintendents in 1855, and the reports made to the Department since have not been regular or complete, it is certain that 4,163 lives were rescued, and that \$716,000 worth of property was saved through the instrumentality of this service. There is reason to believe that these figures would be largely increased if accurate statistics could be obtained. The total amount of money expended in the support of the service is less than \$280,000.

The occurrence of several fatal disasters in the winter of 1870-71 made it apparent that the service was not in the effective condition that it should be, and Congress, by act approved April 20, 1871, made an appropriation of \$200,000, for the purpose of increasing its efficiency, to be expended in accordance with the provisions of the act of December 14, 1854, and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to employ crews of experienced surfmen at such stations and for such periods as he might deem necessary and proper.

With a view of ascertaining the actual state of affairs, the Department availed itself of the experience of an officer, and directed him to visit both coasts, and carefully examine every station and report its condition, as well as the condition of the service generally.

The duty was thoroughly performed, and the report of the officer was transmitted to the Senate in response to a resolution of that body, January 22, 1872. He found that most of the stations were too remote from each other; that the houses were dilapidated and needed repairs and enlargement. There

was evidence also of neglect and misuse. The apparatus was rusty for want of care, and some of it ruined by the depredations of vermin and malicious persons. Many of the most necessary articles were wanting, and at no station was the outfit complete. At some of the stations where crews were employed in the winter months, such indispensable articles as powder, rockets, shot lines, shovels, &c., were not to be found. At other stations not a portable article was left. Some of the keepers were too old for active service, others lived too far from their stations, and few of them were really competent for their positions. Politics had had more influence in their appointment than qualification for the duties required of them. Even in the selection of crews for the stations where they were employed, fitness was a secondary consideration. The employment of paid crews at alternate stations had provided crews where they were comparatively little needed, while it had left others, where regular crews were most necessary, to rely upon such aid as might be volunteered. It had also excited discontent among those who had habitually volunteered their services at the intervening stations, and a feeling that an unjust discrimination was made against them.

On the receipt of the officer's report, the proper measures were taken to remedy the defects of the service; and to place it upon a better footing. Inefficient officers were removed and suitable persons appointed in their places. Instructions were given that the strictest regard should be had to experience and qualification as surfmen in the selection of crews, and that proper care should be taken of the houses and apparatus. Specific directions were forwarded to the Superintendent for the keeping of suitable records and making reports to the Departments, and a journal was furnished the keeper of every station in which he was required to make entries of all pertinent facts. Steps were also taken to effect a thorough re-organization of the service, and to prepare a suitable set of regulations for its government.

During the fall of 1871, thirteen new houses were erected on the New Jersey coast; six on the Long Island coast; the old houses on that coast, east of Fire Island, having been

already repaired and enlarged, and the erection of several new houses contracted for.

In 1872, there were 30 Life Saving Stations on the coast of Long Island, and 40 on the coast of New Jersey; 9 on Cape Cod; 1 on Black Island; and 1 on Narragansett Pier;—81 stations in all. And the following shows the service rendered:

SUMMARY.

Number of wrecks	22
Value of vessels wrecked	\$227,300
Value of cargoes (as far as reported)	\$21,800
Amount of property saved	\$289,756
Amount of property lost	\$208,344
Number of lives saved	206

In 1873, the Life Saving Service comprised eighty-one stations, which are located upon the coasts of Cape Cod, Rhode Island, Long Island and New Jersey, and are divided into three districts—the coast of Cape Cod, from Race Point to Monomoy, forming the first; the coasts of Rhode Island and Long Island, from Narragansett pier to Coney Island, the second; and the coast of New Jersey from Sandy Hook to Cape May the third.

The number of wrecks which have occurred since the last report, upon coasts where stations were in operation, as shown by the wreck reports of the keepers of stations, is as follows:

No. 1	9
No. 2	10
No. 3	13
Total number of wrecks	32
No. of lives imperilled	235
No. of lives saved	234
No. of lives lost	1
No. of shipwrecked persons sheltered in station-houses	33
No. of days' shelter afforded	77
Property imperilled	\$832,230
Property saved	581,211
Property lost	226,029

The cost of maintaining the service during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1873, exclusive of the amount expended in the construction and establishment of new stations, was \$87,893.83.

Congress also appropriated \$100,000 "for the establishment of new life-saving stations upon the coast of the United States," and contracts were made for the construction of

twenty-one new stations, at the following points:

On the coast of Maine:

West Quoddy Head, (near Carrying Point Cove.)

Cross Island, (Machias Bay.)

Browney's Island (near Jonesport.)

Whitehead Island, (Penobscot Bay.)

The Pool, (Saco Bay.)

On the coast of New Hampshire:

Rye Beach (near Straw's Point.)

On the coast of Massachusetts:

Plum Island, (Sandy Beach.)

Davis' Neck, (Ipswich Bay.)

Gurnett Point, (near light-house.)

Manomet.

"Surt Side," (south side of Nantucket.)

On the coast of Virginia:

Cape Henry.

On the coast of North Carolina:

Dan Neck Mills.

False Cape.

Jones' Hill,

Caffrey's Inlet.

Kitty Hawk's Beach.

Nag's Head.

Trent Woods.

Chicamacomico.

Little Kinnakeet.

Under the Act of March 3, 1873, which appropriated \$30,000 for the purpose, the Storm Signal system of the Signal Service has been connected with the Life Saving Service at several of the stations on the New Jersey coast, and through it, the Treasury Department is placed in direct telegraphic communication with the stations at Sandy Hook, Monmouth Beach, Squan, Barnegat, Atlantic City, Peck's Beach and Cape May; and the system will be extended to the stations on the North Carolina coast.

In order still further to increase the efficiency of the Life Saving Service, regulations for the government of the service, based upon the several acts of Congress relating to the subject, were promulgated, which effected a complete organization of the service, and which, with such changes as its growth will compel, it is believed, will be adequate to its proper and efficient government. They divide the stations into convenient districts, each to be cared for by a superintendent, and

provide for an appropriate supervision of them all by an inspector. They specify the duties of each person connected with the service, and provide for the proper care of all the stations and their appurtenances. They include a simple, but ample code of signals, devised by the inspector, for intercommunication between the stations; instructions and drill in the use of the apparatus; hints as to the management of boats; instructions for saving drowning persons by swimming to their relief, and directions for restoring the apparently drowned.

The last report of the Life Saving Service embraces the fiscal year of 1874, and shows that twenty-two new stations were established, as follows: Five on the coast of Maine, one on the coast of New Hampshire, five on the coast of Massachusetts, one on the coast of Rhode Island, three on the coast of Virginia, and seven on the coast of North Carolina. They are completely equipped and manned. Contract has been entered into for the construction of six stations on the coast of Maryland and Virginia, between Cape Henlopen and Cape Charles, under authority of the act of June 20, 1874, and arrangements will be made for the erection of two other stations between these capes, on the coast of Delaware, as soon as possession of the sites selected for them, which are the property of the State, can be obtained. The act of June 23, 1874, appropriated the sum of \$342,304.44 to carry out the act above cited.

When these stations are completed and put in operation, the Atlantic coast, from Quoddy Head to Cape Hatteras, with the exception, perhaps, of the vicinity of Point Judith, will be well protected. South of Cape Hatteras nothing is needed, except the houses of refuge provided for by the act above referred to.

The one hundred and four stations located in the five districts, designated as the Maine district, the Cape Cod district, Rhode Island and Long Island district, the New Jersey district, and the Virginia and North Carolina district, embrace the most dangerous portions of the Atlantic Coast. From the reports of the Superintendents it appears that during

the season of 1873-4 forty-eight vessels, valued, with their cargoes, at \$2,331,606, and having on board 1,106 persons, were driven on these shores. In twenty-nine instances the life-saving apparatus was called into requisition, and 303 persons were rescued by it. Of the amount of property jeopardized only \$457,282 was lost, and the number of lives lost was but two. Both of these were caused by the falling of the mast of a vessel when she struck—a case in which, of course, life saving appliances were not available. The number of days' shelter afforded shipwrecked persons at the stations was 494.

The Life Saving Service had been in operation under the present system three years on the coasts of Long Island and New Jersey and two years on the coast of Cape Cod. The statistics of disasters upon these coasts during that time are reported as follows:

Wrecks.....	102
Lives imperilled.....	1,607
Lives saved.....	1,604
Lives lost.....	3
Shipwrecked persons sheltered and succored at stations.....	149
Days' shelter afforded.....	571
Property imperilled.....	\$3,685,936
Property saved.....	2,758,281
Property lost..	927,655

Almost all the disasters which occur upon these coasts are from the stranding of vessels, and it is against death and loss of property resulting from this class of disasters that the Life Saving Service, as thereon established, is designed to afford protection. The success of the system, which the foregoing statistics imply, is all that can be hoped for. It is hardly to be expected that an equal measure of success will be attained upon the lakes, where the causes and character of a large proportion of the disasters are of a different nature. That the benefits to be derived from the extension of the service there, however, will amply justify the expense involved, cannot be doubted.

Reports and statistics of shipping disasters are required to be collected under the provisions of the act of June 20, 1874; and certain statistics have been gathered. The following is a summary of wrecks and disasters which show a sad loss of human life:

Summary of wrecks and casualties on and near the coasts and on the rivers of the United States, &c:

Nature of casualty.	Number of vessels.	Tons.	Whether laden or in ballast.			Total losses.	Partial losses.	Number lives lost.
			Laden.	In ballast.	Unknown.			
Foundering...	29	5,287.03	26	2	1	28	1	321
Strandings....	15	1,767.01	12	1	2	12	3	36
Collisions...	4	317.58	1	2	1	1	3	5
Other causes..	43	9,925.53	26	13	4	15	28	188
Total.....	91	17,297.15	65	18	8	56	35	550

With the proof thus presented of the necessity and the efficiency of the Life Saving Service, its gradual extension will be justified to all parts of the dangerous coasts of the United States frequented by vessels either domestic or foreign. The appropriations of a Republican Congress infused life and vigor into a service which had been allowed to languish for lack of sympathy, and to become almost useless from incompetent men, insufficient equipment, and decaying station houses. Its present condition is an evidence that the Republican party fully realizes the wants, in this respect, of a great maritime nation, and desires to supply them conscientiously. Our Life Saving Service is superior to that of any other country, because no foreign service receives assistance from the government. Even the Royal National Life Boat Institution of England is a private association, called into existence by the bounty of the benevolent. As a private institution, it has rendered great service; but its subscription list must needs be limited; which, limiting the number of stations, must leave many points on the dangerous British coast altogether unprotected. It cannot, therefore, compare in effectiveness with our Life Saving Service, whose numerous stations dot the coasts of the United States, and whose men are ever on the watch, day and night, to rescue unfortunates from the perils of the deep. Nor can a private institution, however grand its character and beneficent its working, when supported only by voluntary contributions—though it bask under the patronage of Royalty—compete with an institution national

in its breadth, supported by the nation, and regulated with all the precision of the naval service; for there must be periods when its usefulness is crippled by the fluctuation of its means.

The aim of the Republican party has been to place this country at the head of all the nations of the earth. It has done this, to a great extent; and the United States of North America leads the van in many things which denote the enterprise and earnestness of our daily life. It has given a new career to the Life Saving Service by enabling it to respond to the national desire that aid should be rendered to shipwrecked mariners at widely distant places of danger; and property rescued from jeopardy by marine disasters. From the success achieved in the past, and the present, it is but just to the Republican party—the party comprising the best elements in the nation—that the trust reposed in it should be continued. It has left its mark upon the age, and built up the Republic in grandeur and strength; and it seems but the teaching of wisdom that the Republican party should be left to complete its plans for this important service, and plant its stations, boats and crews wherever the claims of humanity and of commerce may call for them.

THE folly and danger of leaving loaded pistols within the reach of children received a sad illustration in Cincinnati on Sunday. A respectable German of that city, who had purchased a new revolver on Saturday, left it lying, loaded, on the mantle-piece of his room. In his absence, a son, fifteen years old, possessed himself of the pistol and began snapping it—“in fun”—at a little two-year old brother. In a moment the pistol was discharged, and the bullet went crashing into the baby's forehead. The little one lived only half an hour, and the parent survives to mourn his carelessness.

It is the duty of man to provide for his family. It is no less his duty to provide good government for the community in which he lives. This he can do by doing his duty at the primary meeting and at the ballot-box. Nominate good men, and then do your best to elect them. This should be one of the highest obligations of citizenship.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY.

The friends of Jefferson Davis are very angry because General Sherman, in his Memoirs, chooses, when giving an account of the Johnston surrender to mention his own and the general suspicion on the Union side, of the Confederate leaders being a party to the plot which terminated so tragically by the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. Southern newspapers declaim loudly against this accusation. They are wasting a large amount of fine rhetoric over what was then a very natural feeling. But Sherman is able to take care of himself in this matter. The intent of this present article is to show that while claiming to defend Mr. Davis from a false accusation, southern editors are eagerly endeavoring to do more, and seek to use it as a means of vindicating the public policy of the Confederacy, for the character of which their President must have been, and in fact was, in a very large degree, personally responsible. Just here, then, is where a natural and historical interest is developed, in what otherwise it would not be worth while noticing.

The *Mobile Daily Register*, is edited by a veteran in southern affairs, Mr. Forsyth, and what he says is always noteworthy. In an editorial of June 11th it quotes Sherman's account of his remarks to General Johnston, when informing him of Mr. Lincoln's assassination: "I told him I could not believe that he, or General Lee, or the officers of the Confederate army, could possibly be privy to acts of assassination; but I would not say as much for Jeff Davis, George Sanders, and men of that stripe."

The *Register* proceeds to argue that Sherman had no right then or now to say this; that Davis was a reluctant secessionist; that he made union speeches in the canvass of 1860; that in fact he was behind the south and not in advance. It then says:

"After he accepted it he pleaded for the laws and usages of civilized warfare when many who are now high in the regard of the Northern people, and some who have sold their birth-right for a mess of pottage, were in favor of raising the black flag and consigning all alike, guilty and innocent, women and children, to a common butchery. It was the iron hand of Jeff-

erson Davis which held the most horrid passions in check and which preserved unsullied the banner of St. Andrew. While there are some traits of his character which we did not like, there is nothing in his career which any honorable man can stamp with opprobrium. If he erred, his errors were a love of the cause which the people had committed to his hands and an unconquerable determination to liberate his people. When Sherman attempts to degrade Mr. Davis, he attempts to degrade the whole South. We do not intend that thorns shall be placed upon the brow of the leader while flowers are being strewn upon the graves of those who chose him as a leader."

The italics are not in the original. They are placed there so as to emphasize what is claimed with what will be said herein.

Contrary to the assumptions of the *Register*, history will finally sum up the career of Mr. Jefferson Davis in a very different manner, more especially in this matter of "civilized warfare." One fact is noticeable in scanning the southern annals of the civil war, and that is, that such prominent politicians and officers as were noted during the continuance of hostilities for ultra language, bitter denunciations of the northern people, cruel treatment of prisoners or loud-mouthed propositions for war *a-la-outrance*, were in every sense the chosen friends of Jefferson Davis, in his personal and public position. Every year adds to the evidence that the men who in the Confederate Congress, sought to establish the fact that the war was one amenable to the laws and usages of civilization, were those regarded as hostile to the confederate administration.

In military affairs, Early, Hood, Bragg, Forrest, D. H. Hill, Beauregard, Hindman, and many others, notorious for brutal warfare and loud denunciation, were the favorites of their chief. The rebel archives, portions of which have been published, offer abundant proof of the direct and official sympathy of Jefferson Davis with propositions for raids on unarmed territory, like that of St. Albans; with the efforts made to organize a systematic plan of guerrilla warfare in such regions as Western Missouri, East Tennessee, Kentucky and elsewhere; with movements for enlisting Indians and exciting the hos-

tility of the wild tribes on the plains and mountains of the central territories; and more atrocious than these, with the conspiracies hatched in Canada and Richmond to raise riots in defenceless cities, to burn hotels, to poison the water, and infect the dwellings with contagious diseases. No one has yet denied the authenticity of publications made in 1872, from the rebel archives, of the reports made by C. C. Clay jr., of Alabama, Prof. Holcombe of Virginia, and Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, in which accounts are given from Canada to the Confederate State Department, on the subjects alluded to, and others of the same general character. These papers from which the publications were made, bore the formal marks of reception by Judah P. Benjamin, their reference to Mr. Davis, and his approval of the same.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the treatment of Union prisoners at the pens of Andersonville, Salisbury, Belle Isle, Tyler, and other places. It has never been seriously controverted that General Winder, the brutal officer in charge of captured "federels," was the direct choice of Jefferson Davis for that service, or that he was steadily sustained by him in the barbarous policy so thoroughly pursued—of systematically keeping prisoners in a state of semi-starvation, so that when exchanged, if ever, they should not be in a fit condition to do more service. The endorsement of Mr. Davis can be found to reports, and other documents setting forth these ideas of "civilized warfare." Nor will it be denied that Mr. Davis was the author and promulgator of the atrocious announcement, that colored men enlisted as soldiers or sailors, in the Union forces, were not to be regarded, if captured, as prisoners of war, but were to be sent into slavery, or shot on sight, while "no quarter" was the order fulminated against the white officers, by whom they were commanded. Mr. Davis can be proven to have been cognizant or approving of the execution of such orders, notably at Fort Wagner, Fort Pillow, and on the Steele-Banks campaigns of Arkansas and Louisiana, in the early summer of 1864. In these and other movements, where colored troops were engaged, wounded men were shot in the field by Confederate soldiers, acting under gen-

eral orders, emanating from Richmond, while their officers were slain when captured, or in a few instances only escaped that fate by claiming to belong to white regiments known to be in the opposing force.

Mention has been made of the early employment of Indians by the Confederacy. Albert Pike, acting under the direct orders of Davis, appeared in the Indian Territory as early as June, 1861, and as Special Confederate Commissioner, commenced the work of raising an Indian division, among the semi-civilized peoples living there. Two companies of Choctaws entered the Confederate service at Fort Smith, Arkansas, as early as the middle of July, and were engaged under Sterling Price at the battle of Wilson's Creek, or Oak Hills, Missouri, as the rebels term it, on the 10th of August, 1861. It will be remembered as the scene of Nathaniel Lyon's heroic death. Albert Pike, himself, commanded an Indian division at the battle of Pea Ridge, in March of 1862. These occurrences were long before Indians were enlisted in the Union army—which enlistments were as Home Guards to defend the territory from which Pike's Indian troops had driven them at first. At the same time Pike was engaged in compelling the Cherokees to violate their treaties, and serve unwillingly (a majority of them at least) on the Confederate side. He also directed the resistance to and pursuit of the loyal Indians, who under the Creek Chief, O-poth-le-ye-ho-lo, finally fought their way to Kansas. Long before that event occurred, however, Albert Pike, acting under the instructions of Jefferson Davis, had endeavored to incite the nomadic tribes of the central plains, (the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, etc.,) to a violation of treaty relations and the assumption of hostility towards the United States. The British have always been condemned by historians, for uncivilized warfare, in employing Indians and inciting them to hostilities against the Americans, during the war of Independence. Under the influence of Pike a council was held during the late summer of 1861, in the western portion of the Indian territory, at which representatives of the Indians, from as far north as Wyoming and Dakota, were present, and every inducement was offered to bring about an offensive

alliance with the Confederacy. The Creek Chief named, and others, had sufficient influence to prevent this, but the effects of that and subsequent action was felt throughout the frontier settlements, during the entire war, in the restless hostility of the Indians, who had come to believe the whites powerless, because of intestine war. Nor was this the only action taken. Jefferson Davis commissioned a number of well-known and desperate adventurers to proceed to such territories as Colorado, Utah, Western Kansas, etc., and inaugurate a system of partisan war, enlisting Indians, breaking up mail communications and otherwise to harry the unarmed people where they were to operate. Orders and commissions were given these desperadoes, who were captured by Union forces in the early part of 1864. Of the same character was the recognition of Quantrile, Thompson, Anderson, and other Missouri guerrillas. It has not been denied that the first named, with others, received commissions from Jefferson Davis, as officers of "partisan" regiments he authorized to be formed in Missouri—Quantrile himself taking rank as Lieutenant Colonel. So much for the ideas of Jefferson Davis as to what constituted "civilized warfare." These are only a tithe of the facts that might be suggested.

His treatment of the communities and persons within the borders of the rebel States, who were not heartily in sympathy with the treason he led and directed, constitutes after all the foulest blot on his name. The cruel conscript laws were the product of Jefferson Davis's brain. There still crueller execution received his steadfast approval. It is well-known that the autocratic temper of Mr. Davis allowed no one else to shape the salient features of Confederate policy, and that his personal vanity and prejudices led him to constant and personal supervision of and interference with the execution and management of leading details.

As to the treatment of the Southern people, who were supposed to be disaffected, it is not necessary to seek any other evidence than that of public men of the South, who were in unmistakable sympathy with the rebellion.

Albert Pike, still living and practicing law in Washington, "can a tale unfold," if he chooses to, of atrocious cruelty and tyranny exercised in Arkansas, under the orders of a

particular favorite of Jefferson Davis, General Hindman, shot, after the war, by some person unknown, who, it was reasonably supposed, thus took revenge for preceding cruelties. Pike published in 1863, several pages addressed to the Confederate government and to the people of the South, setting forth in detail, the atrocious tyrannies perpetrated by Hindman and denouncing them in very vigorous language. For these remonstrances, private and public, Albert Pike was driven from the Confederate service and relieved by Davis himself from all command or duty.

What was true of Arkansas was true of nearly every other Southern State. Governor Brown, of Georgia, ranged himself against the home policy of Davis, and Governor Vance, of North Carolina, was emphatic in his denunciations thereof. The following letter, addressed by Governor Vance to J. A. Seddon, then rebel Secretary of War, will show the policy of Jefferson Davis at home :

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
RALEIGH, Dec. 21, 1863.

Hon. James A. Seddon, Secretary of War :

DEAR SIR:—I desire to call your attention to an evil which is inflicting great distress upon the people of this State, and contributing largely to the public discontent. I allude to illegal seizures of property and other depredations of an outrageous character by detached bands of troops, chiefly cavalry. The department, I am sure, can have no idea of the extent and character of this evil. It is enough, in many cases, to breed a rebellion in a loyal county against the Confederacy, and has actually been the cause of much alienation of feeling in many parts of North Carolina. It is not my purpose now to give instances, and call for punishment of the offenders—that I do to their commanding officers—but I ask if some order or regulation cannot be made for the government of troops on detached service, the severe and unflinching execution of which might check this stealing, pilfering, burning, and sometimes murderous conduct. I give you my word that in North Carolina it has become a grievance, damnable and not to be borne! If God Almighty had yet in store another plague, worse than all others, which he intended to let loose on the Egyptians, in case Pharaoh still hardened his heart, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half-disciplined Confederate cavalry. Had they been turned loose among Pharaoh's subjects, with or without an Impressment law, he would

have become so sensible of the anger of God that he never would have followed the children of Israel to the Red Sea!—no, sir, not one inch! Cannot officers be reduced to the ranks for permitting this? Cannot a few men be shot for perpetrating these outrages? Unless something can be done, I shall be compelled in some sections to call out my militia and levy actual war against them. I beg your early and earnest attention to this matter. Very respectfully yours.

(Signed,)

Z. B. VANCE.

The rebel commander of the department, which embraced North Carolina, was General D. H. Hill, who is still one of the warmest of the friends of Jefferson Davis, as well as an exceptionally vituperative assailant of all Northern views and public men.

But why extend the indictment? It could be done almost indefinitely. The facts are too recent to be forgotten, though the bitterness of the memories they evoke have so far faded as to arouse no opposition to the spirit of reconciliation, which finds lodgment in the Northern heart, and is only disturbed or veiled when, as in this case, an attempt is made to falsify history and torture the records. The object in this is plain. Its explanation is found in the general effort now making in the South to rehabilitate the old secession abstractionists and State sovereignty politicians and leaders, under whose advice that section plunged into civil war, and to put them forward as the proper representatives of a people they deceived, and over whom they ruled with cruel vigor during the period of belligerent authority.

Much is now said about the fraternization of the citizen-soldiery of both sections. No heart or brain that holds kindly feelings for its fellow-men, can fail to rejoice at the recent manifestations of this spirit. Yet, it behooves all thoughtful persons, who recognize the essential distinctions that were the animating cause of the civil war, to lose sight of no one of the principles on which the nation will be founded, if it is to remain great, progressive and undivided, as the centennial anniversaries call into recurring decades. Above all must there be more and constant watchfulness of the southern politicians. What is "bred in the bones" must "come out in the flesh," and men engaged for a

generation and a half in spinning political theories as a reason for libicide and treason, are not likely to surrender their hopes, however they may change their method and curtail their ambition, because defeat came in the field of war. There is a systematic movement to bring out the old leaders, and the gallant men they once betrayed into a losing fight, are to be led into political support, by the appeal to their pride which is found in Forsyth's declaration, that thorns must not "be placed on the brow of the leader, while flowers are being strewn on the graves of those who followed."

The loyal men of the Union who were in the army or out of it, have no animosities to cherish; no revenge to serve. They were only the defenders and servants of an assailed country. To them, to-day, Jefferson Davis is utterly insignificant. He is almost forgotten. His name is a mere echo, but when he is indecently thrust before their notice, memories are stirred and in behalf of principles, there comes the necessity of truthful statement. He may represent the old South. His acute brain and eloquent tongue; his haughty temper and narrow prejudices; his sectional pride and provincial limitations of thought; his restless vanity and ornate courtesies of manner—the veneer of a bastard aristocracy—and his bitter personal animosities, as well as his inordinate self-pride, are all personal exaggerations of a prevailing type of character created by slavery and the habit of exalting it into a political system. The cruelty which so completely marked the conduct of his administration, military, civil and local, also found in him a logical and proper exponent. There is no desire on the part of the North to prevent the eulogizing of Jefferson Davis. It could not do it if it would, but when it is done so systematically as at present and in pursuance of an evidently understood design, those who know the facts of his remarkable career, do well when they recite them, not to adorn a tale, but to point the moral of continued watchfulness. The people of the South may be trusted. That is a lesson of Republicanism. But their aspiring, ambitious and faithful leaders, are to be avoided. All the North desires is "to let 'em alone."

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH.

A majority of the reports that come from the South speak more favorably of the revival of industrious efforts and interests. Northern business men, politicians and journalists, concur in the chorus which the Southern press itself has raised. This last-named fact is a proof that the break in the armor of sectional prejudice and pride has been found, and that there, as well as everywhere, in this age, it is in the region of the pocket. It has been evident to all thoughtful observers that the regeneration, so needed and desired, must be largely aided by the results of material reconstruction.

Manifold evidences of this are to be found on every hand. The letters now being published in the New-York *Herald* and Chicago *Tribune*, the one an "independent" but sensational newspaper, and the other an "independent" Republican journal, faithful to principles, critical of persons and policies, are worthy of study in this connection. Both writers have traveled in Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia. They unite in denouncing the corruption of "carpet-bagism," though not with that keen discrimination so necessary to justice. They agree that Democrats are no more honest than the Republicans they assail; and both unite in showing that the "color-line" is still maintained, with more or less ferocity of manifestation, as there is more or less effective resistance to its spirit.

On one thing these writers agree most heartily, and that is, the good working qualities of the colored laborers, and the widespread effort that is now making to insure a crop and rebuild the waste places. It is also certain, that where Democratic success has been most marked, this spirit is most feeble and spasmodic; and that wherever, on the contrary, the ideas of Republican equity have successfully fought their way to recognition, as in Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina, there the greater harmony prevails between employer and employed. All this is in the line of reconstruction. It has been evident from the first, that to sustain the work

of political regeneration was to maintain the results of our victory, and gather, for the prosperity of the nation, and of the States also, the harvest which can only come from the efforts of free labor. Obstacles were in the way; the old structure had to be used, rent as it was from foundation to roof; our various fortunes had to be sheltered within the gaping walls. The old temple was to be rebuilt, and the materials that were there before had to be re-used. The stone rejected by the builders — free labor — has become the cornerstone of the fair fabric, whose superb outlines begin to rise before our vision in lines of lofty grace and with proportions of fitting harmony.

The great staples appear to be flourishing. Cotton promises exceedingly well. Texas sends cheering accounts, as to increased area and promise of yield. This State has had every opportunity to do well. Escaping as it did the ravages of the civil war, and benefitting, in fact, thereby; being, as it was, the storehouse of the confederacy, Texas met reconstruction with a bolder front than other States did. A public domain of over one hundred million acres in extent, dedicated by a Republican Constitution, (framed and fought for by the men and votes of that party) to the uses of the free schools and a free homestead, has proved its most inestimable blessing. Since the surrender of the Confederate armies, Texas has added about 300,000 to its population, while as to property, the valuation, in 1870, was \$159,052,542. The probability is that the present valuation is nearer two hundred millions. It has been the chosen home of a large body of ex-confederate soldiery, just as the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, with adjacent portions of Arkansas and Alabama, are being crowded by colored immigrants, who are drawn there by the better land and the fact that their race live in numbers sufficient in the main to compel fairer treatment than they secure in other States. Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, with Tennessee, are also active and prosperous. A wider area is under cultivation.

New York *World* insists that this result of greater security and peace by the defeat of radicalism. But why appear, then, by all accessible state- that Republican Louisiana and Mis- are far the most prosperous of the e it selects? In fact, it seems that e completely a State has passed un- nocratic control, the less assured is perity. In proof of this, let any one the accounts that are given by such as the *Charleston News and Courier* of prosperous condition of South Carolina, t of the Democratic States of Georgia, rth Carolina. And progress is also herein; for the seed sown by freedom- ing up and make the desert bloom isom like a rose.

the *Chicago Tribune's* special corres- , "Harryth," says, under date of June 9, is worth reading. Some ex- reproduced here on the negro citi- olitical position. "Harryth" says:

Fifteenth Amendment it is that in ie defeat of 'white-lineism,' which, robed to the core, is found to be but spirit of caste, of the days of slavery. sites ruled the negro by divine right, y would rule him by virtue of their gence and wealth,'—the Democratic i that ignorance and poverty shall share in the Government to protect ves against the intelligence and having never once found lodgment in rgian mind. * * * * * re is no sentimentalism about the a Georgia politics, and not a particle ine humanitarianism; and the result scribed to nothing but a slight regard arances, and a powerful regard for otes."

ucational affairs he states, that though lic school system is still in its infancy, year there were 2,223 white and 699 schools, with 45,559 white and 39,294 children in attendance. The census shows that the whites numbered persons and the colored 545,142, or 3,784 less. The disproportion is prob- w somewhat larger than then. The keep the matter of school accommo- at a greater disparity—there being about 25 white children at each school, and 58 colored to every one organized for their

accommodation. The *Chicago Tribune's* cor- respondent says:

"No adequate provision has yet been made for the maintenance of the school system. For the education of a population, between the ages of 6 and 18, of 218,733 whites, and 175,304 blacks, the only revenue appropri- ated is \$150,000 out of the rental of the Wes- tern and Atlantic Railroad; the receipts from poll-tax which is paid by about one-third of the voting population, and receipts from show licenses, which are hardly worth reck- oning—the total net available fund for the current year being estimated at \$180,000. Last year there were no schools in fourteen counties, the local authorities applying the share of the school fund assigned those coun- ties to payment of the school debt left them by the Bullock Administration. As I have already stated, the local authorities are not empowered to levy taxes for school purposes, and bills to give them such power have thrice been killed in the Democratic Legislature."

The position of labor, under the conditions which Democracy creates, are graphically described by this correspondent, who says that in a journey of several thousand miles through the plantation States he had not, except in Arkansas, seen a dozen white men at work in the fields. He declares:

"The condition of the negro in Georgia is, without modification, that of the negro in any of the cotton States—one of poverty, only a slight remove from beggary, and what, by any other class of American workmen, would be esteemed utter destitution, than which beg- gary could scarce be worse. The negro in Georgia inhabits the same wretched hovels that, in ante-war times, were the slave-quar- ters. He could then have scarce been pos- sessed of fewer rags wherewith to hide his nakedness, and he could scarce have been more hardly worked or so ill-requited for his labor. The common outcry about his idle- ness is simply the excuse that occurs to a peo- ple who are not disposed to work, and hold that to do so would reduce them to 'a level' with the negro, for the impoverished condi- tion of the country, because they (the white population), as a body, are mere idle consu- mers. The negroes work as well as men could. Not only do the men work, but the women and children as well—perhaps only because they have to."

No white laborer would live in their con- dition. The negro is a "creature of less wants than any white man in the Union." The towns in Georgia are filled by idle white persons who live by renting land on shares

to the negroes, as in former days they lived by hiring out their bodies. Industry is still condemned, and "the laborer" is "spoke about as men North would speak of the steam engine, and is regarded very much as live-stock is at the North." The white man loafs while he has land to rent, or runs for office to eke out his living. The most productive lands only are worked. The negroes are inadequate in number to the cultivation of the whole area, so only the most productive portions are selected. Between "25 and 40 per cent. of the cleared lands are waste and uncultivated." "The nigger" has nothing to gain by investing his labor in the improvement of subsequent crops." In Georgia, as elsewhere, the "question of labor" is what troubles. Says the correspondent:

"It has not occurred to these planters that the important move toward the solution of this vexed question would be made when they taught their sons to work. But the fathers still cherish the hope of continuing as the landed aristocracy. The sons are crowded into the over-crowded professions, or into 'business,' and aspire to be 'planters,' as were the fathers. And in Georgia (for that matter throughout the cotton country), a planter is a man who never himself works, and expects to grow rich off the work of the 'niggers.'"

Still there is little doubt but that there is more effort, generally, in the South this year. It is the effort born, in part, of a distinct realization by many land owners and employers that there is a better way to prosperity than the "color-line" indicates, and a surer one than that of bitter political wrangling. The negro is working better wherever he is treated better: The testimony is general that laborers are "working well, and everything looks remarkably promising." And this testimony is far more emphatic in the States where Republican influence is most distinctly felt. It is feeblest where, as in Georgia, the Democratic "abstractionists" find their chief occupation and success in solving the problem of how to control labor, and make all men vote their ticket.

GOVERNOR DAVIS, of Minnesota, informs the Republican State Central Committee that he will not be a candidate for re-election, and his name will not be presented to the convention.

REBELS IN OFFICE.—With every disposition to see the breach healed between the North and the South, it can only be accomplished on the principle of loyalty to the Union. It is, therefore, with feelings akin to disgust, that we read such a record as the following, which unfortunately is a true representation of affairs in certain localities:

"Whenever we object to the election of rebels to the principal offices of the country we are charged with a desire to 'perpetuate the enmities which grew out of the war. Is it only on condition that we will give them all the offices, that the rebels consent to be friends to our Government? If not, why raise such a silly excuse for giving the public interests into the hands of public enemies?'"

The wealth and other substantial advantages conferred upon the South by the reconstruction measures of the Republican party, and the advantages yet in prospect, are too great to be hazarded by regarding any such sentiment as the above. The enmities which grew out of the war, were caused by the men who commenced the war. Until the opinions and habits engendered by the peculiar institution have ceased to exist, and men of acknowledged loyalty guide the affairs of the South, there cannot be peace. The least that can be expected is the subsidence of those who adhere to the old *regime*, while others, who have accepted the situation, are working for the common good. A time will come, and it is not far distant, when the loyal and true shall be recognized as alone worthy of public confidence; and the men who act the part of public enemies shall be passed by. The latter are the friends of the Democratic party, and are doing their worst to prolong the opposition to the creation of a healthful public sentiment. It may be remarked that the Republican party, in the execution of the trust reposed in it by the Nation, will do its utmost to protect Southern interests, and keep them out of the hands of men who have betrayed them, and who will betray them again, if they have the opportunity. And the same may be said of national interests, and of the occupants of public offices; they must not be enemies, but tried and approved friends of the people at large.

REPUBLICAN RECRUITS.

Some of the newspapers in the South are taking a wide range of subjects, and looking abroad upon the world, they have discovered that there is ample room for the efforts of all disposed to work in the right direction. The *Norfolk Day-Book* urges many suggestions in regard to the duties of the leaders of the Republican party in Virginia. Among others, and with a view to recruit our strength, that journal says: "Let us seek recruits from the only source at our command, the whites; and in order to do this, we must show them that the road to promotion is open to them in our ranks. There are thousands of the best whites in the South constrained from entering our party because the line of promotion is barred against them. Let us unbar it and invite them to enter. Without them we can have no success, and the positions, one after another, are passing from our control. What say you, fellow-Republicans?"

We believe that there are many good and earnest men in the South who deplore the existing contentions, and who are anxious to do all in their power to bring about a better state of things. They realize the vast benefits which have already accrued from the reconstruction measures; and they heartily desire the ascendancy of the Republican party, that those measures may have full scope to accomplish the good designed. These men appreciate the new condition of affairs, recognize the blessings of free labor, and, on principle, regard the colored citizen as entitled to the rights and privileges secured to him under the Constitution. If they took part in the rebellion, they have accepted the situation; or, if they are citizens who have gone to the South from other States, their lot is cast there, and they wish to see the South prosperous and happy.

Citizens of this character cannot help being in sympathy with Republican principles and Republican effort. Moreover, they know that no other principles are suited to restore the South. The Democratic party is responsible for secession, and for the war which followed it. The rebel leaders, the deceived

by that party, still look to it and consider it as their natural ally. That party is, therefore, incapacitated by the eternal fitness of things to build up what it was willing should be destroyed. And did the men who influenced opinion in the South comprehend their duty, they could not fail to remark how unfitted the Democratic party is to help them.

The Republican party being the only party that can lift the South into the position it should occupy in the Union, and which has conferred blessings and benefits unknown to that people before, desires to have them cut loose from the past and rise to a higher plane of civilization. The Republican party opens its arms in welcome to all men who are willing to combine for the purpose of preventing the Democratic party from continuing to disturb and injure the South. The poor whites by education and elevation, have escaped the trammels of that party which oppressed while it used them. Others, either native or emigrant, understand that the aim of the Republican party is the welfare of the country, and of the South, as a part of it. It does not matter much what has been the hindrance in former times; if they will now keep step with the party, it will rejoice. There is a great deal for them to do, and a height to which they can rise by joining our ranks. Union is strength; and in the union of such men with us, no barrier can prevent their reaching the object of their ambition. There is no element existing in the South which can interfere with their progress, either socially or politically. Let it be understood everywhere that the Republican party invites co-operation; and all who feel disposed to labor for a common object will share in the common welfare.

THE city of New York has entered suit against the "Ring Thieves"—Tweed & Co.—for more than \$7,000,000. This represents only a fraction of the plunder stolen from the city by these Democratic leaders. Democracy has nearly reduced the city of New York to bankruptcy. Its debt now amounts to about \$160,000. This is the party that seeks to control the nation.

INDEPENDENT TICKETS—POLITICAL MORALITY.

It speaks well for the intelligence and well-being of the country that there are men whose political morality is of a high order, and who labor diligently to erect and maintain a purer standard. As a class, they are conscientious and bold, not afraid to avow their opinions, and determined, above all things, not to tamper with their principles. They are, for the most part, reformers who seek to elevate the public, and in the direction of their hope, they may have conferred upon the people a great benefit, both from their precepts and example. Thus the advocates of temperance have done much good. They have rescued many from the influence of strong drink; they have sought out those who were about to fall and taken them by the hand; and they have strengthened weaker minds when fainting by the way and ready to yield to temptation.

All honor to the temperance cause, and to the good and kindly men who uphold it. But all philanthropists have to guard against an excess of zeal, which may tend to weaken by exaggeration and defeat for the want of forces which might be attracted to their side. Doubtless a large amount of crime is attributable to drink, and certainly a large amount of domestic unhappiness; but that the sorrows and crimes of humanity are to be traced alone to drink, is not established as a fact. And this brings us to the point. Granting that there is widespread suffering and evil in society, which may be reached and lessened by human effort, where, in all the history of politics, has there been a party with principles so fully in accord with the best sentiment of the age, as the Republican party? It cannot be denied that those principles have brought into the party the best men in the country—the wisest, the most philanthropic, the most desirous of doing good in their generation. If this be true of the Republican party, is it not the friend of the temperance cause? Can temperance men look to any other party to aid them? Will the Democracy? The Democratic party is too deeply allied to the vices of men to sanction a temperance reformation, or even to tolerate

the men whose devotion would produce it. And the third party of Independents, discontented and at variance among themselves, are too feeble to render help.

Now, this is precisely the condition of affairs with the temperance men, good and true men in a good sense; and yet they have nominated a third ticket in the State of Ohio to run against the Republican candidates in the field. Does this manifest a zeal accorded to knowledge? Is it the zeal of wisdom—the zeal of common sense? True philanthropy is not transcendental. It has to deal with the rough and rugged realities of life; and in such dealing it cannot succeed without outside help. The third resolution of the temperance platform makes the matter quite clear: "We invite all persons, whether total abstainers or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the liquor traffic, to unite with us for its overthrow, and to secure thereby peace, order and the protection of persons and property." To secure peace, order, and the protection of persons and property, is a noble aim, but it is the distinct aim of the Republican party; and when the country shall obtain so great a blessing it will be found to be the work of Republicans. The Republican party is organizing to elect in Ohio a Republican Governor next fall, and a Republican President in 1876. What does wisdom suggest? Though temperance is a virtue—an ennobling one—temperance men know that as a party they cannot stand alone; that whenever they attempt it, they are sure of defeat; and they know that while their defeat has been assured, they have endangered the success of Republicans in consequence of the votes which would have been cast for them being practically thrown away in a cause, however estimable, that was predestined in its doom.

In this campaign, the issues of which are acknowledged to be so important, let the temperance men combine their strength with that of Republicans and work shoulder to shoulder to rescue the State of Ohio from Democratic rule. With all the divisions of Republicans healed; with a hearty frank-

ness of mind that will show that bygones are bygones, and that the men of Ohio are determined that the Republican party shall triumph, the State will be safe. This is all that will be needed. And the sorry exhibition of the Democrats of Ohio pretending to represent the men of worth and intelligence, but who were unfortunately permitted to represent them through Republican neglect, will be wiped out, and their place supplied by citizens who believe in public honor and honesty, and whose integrity will restore the State to its true position, with Governor Hayes at its head.

ORGANIZE FOR VICTORY.—We shall have talking enough during the political campaign which is about opening. Fine speeches, strong in argument, and powerful in rhetoric, will be delivered from the platform and stump. The charges of our opponents will be met, and refuted by an array of facts. The record of the Republican party will be spread before the people. Intelligent listeners will be convinced that a sense of duty to society, loyalty to the Union, and personal obligation to the cause of civilization and humanity calls upon them to adhere to the Republican party. This will be the province of speech making. The field is a broad and inviting one, and earnest laborers will be found to work therein.

But talking, alone, will not bring the victory we desire; organization, thorough and intelligent organization will. To establish this should be the object of every speech. Republican clubs should be started in every village and town in the country. They should be made attractive; both young and old should be invited to take part; frequent meetings should be held; prominent men should be invited to address them; in a word, they should be so organized and conducted as to weld together the loyal element of the community.

Unity of purpose and harmony of action should characterize these clubs. The preservation of the government and its control by those who have shown devotion to its interests, should be the bonds to unite the members. Local disputes should be avoided, and

all discussions on local issues, tending to divide the party, should be carefully excluded. The work in hand—the all important work—is to keep Democracy from gaining the control of the government. Intelligent Republicans, and thoughtful citizens, know what Democratic control means. Our opponents will try to divide our strength by encouraging the formation of third parties. Any movement in that direction should be frowned down as a device of the enemy.

Having formed these clubs, and got them in working order, a system of canvassing should be adopted, so that every voter inclined to support the Republican party shall be known, and relied upon, when the day of election comes.

Last fall a number of Congressional Districts were lost by a few votes while hundreds of sound ones remained uncast. This must be avoided next fall. Every willing vote must be cast, and the only way to secure them is, to have the canvass so thorough, and the work so complete, that it will be impossible for apathy to again defeat us.

The Republican party has the numerical strength to hold the government by a large majority. It remains with Republicans to say whether the strength shall be brought to bear to save the nation from a great calamity. If our friends throughout the country will go to work, as if on a single vote depended the issue, we shall win a victory that will send a thrill of joy around the world.

ACCORDING to Ex-Secretary McCulloch, the actual debt, adjusted and not adjusted, at the close of the war (1865), or rather at the disbanding of the Federal army, was not less than \$3,000,000,000. On the 1st of March last, it was \$2,187,315,989, the reduction in nine and a half years having been \$862,684,011, or at the rate of over \$90,000,000 per annum. Nothing like this, and nothing at all comparable to it, illustrates the financial history of any other nation. What better proof could be offered of the fidelity of the Republican party to the financial responsibilities which have been placed upon it, than this exhibit of what it has done to reduce the public debt. It should be borne in mind that this great reduction has been made in the face of a continued policy of reduced taxation.

THE FALL ELECTIONS.

The accompanying tables will enable the reader to perceive at a glance the changes made, by the latest votes polled in the States that are to vote during the present year, over that of the total vote cast in 1872—the year of the last Presidential Election.

In the States wherein elections were held in 1874, Iowa and Ohio voted on State tickets for Secretary of State, and Kentucky for Clerk of Court of Appeals; Maryland for Congressmen, North Carolina for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania for Lieutenant Governor, and Minnesota for Chief Justice. Maine, Kansas, New York and New Jersey voted on full State tickets.

It will be noticed in Table I. that there are great changes in Maryland and Kentucky, between the majorities of 1872 and those of 1874. This change is in the main due to a large degree of dissatisfaction existing in 1872, among Democrats therein, at the nomination of Mr. Greeley.

It is easy to understand the cause of some changes at the last election, which may appear surprising without a knowledge of the situation in the several States. Take Massachusetts for instance. Governor Gaston's election was undoubtedly due to the activity of the liquor interest in his behalf, as well as to the fact that he was probably the most unobjectionable and popular man of his party in that State. He was sent to the Executive chair, handicapped by a Republican Lieutenant Governor, Council and Legislature. In New York, many causes tended to bring about the change, which resulted in placing that State in the hands of the Democracy,—temporarily it is hoped and believed. The scandalous stories, as well as the prejudices aroused by the absurd "third term" and "Cæserism" follies, had direct effect, but the chief cause was in the abstention from the polls of at least 45,000 Republican votes, and the presence of a Temperance ticket which polled 11,762 votes, nearly all of which would otherwise have been cast for the Republican nominee.

The votes of Ohio in the years indicated, show conclusively that the result in 1874 was not obtained by Democratic gains, for their total fell over four thousand behind what the

party cast in 1872, but by reason of Republican lukewarmness, dissatisfaction and abstentions, and that too, in face of the fact that a good proportion of the German American votes was believed to be cast for the Democratic nominee, besides the throwing away of 2,045 votes on a temperance candidate. The Republican vote of '74 is 60,646 less than in '72. The Democratic vote is 5,907 less, deducting the temperance vote. The total direct decrease of the Ohio opposition vote in 1874, compared with the same vote in 1872 was 3,862. So it is evident that a total of 64,518 votes did not go to the polls at all last year. The vote for Governor in 1873 affords some instructive lessons. William Allen was elected by the minimum Democratic vote cast in six years. The Republican vote was also its minimum for the same period. Thurman ran for Governor in 1867, and was defeated, receiving 26,000 more than his uncle, the present Executive. The maximum vote of both parties during the period named was cast in 1872. The Democrats ran from 214,654 up to 244,321. The Republicans have ranged from 213,837 to 281,852—a difference of 68,015 for them and of 29,667 in the opposite party. These figures show the reserves of both parties and are very encouraging to Republicans. A full vote will elect Hayes by at least 30,000 majority.

In Pennsylvania, the decrease of the Republican vote last year, as compared with '72, was 77,073. The increase of the Democratic vote was 65,154. The decrease of the total vote was but 7,270. There was a temperance vote of 4,549, which will probably be cast at the coming election in the same direction.

It will be seen by further examination of the following tables, that the defeats of last year were not the result of Democratic gains, but of Republican abstentions. The total decrease in twelve of the fourteen States that vote on State tickets during the present year amounts to 360,763 votes; the increase in the same States of the opposition votes being 275,629, leaving an excess of 85,934 stay-at-home Republicans. The excess is really greater, for when the increased vote in Maryland and Kentucky, 14,537, is added it will be over 100,000, or nearly two-fifths more than the total opposition vote.

TABULAR STATEMENT OF VOTES—No. I.

STATES in which Elections will be held during the present year.	VOTE OF 1872.			VOTE OF 1874.			CHANGE OF VOTES, 1874.	
	Republican.	MAJORITIES.		Republican.	Opposition.	MAJORITIES.	INCREASE. Opposition.	DECREASE. Republican.
		Republican.	Opposition.					
California.....	54 020	13,302	.....	No vote in 1874.	1874.	.....	964	24,735
Iowa.....	131,566	60,370	.....	106,831	72,160	.....	4,729	10,224
Kansas.....	67,048	34,078	.....	48,824	37,699 <i>i</i>	.....	14,353	35,262
Kentucky.....	88,766	.....	11,229	53,504	114,348	60,844	12,647	8,529
Maine.....	61,422	32,335	.....	53,131	41,734	.....	184†	13,381
Maryland.....	66,760	.....	927	53,379	67,503	14,326	3†,386	43,628
Massachusetts.....	133,472	74,212	.....	89,844	96,646 <i>ii</i>	7,292 <i>ii</i>	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	82,175	34,887	.....	.....	.....	No election in 1873 or 1874.	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	55,117	20,694	.....	51,996	42,111	.....	7,688	3,021
New Jersey.....	91,650	15,200	.....	84,050	97,283	13,233	20,827	7,600
New York.....	440,736	53,455	.....	366,074	428,159 <i>iii</i>	62,085	40,878	74,662
Ohio.....	281,852	37,531	.....	221,204	240,451 <i>iv</i>	19,247 <i>iv</i>	37,523	60,648
Pennsylvania.....	349,589	137,458	.....	272,516	281,844 <i>v</i>	10,628 <i>v</i>	69,803	77,073
*Texas.....	47,406	.....	19,004	52,253†	99,984	47,731†	33,484§	4,847§
Less increased Republican vote in Texas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	280,476	360,763
Total increase.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,847	.....
Elections for Delegates to Constitutional Conventions.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	275,629	.....
Alabama.....	94,769	24,675	.....	93,928	107,118	13,190	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	90,272	10,828	.....	84,181	98,217	14,036	.....	.....
*Texas.....	Vote given above.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

† This vote refers to the election of Governor in 1873.

i Kansas shows an opposition vote—for Democratic Reform candidate, 35,301; Independent and scattering votes, 2,398; Republican majority over regular opposition, 13,293.

ii Massachusetts elected a Democratic Governor and a Republican Legislature, &c. Gaston's vote was 96,376; scattering, 270, making Governor's majority over all, 6,862; over regular Republican nominee, 7,032

iii In New York 11,768 temperance votes were cast for Governor. Tilden's

majority over all was 38,549; over Dix, 50 317. United opposition majority, as in the table.
iv Ohio gave 2,045 temperance votes Democratic majority over all was 17,202; united opposition to Republicans, as above
v Pennsylvania gave 4,649 temperance votes. The opposition over all is as above. The Democratic majority was 5,679, a decrease on the vote of 1872.
‡ The vote of Texas indicates for 1873 both a Republican and Democratic gain over that of the preceding year. The total vote was increased 38,331.

TABLE No. II.

STATES.	TOTAL VOTE.		DECREASE	INCREASE
	1872.	1874.	1874.	1874.
California	95,738	No vote.	.....	.....
Iowa	202,762	178,991	23,771	.....
Kansas	100,018	86,523	13,495	.....
Kentucky	188,461	168,952	19,79d	.....
Maine	90,509	91,865	.....	4,356
Maryland	134,447	120,882	13,565d	.....
Massachusetts	192,732	186,940	6,242	.....
Mississippi	129,463	No vote.	.....	.....
Minnesota	89,540	94,107	.....	4,567
New Jersey	168,106	181,333	.....	13,227
New York	838,007	794,233	43,774	.....
Ohio	526,173	461,655	64,518	.....
Pennsylvania	561,630	554,360	7,270	.....
Texas*	113,906	152,237†	.....	38,331
Delegate Elections.				
Alabama	164,863	211,046	.....	46,183
North Carolina	169,716	182,398	.....	12,682
Texas* .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	3,768,371	3,468,092	192,344	89,346

Majority cast in 1872, over 1874, 300,279.

† Vote of 1873.

(d) To indicate the decrease of total vote in Democratic States.

The aspects of the present campaign are, at this outlook, quite encouraging. This feeling is attributable to the heartiness with which Republicans everywhere are entering on the heavy work of reorganization, which is upon and before them. Every one seems determined to do their best. More than all else, there is a full realization of the greatness of the stakes at issue, and a wise determination is manifested to deserve victory by endeavoring to win it. The figures given in the foregoing tables are conclusive as to the ability of the Republican party to again march to the van of political progress and triumph.

OHIO

is looked upon with the greatest interest. The Democracy are encumbered with Bourbonism of the worst character. Open coquetry with the organized hostility to the public school system, which is expressed by the Romish hierarchy, has aroused a vigorous distrust and active fear that is sure to be felt at the polls in October. There is also a fierce family quarrel going on in their own

camp. Out of the State, the leading Democratic press denounces the "Confederacy-currency" planks of their platform with almost bitter unanimity ; while inside the State its adoption is well understood to be a piece of shrewd strategy on the part of Mr. Pendleton's friends, whereby it is hoped to push Allen overboard and destroy Thurman's usefulness, removing both from the path of Pendleton's Presidential aspirations. Its results will be to wreck all their illusions. In the meanwhile the Republicans are heartily and unitedly at work. The Germans are returning to the standard, and the leaders of the "Liberal" and "Revenue Reform" agitations—they cannot be termed parties—are openly accepting and working for the Republican nominees. There is work to be done, and a great deal of it. The best evidence of its prospective accomplishment is the spirit in which all parties are entering the lists.

PENNSYLVANIA

is considered secure for Gov. Hartranft's reelection, by hard work and vigorous exer-

tions. The opposition are building on disaffection among the miners in the anthracite region. The best information that comes to hand shows very little ground for this hope, as the larger portion of the Republican vote therein is located in the Lackawana basin, among the Welsh miners, who have been but little affected by the strike and the movements of the State authorities consequent thereon, and who, moreover, are not in the habit of changing settled convictions because of local disorders growing out of conditions not affected by the present policies of the great parties now in existence. The Welsh miners throughout the coal region, and the major portion of the American voters will, as heretofore, vote the Republican ticket. As to the Irish-Americans therein, it is a well known fact that the Democratic hold on them is greatly weakened, and whatever may be the probable changes pending in their ranks, they are not likely to result to the advantage of that portion of the opposition. Elsewhere in Pennsylvania, as there, Republican prospects are fair and improving. The apparently large increase last year of the Democratic vote is due to their dissatisfaction in 1872, with the nomination of Horace Greeley.

MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE

will both be as they were in 1872. There can be no doubt but that the Republicans will this year elect their Governor in the Bay State. The party will go to the polls without the internal dissensions which have recently seriously affected its morale. The friends of Gen. Butler and Judge Hoar, as well as those gentlemen themselves, will be found united in the State Convention, and before the people. The prohibitionists themselves are content to let the new license law have a fair trial, and there is no probability of any Labor Reform movement. So the issue will be clear. Popular as Gov. Gaston is, of the result there can be no doubt. Of Maine, no fears have been entertained. Gen. Conner, the Republican nominee for Governor, is a young, brilliant and gallant gentleman, of decided ability and great popularity.

MINNESOTA

Republicans have closed their ranks again,

and disputes over nominations are not likely to be serious in character. This, with the general revival of earnest effort, ensures a victory in the northwest.

IOWA AND KANSAS

are both sure for the party of national advancement. In the first named State, Gov. Kirkwood's name will rouse the old-time enthusiasm, and the State will give nearly or quite its Presidential majority for that well-tried Republican. In Kansas no fears are entertained, the only effort needed being to get out a full vote.

CALIFORNIA

presents an interesting situation. Under old and time-tried leaders, the Republicans have put an excellent ticket in the field, on a platform which must command the support of the producing classes of that great State. Its declarations on the railroad question are in accordance with an unbroken line of decisions rendered by our highest tribunal—the United States Supreme Court, from Chief Justice Marshall down to the present day. Its declaration of the right of the State to exercise legislative supervision over corporations itself has created, is not in antagonism to threaten larger declaration relating to national right of control over commerce by land and sea.

In no way impinging upon property rights, or unduly seeking to control the business of the great corporations, the Republican party in effect, declares them to be public trusts, whose right administration is essential to the well-being of the whole community, and that therefore they are subject to the organized sovereignty and must submit to lawful regulations and supervision. The Republican ticket harmonizes with these declarations. That fact is evident from the hostility exhibited towards the ticket by the railroad magnates.

Two other tickets are in the field—one known as Independent, and the other being the regular Democratic nomination. The convention that put the latter before the people seems to have been a tame affair, and the platform consists of even more than ordinarily dull platitudes. The Independent nominees are in remarkable contrast to the

wordy declarations of their long-winded and motley platform. Its "whereas" and "resolutions" would have done credit to social science, sanitary, cheap transportation, and municipal and labor reform associations, with a touch of the "Commune," but there is scarcely a grain of sound political sense through the whole. Only one utterance commends itself, and that was the declaration that the issues being local and circumscribed, are not to be regarded as controlling action on national politics. One has to thank these wiseacres for nothing after all, as it appears that this declaration was made as a dodge and was not intended as a verity.

The value of all such platforms as that of the California "Independents," is most correctly tested by the candidates they put forward. Their nominee for Governor is the Hon. John Bidwell, formerly Representative in Congress. He sought a nomination from the Republicans and failed. Mr. Bidwell is a champion land monopolist in the Golden State. He is a farmer, as are the Dukes of Sutherland, Argyle, or Bedford, who disposses the people of whole counties to make sheep farms and deer parks. His rancho is founded on a Spanish grant, the area of which is that of a small principality. In Congress he was a foremost defender of "land grabbing," and succeeded in carrying through the notorious "Soscol Rancho" job, by which some hundreds of families were dispossessed and their improvements added to the swollen list of his plethoric possessions. Mr. Bidwell has been a vigorous organizer and supporter of the Chinese labor system, by which Mongolians are practically brought to California as "peons" or debt-laborers. Ranchmen, like Bidwell, who don't want to divide their lands by selling out to small farmers, have encouraged such odious results in order to have dependent labor at their will, instead of welcoming the growth of a yeomanry that will themselves cultivate the land they purchase by their own toil. Mr. Bidwell represents in California the same class of men, who in the South desire to supplement slavery by civic serfdom, and believe the highest good to them is obtained through controlling labor."

The nominee for Lieutenant-Governor, Governor Pacheco, also sought a re-nomina-

tion from the Republicans and failed because it was known that he was a "rail oad man." Ex-Governor Stanford, president of the Central Pacific railroad, said, in a published interview, that his "preferences were for either Shafter or Pacheco. Both are good men, and I considered them both strong men before the people."

These nominations "point the moral and adorn the tale," taught and recited in the California Independent movement.

IN THE SOUTH

there will be much of interest developed by the fall elections. Mississippi will be an excellent opportunity for testing the sincerity of the much talked of "reconciliation" sentiment. There is an old adage which still retains lessons worthy consideration; it runs thus: "First pure, then peaceable." The "color-line" politicians are unmistakeably rampant as yet, in that State, and many well informed persons believe there will be a repetition of former outrages and intimidation. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," and Republicans will learn more and more conclusively that the evil spirit of slavery is not quenched or laid at rest, in a few years. There will be wild and senseless outbursts of impotent anger—passion that in its mouthings recalls the Scriptural eunuch that "lusteth" and was not satisfied—such anger as so recently foamed in polished sentences of satanic eloquence from the lips of John S. Preston, of South Carolina, who "orated" to the youth of the "Old Dominion" at the recent commencement exercises of the University of Virginia. "General" Preston declared that the men of Virginia, who had so large a part in the organization of this Government and Union,

"Were grandly inspired architects. They completed an edifice dedicated to civil freedom and free conscience, whose foundation was a continent, whose boundaries were boundless seas, and whose turrets aspired to heaven to catch the light and blessing from a God of Truth."

They were the "royal priesthood;" the University is a "saintly and benignant nurse mother." Robert E. Lee is referred to as the "high priest of that hierarchy," and the present generation are praised as those who have

"renewed all that covenant by sprinkling that altar with their blood"—as men "who have hazarded" their lives in defense of truth. These patriots, so hyperbolically referred to, are held aloft as the only defenders of English constitutional liberty, while the founders of New England are derided, as coming,

"Not as refugees from unlawful persecution and tyranny, but as escaped convicts from the just penalties of a turbulent heresy and an ambitious rebellion, which sought by violence to enforce their consciences on England's law. Instead, therefore, of bringing the laws and usages growing out of the charters of English liberty, they brought only crude and shallow systems of theological, philosophical and political fictions, scarcely above the vain babblings of mediæval speculations, mingled with the poisons of licentious fanaticism, establishing upon them municipal forms of mere superficial restraint and flimsy systems of educational training, calculated to perpetuate ignorance and substitute individual craft for public virtue."

The men of New England, in the view of this lofty minded scion of slave oligarchy "could have no inborn reverence" for the great Southern lights of the Revolution and the early following decades. "The Mayflower's freight, under the laws of England, was heresy and crime." The Jamestown emigrant

"Was an English freeman, loyal to his country and his God, with England's honor in his heart and English piety in his soul, and carrying in his right hand the charters, usages and laws which were achieving the regeneration of England."

After this outburst, it is fitly added that

"Not space, or time, or the convenience of any human law, or the power of any human arm can reconcile institutions for the turbulent fanatic of Plymouth Rock and the God-fearing Christian of Jamestown. You may assign them to the closest territorial proximity, with all the forms, modes, and shows of civilization; but you can never cement them into the bonds of brotherhood."

So the brilliant orator proceeds in language lurid in its baleful eloquence to teach the lessons of sectional hatreds to young men who have not yet left the college campus. We are told, *ad nauseum*, of the

"Tremendous warfare with its surging waves rolling wide and wasteful over a continent, frightening the trembling earth and steeping it in blood, over which fanaticism and avarice raged with demoniac fury, and patriotism shrank from the prostrate form of liberty."

The special object of all these terrific adjectives is the denunciation of the North and of the objects for which in explosive utterances "General" Preston asserts it fought.

It is clearly stated, and no Republican will deny or apologise for the fact that he so fiercely questions, and replies:

"What was the plea of the invader, the conqueror and the destroyer? Union and emancipation, integrity of territory and freedom and citizenship for our slaves, the African negro. If there be any other plea, motive, impulse, or apology, it was not declared in the open arena."

Nor is it necessary to enter any "other plea, motive, impulse or apology," and that fact is what is the matter with "General" Preston.

These quotations have been made here for the purpose of pointing out the continued existence of encouragement of the spirit alluded to in connection with Mississippi, and the possibilities that may attend the fall election there. In addition to the State and Congressional election in that State, Alabama, Texas, and North Carolina will elect delegates to Constitutional conventions which have been called therein, for the purpose of undertaking the work of "Democratic Reconstruction." The result will bear close watching.

In Kentucky the contest for Governor is closely fought, and the Republican nominee, General Harlan, is acknowledged to be winning new adherents daily. He is acknowledged to be much abler than his opponent, whose friends are now compelled to appeal not to his fitness for the position, but to that love of party which is a cardinal virtue of the Democracy. There is a large body of voters—formerly Whigs and Unionists—who are beginning to see that emancipation and enfranchisement have not hurt them or in any way injured the Union temple. Gen. Harlan is a growing favorite with them, and Republican prospects are brightening daily.

"THE BLUE AND THE GRAY:"—THE BASIS OF THE

The *Memphis Daily Appeal* introduces its report of the proceedings on Memorial Day with the following remarkable head-lines:—"The graves of the Federal and Confederate dead, alike decorated with wreaths and immortelles. Distinguished public men confirm the popular will that the chasm must remain closed forever. No more sectional strife or dissension. We will live and labor for the Union, its integrity and prosperity." Among the occupants of seats upon the speaker's stand, appear the names of "*Ex-Præ's* Jeff. Davis," Gen. N. B. Forrest, Ex-Gov. I. G. Harris, Hon. Jacob Thompson; and the report is prefaced with the following words: "*The curtain is down, the lights are out, the play is over*"—words, we believe, purposely chosen to represent the sentiment entertained—*the play is over—THE FARCE IS DONE!*

This view of ours is based upon the proceedings of the day, as reported in the *Appeal*—the spirit of the poetry and the prose—the poem recited, and the speech of the Confederate orator; and, that there may be no mistake or misunderstanding, we shall allow the poet and the orator to speak for themselves.

Gen. Forrest, as one of the masters of the ceremonies, bravely performed his duties, which, we presume, were of a more congenial nature than when he wore the gray, in the month of November, 1864, and sent out a rumor that he would make a raid on the same city of Memphis. The writer was there, and saw the non-combatants—old men, women and little children, preparing to flee in the opposite direction to that to be taken by Gen. Forrest. Gen. Forrest was courageous, but his humanity was so well known and appreciated that it is impossible to tell who loved him. This warrior, however, introduced a small, unsuspecting child, one Master Lee Merriwether, to recite "*The Blue and the Gray*"—one verse of which sounds strangely to our ears:

"Then let us gather the sacred dust
Of our warriors, tried and true,
Who bore the flag of our nation's trust,
And fell in the cause though lost, still just,
And died for me and you."

The little boy doubtless very patriotic; but he was a Confederate orator, who was identified with the Blue, an loyal citizen, whose claims recognize—because he wor represents a cause so dear the especial wonder of the how it was lost. The Univ The "lost cause" is not i Luke E. Wright—introdu- laham G. Harris—bowed a port the infant reciter of impress the North with his be loyal to the Union. Mr. been a warrior, but he did heathen demi-god, Yuxo Hot like thunder, and a temper horse. Gen. Wright was i suasive, of silvery eloquence ner and with such a deprec a continued apology for his maintained to the end of his South was right in what it North does wrong to remem the South. He said:

"It is well to do honor to fallen braves who, through and danger held aloft the ba In deifying the memory of pitched their tents upon y this city of the dead—in w for their humble resting p knowledge a sentiment whic ment in the hearts of six n We come not to perform an nial, merely to express ad lives and deeds of men who of principle, died upon the f we come with wreaths of fl and immortelle—to strew water them with our ten come to bury our dead afi Ours is a personal as well a row. * * * It is not the portrayal of all their the fatigues and hardship the victories they won, th they experienced, and the which they met them all was a participant, however events of those sombre da, is impossible. * * * rating the events of the l Southern standpoint, is ye

ed. The time, however, is fast approaching when the man will arise to accomplish a duty which the world demands. The baleful fires of hate, misrepresentation and malice, engendered by the strife, are almost burned out, and from their ashes may be sifted truths for history. Our people have no cause to regret that this time is near at hand. That many wrongs and follies have been committed by both sides is doubtless true, but the men of the South who inaugurated and conducted this internecine quarrel will be shown to have been recreant or dishonored—Never! When the truth does appear, the people of the entire North will, as her soldiers do now, concede the same patriotism, the same love of constitutional liberty, to their former opponents which they claim for themselves. * * *

The right of secession, whilst not dangerous to the integrity of the Union in the abstract, became vitalized by the crusade made against the Southern institution of slavery. * * *

We of the South, who claimed and believed there was a violation of the original compact between the States, on the part of the North, asserted the right of self-government as an independent Confederacy. In the attempt to enforce that right at the point of the bayonet, we were unsuccessful simply. "The very head and front of our offending hath this extent, no more." * * *

The men who clung with more than a Spartan heroism to their cause, through defeat and disaster, who suffered every privation incident to their impoverished and isolated position, not only with a sustained cheerfulness, but with actual gaiety and abandon, and who at last yielded only to the stern logic of overwhelming numbers, are not of those who, conspiring against good government, seeking to establish the tyranny of misrule and license, cower beneath the lashings of conscience, and quake with the fear conjured up by their guilty spirits. In no sense of the word were they traitors—in every sense they were true and loyal to their States, ancestry and traditions. Whatever may be the cold definition prescribed by legal codes, all ingenuous men will agree with me that he only is a traitor who perfidiously betrays a trust or a country. It is the motive, the moral quality of the act, rather than the act itself, which stamps its nature. * * *

What son of the North, enemy though he may have been, who has stood beside the grave of a Lee, a Johnston, or a Jackson, but has felt pride in remembering they were of the same race and nationality as himself? Who that has recalled their lives but has felt within him a nobler flame of devotion to principle, a higher perception of duty, a sterner resolve to suffer, and, if need be, to die for the right? * * *

These remarks are made in no spirit of bitterness or resentment, with no intention or desire of reopening those vexed and unprof-

itable issues over which have rolled the red waves of war. On the contrary their only object is to vindicate the motives and memories of the men of the South, living and dead, who lost all save honor, in an irretrievable defeat. Much as we need and desire a cessation of all bitterness, and a restoration of kindly relations, we cannot afford it at the expense of self-respect; we cannot admit to our children and posterity that we were a rebellious crew of malcontents, prepared to rule or ruin. * * *

The soldiers in Blue have on many a fatal day met the men in Gray, face, to face, and looked into their eyes long enough to see depicted there manly resolution and devoted courage, but naught that savored of treachery or dishonor. The best guaranty they can offer of their sincere desire for harmony is the constancy with which they adhered to a failing cause—the heroism with which they clung to the battle-torn flag of their confederacy when all hope had fled! This sentiment, so long repressed, is at last finding voice, and with no uncertain sound proclaims that the States of the South shall have the opportunity, so long desired, of reestablishing friendly relations with those of the North—that they shall be welcomed into the noble sisterhood of the Union, not as traitorous and conquered provinces, but as equals. A few men of influence with their countrymen of the North, of enlarged views and patriotic impulses, years since realized that the so-called Union, in its then condition, was a broken circle, and that the States of the South were necessary to a full restoration of that glorious galaxy that bedecked the nation's flag in the better days of the Republic. With peculiar magnanimity, and an eye single to the glory of the *whole* country, they advocated universal amnesty for all past offenses, and invoked the people of both sections to bury all past differences in a common grave. Their words and acts have taken deep root in the minds of both the North and South, and bear glorious fruit in the evidences of an universal fraternization all along the line. * * *

May we not venture the assertion, then, from recent manifestations everywhere on the part of the people, both North and South, that what seemed to us the destruction of every hope in the downfall of the Confederacy, and the death of her truest and bravest sons, may yet redound to the honor and glory of our common country? If, by the pouring out of their blood they have watered the tree of liberty, and by a contemplation of their virtues have inspired in the breasts of both North and South a truer feeling of respect for each other, and greater regard for the blessings of peace under the constitutional government of our fathers, then their death has not been in vain. * * *

It tells mankind that the Republic is not a failure—that like a young

giant struggling in the toils, it has shaken from its limbs all impediments, and stands forth to begin afresh the race in the lists of civilization and of progress. In that race let us not be left behind. We have much to do. In the building up of our decayed industries, in the fostering and enlargement of our commerce and manufactories, in the advancement of the arts and sciences, in the education and elevation of the masses, will be found work for every hand."

It will be observed that in all the grandiloquence poured out on this and on recent occasion, in which the South has claimed recognition of the North, on account of its present loyalty to the Union, that there is an under current of sentiment which points to the white men alone as being interested in the movement. "We but acknowledge a sentiment which has found lodgment in the hearts of six million people," said Gen. Wright. The negro race, numbering four millions, is altogether ignored, although there must be upwards of 800,000 colored men entitled to the ballot. No mention is made of their education; of the measures adopted for the peaceful exercise of their rights as citizens; no indication is given that the future, in regard to them, will be different from the past. Mysterious allusion is made to national sorrow for the Southern dead—to liberty—constitutional liberty—to confederate blood having watered the tree of liberty—have no force, unless every citizen under the Constitution of the Union is protected while discharging the duties of citizenship, and is permitted to earn an honest living for himself and family by his daily labor.

The South commits a great blunder, when it supposes the loyal North do not understand that their attempt to destroy the Union was treason of the rankest kind. The people of the North, however, are willing to bridge the bloody chasm, if the South will act justly and obey the law. Never, under the old institutions, was the condition of the South so prosperous and the avenues for wealth so many and so certain. But the war wrought a change which cannot be resisted; and until that change is recognized, is accepted in sober truth, there will always be danger and discord. If the prominent southerners really mean what they say about a reconciliation and fraternal spirit prevailing

all over the Union, they have power to help it. Let them lend voice to the Constitution; and whether they regret the past or not, they may be sure that history will deal justly with the leaders of the Confederate States.

No language of ours is strong enough to express our disapprobation of the flimsy statement of the report of the *Memphis Appeal*. "*The candles are out, the play is over*"—the whole affair—strewn with flowers—the poem—the oratorical display, to draw forth the applause of the audience who understand no more, and did not go away disappointed—are sorry to see the same thought repeated in another locality in the South. A histrionic reference is made to the presence of the confederate of centennial proceedings at Bu The *Richmond Dispatch* says that "may be considered the head of the alienation of the North—of those opinions and sentiments at war with Southern notions and the renewal of brotherly love—the avowal of reciprocal pledges—her people and ours have a parity and potency with like democracy. These words seem to reflect a condition of mind—a mind of loyalty from which it had severed. Shall we say to the following line to be found in the same article:

"The Government has changed the dresses and decorations, and at which were employed in the old Washington; for the intermediate years have been almost entirely cast off, never we hope to be done."

Bah! there is such a thing as justice, based upon a national standard, and the people of the South know that the people of the North were disposed to take part in a farce if they desired to be kind and obedient in word and deed, when they see a manifest contradiction by the leaders of the party they never were more in earnest for the great object for which the war shall be accomplished, and will be directed their labors specifically.

The light of experience does not flicker with an uncertain radiance. They have learned many lessons—among them the eternal distinction between right and wrong has been burned into their hearts. True patriotism at this day, is of no doubtful import. It has not a double meaning—a different meaning North and South. Children in the North and South must use it in the same sense, and employ the same illustrations. The soldiers and the people who defended and loved the Union, cannot be misled upon the subject. They would not seek for the sun in the darkness of a starless midnight. Nor could they derive patriotic inspiration from the graves of Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and other officers of the Rebellion. These and others were educated by the nation to defend her. Instead of that they stabbed her in the bosom,

and fought for her destruction, using the knowledge she gave them for the purpose. No! inspiration must come from those who died that the nation might live, and that the Union may be lasting and free and prosperous, the sentiments that induced the men of the South to engage in the fratricidal strife must be rendered odious and be blotted out, and a new career be entered upon, whose fruit shall be peace and justice, practical freedom and fraternity in political effort, and the equality of all men before the law. Then the bond of union will be perpetuated by the might of right; and the sentimental glory of the galaxy of States, with wrong continued, so often spoken of, will fade away like a nightmare in the health and glow of a real restoration, which shall enhance the grandeur and stability of the Great Republic.

TAXES: WHO PAYS THEM?

"We are more heavily taxed by our idleness, pride and folly, than we are taxed by Government."—*Franklin*

Even among intelligent men, who, on almost all other public questions are pretty well informed, there is no little misconception on the subjects of Taxes and Tariffs, the two main sources of the Federal revenues.

Omitting for the present farther reference to tariffs, the writer will endeavor to present the system of Federal taxation so that it may meet the comprehension of every intelligent reader.

The charge is often made by those who wish to misrepresent the General Government, and render the Administration unpopular, that the people are burdened and oppressed by Federal taxation. Confiding farmers and others who believe political speakers and writers are as honest as themselves, accept these statements as true, and become prejudiced against the party in power. Now, if the facts were examined and the subject of taxation presented in its true bearing upon society, those very men would be among the first to admire the simplicity and justice of the present system of Federal taxation and give it their support. But to the subject, and first—

WHAT IS A TAX, AND WHY IS IT NEEDED?

A tax is an assessment for a specific amount made upon property for a specific purpose, under Federal or State authority; or, it may be a tax on incomes or annual earnings, or a personal or poll-tax on each adult citizen.

Each State adopts its own mode of taxation, and the State tax is always distinct from the Federal tax. The State may raise its necessary revenue from a tax on real estate alone, but the usual mode is to make up the requisite amount by an assessment on personal property as well as on real estate, to which is added usually a personal or poll-tax on each male adult, of one, and sometimes two dollars per annum.

The Federal Government pursues a different policy. The main source of its revenues is the tariff on imported goods. But in extraordinary cases, of which the late rebellion affords an example, personal property and incomes are taxed to meet a specific emergency. But Internal revenue taxes are always dropped with the removal of the cause for their collection.

A revenue is required by the Federal Government to meet the demands on the United

States Treasury for the annual interest on the public debt, the expenses of the army and navy, the payment of pensions, Indian, and other ordinary expenditures, the whole amounting to about \$275,000,000 per annum.

State, county, and municipal taxes, over which the Federal Government exercises no control, provide revenues from which the ordinary expenditures for legislation, schools, roads, State public improvement, and other State, county or municipal expenses are paid. In recent years many of the States have allowed their ordinary public expenditures to increase much more rapidly than the increase of population and wealth. This has resulted in a corresponding increase of taxation, a condition of affairs that should always be avoided. It can now be overcome only by rigid economy in the public expenditures and submission to a pretty severe tax until the State, county and municipal indebtedness is liquidated. Other States have been scrupulously careful, and have not allowed their expenditures to exceed their revenues, except to a limited extent, to be overcome in the following year or two. These States are out of debt—some of them entirely so—and they are generally prosperous.

With these remarks on the general subject of taxes and revenues, the attention of the reader will now be directed more particularly to the present

POLICY AND SCOPE OF FEDERAL TAXATION.

The policy of the administration is to derive the largest portion of the necessary revenues from the tariff on imported goods. The estimates for the fiscal year which commenced June 30, 1875, were made on the following basis:

From customs.....	\$170,000,000
From Internal revenue.....	106,000,000
From other sources.....	17,000,000

Total estimates..... \$293,000,000

It is believed now, by experienced officials, judging from the improving condition of the country and the weekly increase of receipts since the estimates were made, that the internal revenue receipts for the current year will reach \$120,000,000 or over. Of this, nearly

\$100,000,000 will be derived from spirits, beer, and tobacco in their various forms. The balance comes from the tax on patent medicines, perfumery, matches and banking capital. These are the only articles subject to a Federal tax. And as showing what the Republican party has accomplished in the way of decreasing the taxes caused by the Democratic rebellion, it may be stated that while the Internal revenue receipts, for the fiscal year just closed, amounted to \$109,500,000 and those for the current year will be about the same, the internal revenues for 1866 amounted to *three hundred and nine million, two hundred and twenty-six thousand, eight hundred and thirteen dollars and forty-two cents*, exclusive of a direct income tax, collected during the same year, amounting to \$1,947,754.12.

Keeping in view the fact that only about half a dozen different articles are now subject to a tax, it will be interesting to note briefly the sources whence the enormous tax of previous years was derived. From March, 1865, to July, 1866, during which period internal revenue taxation was at its greatest height, all manufactures of every description, with a few unimportant exceptions specially exempted, were subject to a tax. A tax was also imposed on all slaughtered cattle, sheep and swine; on the gross receipts of advertisements, lotteries, theatres, operas, circuses, &c.; of express, insurance and telegraph companies; of canals, steamboats, ships, barges, stage coaches, railroads, &c.; on dealers' sales, auction sales, and brokers' sales of merchandise, stocks, bonds, foreign exchange, gold and silver bullion and coin; on billiard tables, carriages, piano-fortes, gold watches, yachts, gold and silver plate, articles of luxury kept for use; on bank capital, circulation and deposits; on passports, legacies and successions; on dividends and additions to surplus of banks, railroad, canal, turnpike and insurance companies; on salaries of United States officers and employés; on the annual income of all persons, in excess of \$600 per annum; on legal instruments, such as deeds, bonds, mortgages, &c.; on proprietary medicines, perfumeries and cosmetics; and on friction matches and playing cards. All persons engaged as auc-

tioneers, brokers, dealers, peddlers, manu-
facturers, lawyers, physicians, &c., were re-
quired to pay a special tax for carrying on
their business, trade, or profession—in
short, nearly every available source was
made to contribute to the necessities of the
Government.

ANNUAL RECEIPTS FROM INTERNAL REVENUE
AND INCOME TAXES.

The first revenues derived from the tax on
incomes were collected during the fiscal year
1862, and in the following year from the
tax on property, &c. The Income tax has
ceased altogether, under act of Congress, and
the Internal revenue taxes have been reduced
about two-thirds below their maximum in
1866. The following official tables show the
net receipts for each year :

	Internal Revenue.	Direct Tax.
1862 .....	.....	\$1,795,331.73
1863.....	\$37,640,787.95	1,485,103.61
1864.....	109,741,134.10	475,648.96
1865.....	209,464,215.25	1,200,573.03
1866.....	309,226,813.42	1,974,754.12
1867.....	266,027,537.43	4,200,233.70
1868.....	191,087,589.41	1,788,145.85
1869.....	158,356,460.86	765,685.61
1870.....	184,899,756.49	229,102.88
1871.....	143,098,153.63	580,355.37
1872	130,642,177.72	.....
1873	113,729,314.14	* 315,254.51
1874.....	102,644,746.98	.....

For the purpose of showing just where the
Internal revenues come from, the the follow-
ing analysis of the tax for 1874 is given.
There was collected from—

Spirits	\$49,444,089.85
Tobacco	33,242,875.62
Fermented liquors.....	9,304,679.72
Banks and bankers.....	3,387,160.67
Penalties, etc.	364,216.34
Adhesive stamps †	6,136,844.64
Balances ‡	761,880.14
	<hr/> \$102,644,746.98

* Balances due in 1871, collected in 1872 and
1873, and covered into the U. S. Treasury in the
last year.

† Includes stamps on bank checks, &c., per-
fumery, cosmetics, patent medicines, mat-
hes &c., known as proprietary stamps.

‡ Balances from articles and occupations for-
merly taxed, but now exempt.

The largest receipts from Internal revenue
were collected in 1866; from personal in-
come the largest collection was in 1867
From these sources combined the largest an-
nual collection, as will be seen, was made in
1866, and amounted to \$311,174,567,74.

Since July, 1866, taxes have been grad-
ually reduced until the amount of taxes
repealed now reaches an aggregate of two
hundred million dollars per annum, a reduc-
tion of two-thirds of the entire tax of former
years.

The internal revenue taxes, as stated, have
been removed from all articles excepting
spirits, beer, tobacco, patent medicines, per-
fumery, matches, and banking capital; and
the revenues from these sources are collected
mainly by stamps, which are paid for on
delivery, thus materially reducing the cost
of collecting the internal revenues.

The percentage cost of assessing and col-
lecting the revenues—adhesive stamps
excepted—from 1863 to 1874, inclusive, as
deduced from the expenses allowed by the
the Fifth Auditor, by whom the accounts of
internal revenue officers are adjusted, is as
follows :

Fiscal years.	Cost of assessing and collecting.
1863.....	6 per cent.
1864.....	4 per cent.
1865.....	2 4-10 per cent.
1866.....	2 2-10 per cent.
1867.....	2 3-10 per cent.
1868.....	4 4-10 per cent.
1869 ..	4 2-10 per cent.
1870.....	3 5-10 per cent.
1871.....	4 4-10 per cent.
1872.....	4 4-10 per cent.
1873.....	4 2-10 per cent.
1874.....	4 1-10 per cent.

Add to this, allowance or drawbacks, refund-
ing taxes, cost of stamps, paper, and dies, and
the expenses of the office at Washington—in
all about 2 per cent. additional—and we have
the total cost of collecting the internal reve-
nue, showing an economy probably without a
parallel.

WHO PAYS THE INTERNAL REVENUE TAXES ?

As there is a perpetual Democratic howl
falling upon the ears of the people about the

DEMOCRATIC RECONSTRUCTION.

of Federal taxation, it will be well, while we have the figures and facts before us, to ascertain who are tax-payers and who are not. If a family uses fifty boxes of matches, of ordinary size, in a year, they pay fifty cents in taxes to support the Government. If they have occasion to use a few bottles of patent medicines; or if the ladies are disposed to indulge in perfumery; or if the head of the family is well to do and keeps a bank account, in which he occasionally draws a check, these accidents may occasion an annual expenditure of fifty cents to a dollar in taxes. But this includes the entire list of articles taxed, excepting spirits, beer and tobacco in their various forms. But the latter articles are not included among the necessities of life; they are luxuries; they pay nearly the whole of the internal revenue taxes, and those who indulge in them are the tax-payers. And yet with taxes added the consumption of tobacco, spirits and beer, is annually increasing. Dealers in those articles not only add the amount of the tax to the cost of their goods,

but they fix a profit same proportion as the price for the article. In other words, the rate of profit as the consumption increases. plains of the tax; it, and the slave to all. If the tax falls Democratic party then it is only because the sumers of those are perfect remedy, against Government nor then interpose an obstacle the burden they bear daily use of these wares and their taxes will ment of internal revenue therefore, wholly individual; and if he to contribute to the ment, he does it from pulsion.

DEMOCRATIC RECONSTRUCTION.

During the civil war several border states passed under Republican control. The reasons therefor are obvious and need no recapitulation. In the following years of reconstruction, eleven southern States were distinctly under Republican direction. The constitutions, under which they were again recognized as entitled to representation in Congress, were framed by conventions, the majority in each of which were of the party loyal to the Union and the national will. In the border, as well as reconstructed States, provisions were either engrafted on their old constitutions, or others were framed, as in West Virginia and Missouri, in harmony with the new order of things.

The salient points of these constitutions were, primarily, the embodiment of distinct recognitions of the freedom of all men, their equality before the law, and of the direct enunciation of the doctrine of national sovereignty as against that of State Rights.

Secondarily, or rather to secure the due administration of these equities, the new constitutions embodied provisions prohibit-

ing the payment of rebellion and slavery bounties; of judicial sale of public lands; of free public schools; of other changes in the form of government that of basing representation on territory instead of territory, many of the former controlling or equalizing or electors. There were of the counties into similar form, with the habit of civil disobedience which long experienced in the former states to be eased and security.

There were another temporary and precise to the wisdom of the people to prevail. These were in the form of test oaths, the exclusion of certain classes from their activity or participation in the recent rebellion.

These have proved

ture—the heel of our Achilles. Here the arrows of the southern Hector have penetrated. On the cry raised and disorganization induced thereby, the border States, and a majority of the reconstructed States, with the aid of organized violence, directed against the new-made citizens and their friends of the white race, have reverted back to the Democracy—the party which has been nationally and sectionally consistent only in two things—sympathy with slavery and its consequent treason, and an eager desire to get back to power at any cost and under almost any pretence.

It is worth while observing how and in what way the Democratic victories have been used in the South. In every instance the efforts have been directed towards two points: First, a direct social, political and personal control of the colored citizen, his labor and vote, and second—a reconstruction of the State constitutions. In the latter effort the aim is distinct and definite. It is to substitute evasive or delusive phraseology for that which was so directly framed and adopted, in regard to State Rights, secession and the non-payment of rebel or pro-slavery claims, to destroy the township system, evade the population basis, and break down by omissions of needed power, the efficiency of the common schools.

A pertinent example of all these things is being exhibited in Missouri—a State which has, since 1820, been the battle ground of contending systems. For more than a generation it has been ruled by those who sustained the most ultra doctrines of State sovereignty, while as a fact, its existence as a State, is due to the common purchase, settlement and effort of the entire people. Formed from the Louisiana purchase, its Democratic politicians have claimed the right of the robber, and were only foiled in 1861, by bolder men than themselves.

In 1865, northern and national influences controlled this—the Keystone State of the Continental interior—and a constitution was framed, denying State sovereignty, establishing free schools, and basing representation on population. These were chief among its principal features. The latter was essen-

tial to a redemption of the State. By the constitution of 1820, under which it was admitted, territory, not inhabitants, controlled every county being allowed at least one representative, while at the same time the total number of representatives were so limited that it was impossible for the better settled portions of the State to acquire the influences justly belonging thereto.

This system has been defended from the beginning as a Democratic principle. It has been strenuously sustained as a measure of policy and with good reasons, as it deliberately committed that great State for 45 years to the rule of a minority, and that the more ignorant, illiterate, prejudiced and intolerant of the inhabitants thereof, who are inevitably the bulk of the Democratic party.

The Bourbon Democracy unlearn nothing. Having succeeded in obtaining renewed control of the State through the ambition of German-American leaders who desired to keep their followers intact, as a balance-of-power element, and by the effect of another feeling—that of revolt against civil disabilities, which was felt by a Republican minority, more generous than wise, the Bourbons now kick in the face the men on whose shoulders they first climbed back to power, and proceed to make a constitution by which they fondly expect to ensure a long continued lease to themselves and party associates, present and prospective.

Of course the Convention is Democratic. There are fair reasons to believe that even with fair play on their own part, the Democracy might continue to control the State—at least for some years to come. The accessions to its population for some years past, appear to have been most largely drawn from Kentucky and the southern portions of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, as well, also, from Tennessee. These are all Democratic strongholds. Besides, a large number of the ex-Confederate soldiery belonging to Missouri, originally disbanded in Texas, have returned to their own State. This secures present success. But the two great rivers which flow through the State, bring civilization and advanced ideas on their waters. The lines of railroad, built or in process of construction, serve the same beneficent end. The advent of liber-

al thought and free industry, "to the man-
ner born," is a death blow at Bourbonism.
This is understood by the Democratic ma-
jority.

The convention's delusive paraphrase of a
bill of rights—so far as it deals with the
relations of state and nation—need not be
now discussed. Nor will it be well to digress
to the avowed hostility displayed toward the
system of free schools, which a Republican
constitution established, and legislatures of
that faith organized and sustained. To turn
aside and point to the presence of Waldo P.
Johnson—a confederate politician, who is,
avowedly, unreconstructed—as presiding
officer, is also unnecessary. But the manner
in which the People of Missouri, without
regard to party, are being despoiled, in the
interests of a bigoted faction, deserves and
must command exposure—illustrating as it
does the character of Democratic reconstruc-
tion.

The State of Missouri is now divided into
117 counties, and contained, according to
the census of 1870, a population of 1,721,295.
Accepting the total increase for the preced-
ing decade, 59,283, as the standard for the
one now passing, and over a quarter of a
million persons can be added to the total of
1870, making the present estimated popula-
tion at not less than two million persons.
The injustice perpetrated by the Bourbon
scheme of reconstruction is thus made greater,
as at least seven-tenths of this increase is in
the counties that are largely disfranchised.
The following is the section adopted by the
Convention, the rule for representation, the
vote being 42 to 17:

"The House of Representatives shall con-
sist of members chosen every second year by
the qualified voters of the several counties, and
apportioned in the following manner: The
ratio of representation shall be ascertained,
at each session of the General Assembly, by
dividing the whole number of inhabitants
of the State, as ascertained by the last cen-
sus of the United States, by the number 200.
Each county having one ratio, or less, shall
be entitled to one Representative. Each
county having two-and-a-half times said
ratio shall be entitled to two Representatives.
Each county having four times said ratio
shall be entitled to three Representatives.
Each county having six times said ratio shall

be entitled to four Represent-
on above that number, givin
member for every two-and-a-
ratio."

The St. Louis *Republican*, a
able paper strongly in opposi-
ministration, says of the C
tion:

A majority of the delegates
a minority of the people of
carried their point, which is
franchisement of the popula-
of the larger counties. The
ratio is to be determined by
whole population of the Sta-
makes the ratio under th
8,630. We say this is the rati-
nominally so; in point of fac-
adopted after fixing it as the
sentation, proceeds to disrega-
ing that 36 counties which
the ratio shall still have one
each; and, second, by directi-
counties that possess two or n-
not have a corresponding n-
representatives. It therefore giv-
counties more than their share
legislature and doubles the in-
ing the 24 larger counties less
share.

Besides this it makes a cur-
injustice—by providing that
entitled to two representati-
two-and-a-half ratios; to be e-
representatives it must have
be entitled to four represent-
have six ratios; and to be e-
than four representatives it n-
and-a-half ratios for each rep-

Waldo P. Johnson, an ex-
the Union and rebel Senates, a
an able man, defends this acti-
ber plea—that the small co-
the power now, propose to ke-
wrong. It is worth while e-
scheme more in detail. St.
county for instance, had in 18-
of 351,189. Its growth durin-
ing decade was 160,665. It i-
as rapid now. But it will b-
about 50,000 to that of 1870,
of 400,000 persons. The Bou-
Louis 17 members. They gi-
the same number of counties
west section of the State, lyin-
Arkansas line, and known to

benighted inhabitants, with a total population of about 96,000 persons, no one of them having a sufficient number of inhabitants to secure a single ratio. The 36 counties which are each given a single representative, (including the 17 referred to), have each less than the ratio of population laid down as the basis of representation. These counties with a total population of 190,000, are all in the southern portion of the State, among the Ozark mountains and the swamps and bayous of the southeast, contiguous to the Mississippi. They are at present inaccessible to railroads, and are likely to remain so for a long time to come. The population was largely a bushwhacking one during the civil war, and is made up of the classes most demoralized by the slave system, the smaller slaveholder, or the "poor whites." They have been reinforced by the worst elements of the rebel forces, that Missouri recruited. It is to these influences that Bourbonism deliberately commits the great State of Missouri, refusing now to submit this question separately to the people.

The analysis carried a little further will prove instructive. On the Missouri river, from St. Louis upward, there are twenty-five counties (including that of St. Louis), with a total population (1870) of 781,857, which have but forty-eight representatives, or one to 16,280 persons. In the thirty-six favored counties, the ratio is about one to 5,270. Pursued further, and the disparities will be even greater. Taking forty-eight counties of Missouri, lying contiguous to her great rivers and railroad lines, the chief in population and wealth, and it is found that a population of 1,165,706 (1870) are to have but seventy-seven representatives, while the remaining sixty-nine counties, with a population of only 555,589, have sixty-nine representatives. The ratio in the first case is over 16,000, and in the last only a little over 8,000.

These facts illustrate the character of Bourbonism, and point to the conditions they mean to sustain. Our "Liberal" friends there are almost to be consoled with, aptly illustrating, as they do, the parable of the spider and the fly. Surely they have walked into the parlor of the Democratic spider, and

are now systematically being swallowed. Judging from the buzzing, the process is **not** an agreeable one—to the fly. As there **are** other conventions to be called under Democratic auspices, the country at large **may** know what to expect, from the example Missouri presents.

THE STATES RIGHTS HERESY is a fit one to be taught in States and by men who lead therein—which owe their existence to **no** previous heritage of colonial dependence, or any transitory and uncertain existence as "sovereign and independent" States,—being carved as they were out of a common territory, acquired by the efforts and means of all THE PEOPLE, as well as being settled by persons from every State without preference. At least this latter was so up to 1820, when slavery placed ban and barrier, in the way of northern migration southward. The States of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, six out of the eleven States that formed the slaveholders confederacy, were formed from common territory belonging to the Union, under the Constitution which "We the PEOPLE" adopted.—Florida was won from Spain, as also a part of Alabama. The major portion of that State was originally in possession of France, as was also Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Texas was wrested from Mexico, by a mixed process of settlement and warfare. It might perhaps better claim a little sovereign right than the others, but the conditions of admission changed all such pretences. Tennessee was part of the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia; as was also Kentucky. Missouri was a part of the Louisiana purchase. Yet these are the States in which the loudest claims are made for the right of a State to be superior at its own will to the Nation. There are twenty-four out of thirty-seven States thus carved from a common domain. Of these, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and a portion of Wisconsin, were formed from the cession made to the Union by Virginia and other States, of their colonial claims. The balance of Wisconsin and Minnesota formed the British cession made by the treaty of peace when our Independence was acknowledged. Nebraska, Kansas, Nevada and Oregon form part of the Louisiana purchase, and California was captured from Mexico.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...At the close of the last month, the difficulties on the Mexican border, had assumed a shape more threatening to international peace than theretofore. The General Government, sincerely appreciating the difficulties with which our sister Republic has had to contend, was earnest in the desire to maintain the peace. Annexation is a word belonging to the past. The Republican party and the administrations by which its policy has been represented, while accepting the "manifest destiny" idea in a loftier, nobler sense, than the old and somewhat buccaneering one in which it was formerly used, have not sought to meddle with their neighbors at all, North or South. The difference in its view might well be expressed by the words, "attraction" and "gravitation," instead of "annexation." It was this idea that ruled in the San Domingo matter. We were sought, and were not seeking. Our course toward Spain and Cuba has been governed by the same just principle, and results vindicate us, however hard it has sometimes been to stay the impulses in favor of Cuba, which have often impelled us to action not strictly defensible under international law. Towards Mexico, the Republican executives have always been most kindly and generous. Imagine what would have been the result in the days of filibustering Democracy, if the "Libra Zone" had existed then, and been as in recent years, the base of operations by organized Mexican and Indian banditti? Their States west of the Rio Grande would have been "annexed" and our boundaries "rectified" as the term goes, by being carried to the summit of the lesser Cordilleras that traverse that portion of Mexico. But the rule of justice includes that of acting on knowledge, and it has been well understood at the national capital, that the Mexican government, emerging from the midst of disorganizing events, was doing all it could to repress turbulence and bring the "Zone" within the control of its lawful authority. It has been a four-cornered struggle, with the people of Texas, rather more anxious

than otherwise, for a "most justifiable provocation in Cortinas and the banditti, who at Matamoras has encouraged directed. The two national governments endeavored to keep the other bounds.

It looked a few weeks since States would be compelled to act on Mexican territory, were quietly made for the troops, and a vessel of war was in the mouth of the Rio Grande, because the American side of the river was patrolled by steam launchers, when there was a proclamation from the Governor of Texas would command on the Executive for suppressing invasion and the Mexican Government was solving the problem, by the capture of Cortinas at Matamoras and his imprisonment on a gunboat in Mexico for trial. Our vigilance slackened, and the measures wisely taken from the Texans on every occasion, that it is probable, to embroil the two Republics. We shall be found on Mexico ever necessary, only to aid to suppress the lawless men as much the enemies of Mexico.

... The country is to be the successful outcome so negotiations for the surrender of the "so-called" claimed by the certain portions of Nebraska of hunting in the Northern Republican valley. Nothing recently that so pointedly showed the Indian peace policy. The men of Ogalalla and Brulé Sioux is to be expended in the purchase of agricultural tools, cows and other things. The action showed that the elder peace policy, and that in the past they had controlled their tribes. There is a probability that the Black Hills are full of them as may be found va-

purposes, will be successfully negotiated. There is no longer any danger of a general Indian outbreak. The frontier maxim that it is cheaper to feed than fight, has been fully justified. The Executive has ordered a thorough investigation into the charges relative to the Indian Territory against contractors for Indian supplies, and others. The facts that are being brought to light, showing the bad working of the contract system in connection with such matters, in the postal service, and construction of public buildings, are evidences of the truth of a statement often made—that a government is best served when it serves itself. Under the old army policy, the Western posts, etc., were furnished by trains equipped direct by the Quartermaster's department. There is always so large a margin of profit in contracts, taking them on the most moderate scale, that contractors are readily banded into "rings," and corruption funds can be easily raised to continue and enlarge the system. It is a legacy of, and distinct issue from, Democratic traditions, which teach and practice that nothing should be done by government that can be done by individuals. There will probably be striking illustrations of this view, in an attack upon the Government printing at Washington, through the Democratic House in the next Congress. That establishment costs about two millions annually. The same amount of work done by private parties under the contract system would cost at least five millions, and probably more.

... The Treasury officials are steadily pushing the work of investigation into the whisky frauds, with a view to speedy trial of the offenders. The agents of the "whisky ring" appear just now to be busily engaged in getting up a counter-fire of charges against officials and others who were instrumental in breaking the frauds. These rumors assail high officials, and one of them is aimed at the Secretary himself, accusing him of raiding only those places that in the manufacture of whisky, competed with the distillers of his own State. The public will know how to appreciate these libels, by the source from which they come. It is well to hesitate long over charges made by exposed and almost self-convicted felons. Secretary Bristow will

see that the rumors in circulation, affecting the integrity of officials under him are fully probed, and their truth or falsehood made clear.

... The Board charged with the Centennial presentation of the National Departments and the workings of Government under them, have finally concluded to construct a building in the Centennial Exposition Grounds for that purpose. The cost of the building is to be \$75,000, and the design adopted is architecturally elegant and appropriate. Why should not the several States follow the General Government and construct around its building, as a focal centre, structures in which to display the natural products of their soil, mines, quarries, forests and waterways, as well as statistical and other proofs of State condition and advancement. It might easily be arranged so that several States, if not willing to undertake the construction of separate structures, could combine and exhibit under one roof. Think what a display the States of California, Oregon and Nevada could make together. Those of New England might do the same. The Cotton States could gather under one roof. Others, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., could well afford separate structures. Of course what would be exhibited therein should and would be strictly confined to the natural products which illustrate the capacity of the State to support life and industry; and to the processes and results that make manifest its administrative ability and progress.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS.

... The "Fourth" was celebrated South and North with general earnestness and heartiness. Two quite notable gatherings were had at Memphis and Atlanta—the orator at the latter place being Alexander H. Stephens, a man who is physically a wonder and intellectually a surprise. His oration is marked by the absence of nearly every objectionable sentiment; even his presentation of "State Rights Constitutionalism" being more than usually moderate, and certainly less offensive than formerly. There are two distinct philosophies of sovereignty in this country—that of the Nation and that of the States as joined in a Confederation, or to use a word much less offensive from its memories

and more distinctly representing the general idea—a Federation. THE NATION is almost modern as a distinct growth of political life. In mediæval and ancient history but faint traces are found of such a collective entity. The City, the State, the Sovereign, and later, the Confederation in various forms, have each asserted their place in the life of the race. But NATIONALITY could not really exist until THE PEOPLE were recognized. Their recognition, with consequent assumption of power, created THE NATION in the sense we know and understand the term. Only from the birth of the American Republic can be dated that of the National idea. Only from the defeat of that sectionalism which cast its all upon the hazard of a die, and that, civil war, have we fully realized that THE NATION exists. It will not be long, as years count in the greater epochs, before the whole body of political thinkers will fully recognize that under Republican forms of government, a Federal nation can be strong in itself, a terror to foes, vigorous at home, vigilant in defence of rights, active in prosecuting and securing them to all, while at the same time self-government is localized, and all State administrations and privileges are carefully sustained and conserved. Political philosophers, like Mr. Stephens, are deeply imbued with classic lore, and draw their illustrations and comparisons in the main from the political history of Greece, whose petty States were always so brawlingly disposed to assert their sovereignties as against others, while at home they were quite indifferent to the civic rights of those who lived under them. Privileges they contended for; rights, never. In later eras, comparisons are made with the lusty municipalities and free cities of the middle ages. None of these afford more than isolated data for the modern era. But speculation aside, the People will settle the theorists as well as decide the theories, the outcome being as in 1861-'65, that THE NATION will continue to chrystalize itself more and more year by year, while the discussions and dissertations in which Mr. Stephens and his school indulge, may hereafter be of material advantage in checking undue tendency to the centralization of power, by keeping alive State and local integrity and activity.

The celebration at Memphis by the colored citizens, and worthy by the speeches of the Generals, Forrest and Pillow, oration being in especial good advice he gave was, in general, sensible. Exception could be taken at suggestion that, as citizens, the organizations and vote *only* of candidates. This is doubtless a matter that the old leaders would not wish for. It would give rise to party wranglings, and ensure uncheckered because they monopolize all matter, but because of disintegrated publican ranks.

... Passing these and noting incidents which the month presents it will be remembered that this was a Centennial anniversary of significance. The Continental Congress met for the first time in 1774 session. Provincial Congresses were organized, and with the Congress these bodies were in their several places of meeting on the Fourth of July, 1775. It was that month, two days after, the Continental Congress set forth its causes and necessity of taking up arms, ending with this declaration, person :

"We have not raised armies with intent to draw blood from Great Britain and dependent States. Necessity has not urged that desperate measure. We are not the spectacle of a people attacking their enemies, without any imputation of offence. In our native land, to do violence that is our birthright, for the property against violence actually taken up arms. We shall lay them down, and shall cease on the part of them all danger of their being renewed and not before."

These declarations and demands for peace, did not stay the inevitable loyalty to the King and his measures. It main aimed that it was only the rights of all Englishmen, in reference to the five measures. The Acts of which it was declared "As not submit" were—1. The Stamp Act; 2. The Townshend Acts; 3. The Tea Act; 4. The Townshend Acts; 5. The Tea Act;

the trial in Great Britain of offences in America; 6. The Boston Port Bill; 7. The Quebec Act; 8. The Act for regulating the Government of Massachusetts; 9. The Act suspending the New York Legislature.

Important events occurred before the anti-natal Fourth now referred to. The battle of Lexington had been fought on the 19th of April; Ticonderoga had been captured May 12; and the action of Bunker Hill had occurred June 17. The second General Congress had assembled on the 10th of May. Washington had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American forces; he had arrived at Watertown, Mass., July 2; had been cordially received by the Massachusetts Congress, and subsequently at Cambridge, July 3, assumed command of the Continental Army. This anniversary was appropriately celebrated in the city where the event occurred.

STATE CONVENTIONS—POLITICAL.

... The Wisconsin Republican Convention met at Madison on the 7th of July. The following ticket was placed in nomination:

For Governor—Harris Luddington; *Lieutenant-Governor*—H. T. Eaton; *Secretary of State*—H. B. Warner; *Treasurer*—Henry Baltz; *Attorney-General*—John R. Bennett; *Superintendent of Public Instruction*—Robert Graham.

The candidate for Governor is a prominent citizen of Milwaukee, a merchant, and very popular. He has been elected to the mayoralty by a large majority. The proceedings were animated and harmonious. The platform adopted renews pledges to the Union and the Federal sovereignty; declares the just rights of the States not incompatible with this sovereignty; maintains the equal rights of all citizens, and regards labor as entitled in a high degree to the protection of government; opposes religious or other interferences with the school system; endorses the President's letter declining a re-nomination; approves the Republican administration, especially in its earnest efforts to collect the revenue, prevent and punish fraud, expose past violations and guard against their recurrence; adheres to the doctrine of legislative control of railroads and other corporations, inaugurated by the Republican party of the State; favors the

early attainment of a currency convertible into coin, and therefore a gradual resumption of specie payments in such manner as to disturb the business interests of the country as little as possible; declares for a tariff for revenue only, so adjusted as to be the least burdensome and most favorable to the interests of industry; asserts the Republican party will continue by all the means in the power of the State to encourage immigration and thereby develop the resources and promote the prosperity of the nation, and holds that true education and sound morals are the best agencies for promoting the laudable cause of temperance.

... The Minnesota Democrats met in convention at St. Paul, on the 7th ult.

For Governor—D. L. Buell; *Lieutenant-Governor*—E. W. Durant; *Secretary of State*—Adolphus Bierman; *State Auditor*—M. Doran; *State Treasurer*—Albert Schaeffer; *Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*—L. Emmett; *Railroad Commissioner*—J. W. Sercherbox; *Attorney General*—R. Jones.

The platform reads like a transposition of those adopted by the Republican conventions which have so far met and adjourned. Its only Democratic features are denunciations of the administration and the party by which it is sustained. Like the Democracy of Kentucky, Maine, California and Iowa, that of Minnesota repudiates the financial policy of the Ohio platform, in declaring for a speedy resumption of specie payments.

... The temperance politicians have nominated the following State ticket in Minnesota:

For Governor—R. F. Humiston; *Lieutenant Governor*—J. B. Tuttle; *Secretary of State*—John H. Stevens; *Chief Justice*—Sherman Page; *Attorney General*—G. M. McCarthy; *Auditor*—Asa B. Hutchinson; *Treasurer*—H. D. Brown; *Clerk of Supreme Court*—P. A. Jewell; *Railroad Commissioner*—A. M. Greely.

This platform declares, besides its temperance planks, that corrupt parties *must die*, and make way for new parties. Removal from office for mere difference of political opinion is a practice opposed to sound policy and just principles. Fixed and moderate salaries with competency and sobriety should be the official rule. President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be selected by a direct vote of the people.

The currency should be appreciated to a gold standard, and a sound system only be tolerated. All abuses in transportation management, excessive rates, and unjust local discriminations should be opposed and checked by law. That an absolute public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties and an equitable assessment on the property and legitimate business.

The New York Prohibitionists have also nominated a State Ticket, as follows:

For Secretary, C. D. Dusenbery; Comptroller, Anson A. Hopkins; Treasurer, Stephen B. Ayers; State Engineer and Surveyor, Geo. A. Dudley; Canal Commissioner, Ira D. Bell; State Prison Inspector, John B. Gibb; Attorney General, Ed. T. Marsh.

... The Democratic Liberal nominations in Iowa are as follows:

For Governor, Shepard Leffler; Lieutenant-Governor, Capt. E. B. Woodward; Judge of the Supreme Court, W. J. Knight; Superintendent of Public Instruction, A. R. Wright.

EDUCATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND MEETINGS.

... An important body met at Chattanooga on the 30th of June and the 1st of July. It was called as an Inter-State Educational Convention, by the State Teachers' Association of Tennessee. Representatives of seven States were present, and the condition of education was discussed. Among the more prominent educators present were Mr. Harris, of St. Louis, and the State Superintendents of several States.

EDUCATIONAL.

... The college commencement orations, during the past month have been marked with an unusual degree of attention to the "higher politics." General Preston at the University of Virginia, however, managed to lower the tone and to let in a blast from the pandemonium of sectional hatreds and discord. President Woolsey, at Yale, Charles Francis Adams, at Amherst, and the President of the Industrial University, of Illinois, were among the more conspicuous of those who "improved" the occasion to point out that "Democracy is a failure;" for such, in fact, is the general burden of all their utterances, veiled under whatever euphony of expression it may. Like other critics, less able, perhaps, or less inclined to give a fair judgment, they fall into the error of attribut-

ing to the Republican institutions the evils which transmitted from the old forms of class, caste, privilege, and oppression, have not been as yet overcome by the revivifying processes that belong to new conditions. Democracy has not rounded its first fair century, but the critics pile accusingly on its broad shoulders all the vileness of ignorance and deformity inherited from the thousand years in which feudalism ran its race. President Woolsey's accusation is the most serious. He argues that honor is a characteristic of aristocratic politics, and that ours are marked conspicuously by its absence. His illustrations are often pointed, but he fails to see that the source of the low tone whereof he speaks, is found far more in unequitable and demoralizing business methods which aim to found wealth on speculation, rather than on industry and production, than it is in politics itself. The class of whom the venerable doctor is a chief representative—scholars and thinkers of more or less importance, are also to blame, in that they too often shirk their public duties, or when they perform them, do so as cavillers and patrons, rather than servants and citizens.

... General John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, also delivered a notable address before the Board of University Regents of New York, in which he stated with precision the functions of his Bureau, as an exchange for and disseminator of educational facts. He presented a startling array of facts in regard to the sum total of our illiteracy. General Eaton stated, that during the five years from July, 1870, till the present time, the Bureau of Education has prepared five annual reports (including that for 1874 now going through the press), which number altogether 4,500 pages, and twenty-nine pamphlets numbering 1,870 pages, so that the material for the five years is nearly 6,400 octavo pages. Up to the end of the last year it had distributed about 20,000 volumes and 85,000 pamphlets of its publications; 83,000 volumes of its publications were or had been under the control of Congress, and 2,500 copies of one of the reports were printed for sale by the Congressional Printer under a resolution of Congress. Since January the office had published 50,500 pamphlets, and 50,000 more will be issued very soon.

UNITED STATES SENATE—FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

STATES.	SENATORS.	Expiration of Terms.		
		March 3d, 1877.	March 3d, 1879.	March 3d, 1881.
Alabama	{ George Spencer .....	.....	1 R	.....
	{ George Goldthwaite	1 D	.....	.....
†Arkansas	{ Powell Clayton	2 R	.....	.....
	{ Stephen W. Dorsey .....	.....	2 R	.....
†California	{ Aaron A. Sargent .....	.....	3 R	.....
	{ Newton Booth .....	.....	.....	1 D
Connecticut	{ Orrin S. Ferry .....	.....	4 R	.....
	{ William W. Eaton .....	.....	.....	2 D
Delaware	{ Thomas Francis Bayard .....	.....	.....	3 D
	{ Eli Saulsbury	3 D	.....	.....
Florida	{ Simon B. Conover .....	.....	5 R	.....
	{ Charles W. Jones .....	.....	.....	4 D
Georgia	{ Thomas Manson Norwood	4 D	.....	.....
	{ John B. Gordon .....	.....	6 D	.....
Illinois	{ John A. Logan	5 R	.....	.....
	{ Richard J. Oglesby .....	.....	7 R	.....
Indiana	{ Oliver P. Morton .....	.....	8 R	.....
	{ Joseph E. McDonald .....	.....	.....	5 D
*Iowa	{ George G. Wright	6 R	.....	.....
	{ William B. Allison .....	.....	9 R	.....
*Kansas	{ John James Ingalls .....	.....	10 R	.....
	{ James M. Harvey	7 R	.....	.....
*Kentucky	{ John W. Stevenson	8 D	.....	.....
	{ Thomas C. McCreery .....	.....	11 D	.....
Louisiana	{ R. West	9 R	.....	.....
	{ †Contested .....	.....	12 R	.....
*Maine	{ Hannibal Hamlin .....	.....	.....	6 R
	{ Lot. M. Morrill	10 R	.....	.....
†Maryland	{ George R. Dennis .....	.....	13 D	.....
	{ W. Pinckney Whyte .....	.....	.....	7 D
†Massachusetts	{ George S. Boutwell	11 R	.....	.....
	{ Henry L. Dawes .....	.....	.....	8 R
Michigan	{ Thomas W. Ferry	12 R	.....	.....
	{ Isaac P. Christiancy .....	.....	.....	9 R
†Minnesota	{ William Windom	13 R	.....	.....
	{ J. B. McMillan .....	.....	.....	10 R
†Mississippi	{ James L. Alcorn	14 R	.....	.....
	{ B. K. Bruce .....	.....	.....	11 R
†Missouri	{ Lewis V. Bogy .....	.....	14 D	.....
	{ Francis M. Cockrell .....	.....	.....	12 D

THE SENATE AND PENDING ELECTIONS.

[SEE TABLES ON PRECEDING PAGES.]

The Senatorial vacancies to be filled by the legislatures that will be in whole or in part elected at the general elections of the present and next year are divided as follows:—*Republicans*—Messrs. Clayton, Logan, Wright, Harvey, West, Morrill (Me.), Bontwell, Ferry (Mich.), Windom, Alcorn, Hitchcock, Cragin, Frelinghuysen, Anthony and Robertson—15; *Democrats*—Messrs. Goldthwaite, Saulsbury, Norwood, Stevenson, Ransom, Kelly, Cooper, Johnston and Davis—9; *Independent*—Hamilton—1, in all 25.

The next vacancies will occur in 1879, and the legislative elections will not take place until 1877 and '78. The Senators whose terms expire are as follows: *Republicans*—Messrs. Spencer, Dorsey, Sargent, Ferry (Conn.), Conover, Oglesby, Morton, Allison, Ingalls, (also the Louisiana Senator when seated), Jones (Nev.), Wadleigh, Conkling, Sherman, Cameron, Mitchell, Patterson and Morrill (Vt.)—18; *Democrats*—Messrs. Gordon, McCreery, Dennis, Bogy and Merriman—5, in all 23.

The last classification of vacancies—that of 1881—will be as follows: *Republicans*—Messrs. Hamlin, Dawes, Christiancy, McMullan, Bruce, Paddock, Sharon, Burnside, Edmunds and Cameron (Wis.)—10; *Democrats*—Messrs. Eaton, Bayard, Jones (Fla.), McDonald, Whyte, Cockrell, Randolph, Kernan, Thurman, Wallace, Johnson, Maxey, Withers and Caperton—14; *Independent*—Booth—1, in all 25.

Of the first batch of vacancies, four of the outgoing Republicans are from Southern States—Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. The two last will certainly elect Republicans; Louisiana the same, and the first named a Democrat, in all probability. Six others, all from Western States—Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Michigan, and Minnesota. They will doubtless be re-elected or replaced by members of the same party. The other Republican vacancies are from Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. The first two and the last named seats will be refilled by Republicans, and the probabilities are strongly in favor of the same result in the Granite State and New Jersey.

Among the Democratic vacancies, and that of Mr. Hamilton, Texas, Oregon is the only

Western or Northern State represented. The others are Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia. Alabama and North Carolina, which have both been Republican States and by fair majorities, seem now to be entirely under Democratic control. So with the two Virginias. Alabama ought to be redeemed, and probably will be at the coming Presidential election. Fair expectations are held out in Oregon for Republican success. But it will be safer to count Alabama and Oregon as doubtful and the others as Democratic.

The following States are those in which the executive chair is to be filled at the elections of the present year; California, Kentucky, Ohio, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Maryland and Maine—9. Of these all but Kentucky, Ohio and Maryland, are now Republican States. Ohio will be so after the next election, it is confidentially expected.

In addition to the more important national results, flowing from general elections in nineteen States—of twenty-five Senators, the character of whose seats are to be most directly affected, and of nine Governors to be elected, there are also to be elected four Representatives in Congress from California, and six from Mississippi. These ten seats were filled in the last Congress by seven Republicans, one Democrat and one Independent. The probability is that there will be no marked change, unless by the California Independent, writing himself Republican hereafter.

In addition to the regular elections for Representatives in Congress, referred to, there are several vacancies in other States caused by the decease of those originally elected. One of these is in the first district of Massachusetts, to fill the seat so long and honorably occupied by Mr. Buffington. In New York, the thirty-third district is vacant, Hon. A. F. Allen, Democrat, having died since the adjournment of the 43d Congress. Vacancies exist also in Pennsylvania, Oregon and Tennessee. These facts show the grave importance of the elections this year, and should arouse every one to the utmost activity.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President has appointed Charles S. Douglas, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Consul at Puerto Plata, San Domingo.

William C. Nichols, Assistant Treasurer of the United States at Chicago, Illinois.

Frederick E. Grossman, Collector of Customs for the District of Fernandina, Florida.

John Taffe, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of the Territory of Colorado.

John R. Clark, of Nebraska, to be Surveyor General of the United States for the District of Nebraska and Iowa, vice E. Cunningham, resigned.

H. M. Keyser, of Illinois, to be Receiver of Public Moneys at Helena, Montana, vice J. L. Sheridan, declined.

Thomas A. Riley, of Pennsylvania, Agent for the Indians of White River Agency in Dakota.

Charles D. Bradley, Attorney for the United States for the Territory of Colorado.

A. Chee, interpreter to the United States Consul at Hong Kong, China.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

CHIEFS OF BUREAUS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

The President has signed the commissions of the following named persons, to be Chiefs of Bureaus in the Department of State:

Charles Payson, Statistics; Ferdinand Jefferson, Rolls and Library; Robert C. Morgan, Accounts; Arthur B. Wood, Consular; Henry D. J. Pratt, Diplomatic; John H. Haswell, Indexes and Archives, and Henry L. Thomas, Translator.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE PAYMENT OF INTEREST ON REGISTERED BONDS OF THE UNITED STATES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, June 26, 1875.

Hereafter, at the expiration of *seven months* from the time each schedule is payable, the United States Treasurer, assistant treasurers,

and designated depositaries are directed to forward to the First Auditor, for examination and settlement, any and all schedules for the payment of coin interest on the registered bonds of the United States.

Should any amounts remain due on these schedules, transcripts of such amounts, the names of the payees, &c., should be made and retained in the respective offices.

The total amount so outstanding and unpaid must be paid at once into the Treasury, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, as a "repayment on account of interest on registered bonds," and the original certificate of deposit with the amount pertaining to each loan stated thereon, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury. The fact of such repayment must be noted on the retained transcript as well as opposite each amount outstanding and unpaid upon the original schedule returned to the department.

If claims are hereafter made upon such officers for the outstanding amounts, the officers will refer the claims to the Secretary of the Treasury, noting on them the date of the original schedule, the date of the repayment of the amount into the Treasury, and endorsing upon the retained transcript the date of such reference to the Secretary of the Treasury.

The provisions of this Circular are intended to apply to all registered interest accounts hereafter rendered.

B. H. BRISTOW,
Secretary of the Treasury.

CIRCULAR INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICERS OF CUSTOMS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 23, 1875.

In the receipt of silver and minor coins of the United States for payment of duties on imports, the following instructions will hereafter be observed by officers of the customs:

Silver Coins.—1. When the total amount of duties in any one entry cannot be paid entirely in gold coin, gold certificates, or demand notes, because involving a fractional part of a dollar, such fractional part may be paid in silver coins of the United States.

2. When the total amount of duties, payable in any one entry, does not exceed five dollars, such total amount may be paid in silver coins of the United States.

Minor Coins.—Minor coins of the United States—i. e., those not of gold or silver coinage, may be received when necessary in making change to any amount less than ten cents in any single transaction.

CHAS. F. CONANT, Acting Secretary.

SUPPLEMENT TO DECISION NO. 177—CONCERNING THE STAMP TAX UPON DRAFTS, BILLS, CHECKS, OR ORDERS DRAWN IN THE UNITED STATES UPON A BANK, BANKER OR TRUST COMPANY IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY.

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, June 30, 1875.**

In Decision No. 177, dated April 12, 1875, "concerning the stamp tax upon bank checks, drafts, orders, or vouchers," &c., it was held that "drafts or bills drawn in the United States upon a foreign country need not be stamped, not being 'vouchers' in the meaning of the law while in this country." That ruling is, from and after this date, reversed.

The statute in question, section 15 of the act of February 8, 1875, imposes the stamp tax of two cents upon every "bank check, draft, order, or voucher for the payment of any sum of money whatsoever, drawn upon any bank, banker, or trust company."

Drafts, bills, checks, or orders drawn in the United States on a bank, banker, or trust company in a foreign country, although perhaps not "vouchers" while in this country, appear to me to be clearly taxable under the terms of the statute. They are drafts, check, or orders drawn upon a bank, banker, or trust company, and there is nothing in the law limiting to this country the locality of the bank, &c., upon which the paper is drawn.

Collectors will at once notify the banks, bankers, and trust companies in their several districts of this change of ruling, and will require the payment of the stamp tax on the instruments referred to, from and after this date.

**D. D. PRATT,
Commissioner.**

CHANGES AND APPOINTMENTS UNDER THE RE ORGANIZATION BILL.

The act of the last session of Congress, reorganizing the United States Treasury, went into operation on the 1st of July. The bill reduces the clerical force about one hundred and five, and increases the salaries of those holding the more responsible positions. The following are the changes and appointments made:

Chief of Division of Warrants—J. S. Powers.

Assistant Chief of Division—W. F. McLennan, vice Whiting, reduced.

Chiefs of Divisions—William F. Clark, customs; P. K. Upton, sub-Treasury; E. P.

Gaines, Internal Revenue; A. L. Sturdevant, Stationery; D. Lyman, Navigation; S. J. Kimball, Revenue Marine.

Assistant Chiefs of Divisions—E. B. Daskam, S. A. Johnson, Charles Lyman, D. B. Lander and E. W. Clarke, Jr.

Division of Loans—Walter Stewart, Receiving Clerk of Bonds, and George L. Warren, bookkeeper.

Division of Currency—Isaac Thompson, Chief, and Charles H. Brown, Assistant.

First Auditor's Office—Thaddeus Sturgis, William P. Marsh, John B. Bently and Allen F. McMillan, Chiefs of Divisions; James B. Cleveland, Fourth Class.

Third Auditor's Office—J. F. Jones, J. Tichenor, A. Cauldwell, George Doolittle and W. H. Whitney, Chiefs of Division.

DEPUTIES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

William P. Titcomb, Deputy Register of the Treasury.

Henry A. Lockwood, Deputy Commissioner of Customs.

W. M. Hemphill Jones, Deputy First Controller.

Edmund B. Curtis, Deputy Second Controller.

Henry K. Leaver, Deputy First Auditor.

Charles F. Herring, Deputy Second Auditor.

Allen M. Gangewer, Deputy Third Auditor.

William B. Moore, Deputy Fourth Auditor.

Jonathan B. Mann, Deputy Fifth Auditor.

Frederick B. Lilley, Deputy Auditor of the Treasury for the Post-office Department.

REDEMPTION OF 5-20 BONDS.

The Secretary of the Treasury, on the 24th of June, made the twenty-first call of 5-20 bonds for redemption. The call is for \$5,000,000 of coupon bonds, known as the fourth series, Act of February 25, 1862, dated May 1, 1862, as follows:

\$50—No. 21001 to No. 21700, inclusive.

\$100—No. 59101 to No. 64500, inclusive.

\$500—No. 31901 to No. 34000, inclusive.

\$1,000—No. 91501 to No. 96900, inclusive.

To be redeemed at the U. S. Treasury, in Washington, on and after September 24, 1875, at which date interest on the called bonds will cease.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

OUTSTANDING NATIONAL BANK NOTES.

The following statement represents the actual amount of outstanding National Bank notes on July 1, last, as compared with the amount outstanding last year, and shows the operation of the new Currency act:

National Bank notes outstanding June 20, 1874, \$349,894,182; National Bank notes outstanding January 14, 1875 \$351,861,450; national bank notes outstanding July 1, 1875, \$351,869,008; circulation issued since act of June 20, 1874, \$11,601,892; circulation destroyed and retired, \$9,627,066; actual increase of circulation, \$1,974,824; legal-tender notes deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, since June 20, 1874, for the purpose of retiring National Bank circulation, \$25,523,057; balance of deposits of banks in liquidation previous to that date, \$3,813,675, making \$29,336,732—less circulation retired and destroyed, \$9,627,066—leaving, July 1, legal tenders now deposited with the Treasurer by banks retiring their circulation, \$19,709,666; legal-tender notes withdrawn from circulation, being eighty per centum upon \$7,785,525 additional circulation issued under the act of January 14, 1875, \$6,228,420.

LEGAL-TENDERS—ADDITIONAL CIRCULATION ISSUED.

The Comptroller of the Currency reports the amount of additional circulation issued during the month of June at \$1,315,525. The amount of legal tender notes deposited during the same period, \$3,009,626. Additional circulation issued since the passage of the act of June 20, 1874, \$11,601,892. Amount of circulation destroyed and retired during the same time, \$9,627,066, showing the actual increase of Bank circulation during the year of \$1,978,826.

Amount of legal-tender notes deposited for the purpose of retiring the circulation since the passage of the same act, \$25,523,057, and amount deposited by banks in liquidation previous to that date, \$3,813,675, making a total of \$29,336,732.

Deducting from this the amount of \$9,627,066, the amount of circulation permanently retired will leave \$1,976,766 legal-tender

notes on deposit July 1, for retiring the circulation.

REDEMPTION OF N.

The total amount of National Bank notes redeemed and assorted at Redemption Agency during June 30, is \$130,321,943. \$115,119,445 consisted of circulation, which were delivered to the Comptroller of the Currency for replacement with new notes. The remainder were notes fit for circulation and were forwarded by express to the Banks by which they were issued.

RETIRING FRACTIONAL

Under the act of July 1, 1875, for the resumption of specie payments, the Treasury Department has \$10,000,000 of the bonds of the United States, authorized by the act, and with the proceeds has \$9,000,000 in silver for the purpose of retiring the fractional currency.

RETIREMENT OF FIVE-

The Comptroller of the Currency reports that to retire all circulating notes of five dollars of the United States, the notes of that denomination successfully counterfeited and Traders' National Bank, National Bank, Paxton, Bank, Canton, Ill. National Bank, out the country are required to send notes of these banks of five dollars to the Treasury and no additional issue of five dollar notes will hereafter be issued.

EXPRESS CHARGES FOR CURRENCY.

Adams Express Company has been engaged in carrying currency for the Treasury Department the National Bank of Washington to the various institutions throughout the country as is sent here by the Banks. Their charge for carrying currency is at the rate of twenty-five cents per dollar. They now declare that it is too great to permit them to continue in the business at that rate and accordingly demand

\$1,000, which they state is half brokers' rates. They have notified the Secretary of the Treasury that after the 5th of August, thirty days from date of notification, they will make their charge for carriage at the increased prices mentioned. As the daily receipts of National Bank notes exceeds at times a million dollars, the proposed change becomes an important question to the National Banks.

TREASURY DECISIONS—DUTIABLE ARTICLES INTRODUCED THROUGH THE MAILS—THE ADMISSION OF WORKS OF ART.

In a letter dated June 29, Secretary Bristow says:

"I may add that the importation of valuable articles into the United States by means of newspapers or letters through the mails, has no sanction in law, and if attempted with intent to evade the payment of duties subjects the articles to forfeiture, and parties making such attempt, or knowingly receiving such articles, to prosecution for penalties provided by law."

The provision in the free list for the admission of works of art, the production of American artists, is held not to include copies of such productions, unless such copies are actually made by American artists; nor does the mere importation by artists suffice to give such copies the character of productions of an American artist, which alone entitles them to free entry.

INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS OF 1874 AND 1875 COMPARED.

The following detailed statement shows the aggregate of certificates of deposit received at the Treasury Department from internal revenue during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1875, as compared with receipts from the same source during the year ended June 30, 1874:

Month	1874.	1875
July	\$8,818,094.21	\$9,460,940.42
August	8,525,057.20	8,501,784.85
September ...	8,803,070.95	8,569,017.42
October	6,923,462.10	9,209,513.98
November.....	6,713,577.79	8,610,855.84
December.....	8,067,050.56	8,893,461.14
January	9,698,292.52	8,700,134.70
February	8,104,171.55	12,614,454.07
March	7,781,713.63	8,244,221.83
April	8,411,241.50	7,022,304.92
May	11,326,333.04	11,450,274.13
June	9,189,602.05	8,426,092.65
Total.....	\$102,361,577.10	\$109,788,058.95

THE WHISKY FRAUDS—SEIZURES—PROSECUTIONS.

The result of the late raid on illicit whisky is thus summarized by the Internal Revenue Department:

"Amount of money assessed against distillers, \$317,000; fines assessed against rectifiers, \$347,000; number of distilleries and rectifying houses seized, 47; seizures of illicit whisky in hands of dealers other than distillers and rectifiers, 152. It is estimated that the expense of trial will average \$100 to each case, \$20 of which will probably go to the district attorneys. If successful the other \$80 in each case will have to be paid by defendants.

"In all cases where packages have been seized in the hands of dealers, conviction may not be secured, but in the cases of distillers and rectifiers the evidence in possession of the Government is abundant and convincing. The dealers claim the illicit packages found in their possession were purchased in the usual manner; that they contained all the outward marks of being lawful merchandize; and that there was no purpose on their part to defraud the Government. The number of officers dismissed in consequence of the revelations made, is 66. Of these 40 were gaugers, 13 storekeepers, 4 revenue agents, 3 collectors, 2 deputy collectors, 2 supervisors, and 2 district attorneys.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

The merchandise and specie imports and exports for April and May, as furnished by the Statistical Bureau, are as follows:

MERCHANDIZE.

Imports—specie value:

April.....	\$43,582,377
May	48,521,033

Exports, domestic goods, specie value:

April.....	\$38,510,104
May	36,289,474

Exports, foreign goods, specie value:

April.....	\$1,074,778
May	1,208,099

Total exports, domestic and foreign goods:

April.....	\$39,584,882
May	37,497,573

GOLD AND SILVER.

Imports, coin and bullion, specie value:

April.....	\$2,450,186
May	1,209,579

Exports, domestic coin and bullion, specie value:

April.....	\$5,179,503
May	8,832,538

Exports, domestic and foreign, specie value :
 April..... \$6,767,533
 May... :..... 10,125,128

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION.

From returns made to the Bureau of Statistics it appears that there arrived at the port of New York during the month of June, 1875, 13,989 immigrants, of whom 7,651 were males, and 6,338 females. During the month of June, 1874, there arrived at the same port 20,602 immigrants, of whom 11,547 were males, and 9,055 females. For the three months ended June 30, 1875, 45,566 immigrants arrived in New York, of whom 25,635 were males, and 19,931 females. For the corresponding period of 1874 the number of arrivals was 68,955, showing a decrease of 23,389 in 1875. Of the total number arrived during the month of June, 1875, 3,264 came from Germany ; 2,192 from Ireland, and 2,246 from England.

ACTUAL BANK-NOTE CIRCULATION.

The following is from the *Memphis, Tenn., Appeal*.

The *Chicago Times* calls attention to the fact that the national bank notes outstanding amount to \$319,282,309 and that the bonds deposited to secure them amount to only \$275,735,500. As the law requires that notes shall not be issued beyond ninety per cent. of the bonds deposited to secure them, the amount of bonds necessary to secure the reported circulation is \$354,668,889. It follows, therefore, that the circulation is reported greater than it really is, or that the amount of security bonds is reported less, or that the bonds deposited are \$12,350,288 less than the law requires. Here we have one of the mysteries of the treasury book-keeping; and it is no creature up at all by the statement published by Comptroller Knox, about the middle of last month, that the bank circulation had been contracted nearly \$16,000,000. under the act of June, 1874, which would bring the total bank circulation down to about \$333,000,000. The public would thank Mr Knox to state the exact truth of the matter, if he knows or can find out what it is.

Many of the charges of the newspaper press, made against the Bureaus of the United States Treasury, grow out of typographical errors of the press. In the above the first line of figures, as given in the *Appeal*, (\$319,282,309), was reported from the Comptroller's office \$349,282,309, and should have been so printed. This error of the press makes a difference of \$30,000,000.

The official report of the actual bank-note circulation on the 1st July, 1875, is as follows :

Amount of circulation actually outstanding, July 1, 1875.....	\$346,393,869
Amount due banks for mutilated circulation returned.....	5,475,139
National bank circulation.....	\$351,869,008

This circulation is secured by

1. U. S. bonds amounting to.....	\$376,314,500
90 per cent. upon which circulation is issued, equal to.....	338,683,150
2. Legal-tenders deposited with the Treasurer U. S. for insolvent and liquidating banks..	6,319,652
And for banks reducing their circulation.....	13,390,015
	<u>\$3 8,392,817</u>

Making an excess of security of \$6,523,809, besides the 10 per cent. margin on \$376,314,500 U. S. bonds, which is \$37,631,400, and the premium which the same bonds would bring in the market, ranging from 116 to 121½. This is official, and "the exact truth" called for. It will therefore be seen that the *Chicago Times* and *Memphis Appeal* are entirely in error in the statement that the outstanding national bank circulation is greater than the security for the same.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIANS—CIRCULAR TO AGENTS—SERVICES OF SPECIAL ATTORNEYS OR AGENTS OF THE TRIBES TO BE DISPENSED WITH.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1875.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has issued the following circular to Indian agents :—

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1875.

SIR:—Owing to the unnecessary expense and confusion and the not infrequent fraudulent practices which are liable to arise from the employment of attorneys and agents by the Indians for the presentation of their wishes and the prosecution of their tribal business before the department, hereafter, by the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, no such services on the part of agents or attorneys will be recognized by this Bureau, unless the party proposing to act as agent or attorney for any Indian tribe, shall have first submitted the matter in which he desires to act for the Indians for the consideration of the department, and shall have received specific authority from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, approved by the Secretary of the Interior, to go before said Indians and propose to them to undertake such service in their behalf; and in all cases any conference or negotiation with the Indians by any parties acting under the authority of this regulation must be conducted in open council, called in the usual manner and in the presence of the Indian agent.

You will call the attention of your Indians to this regulation, if any occasion exists among them for so doing; and you will acquaint them fully that it is not the design of

the department, in the regulations hereby established, in any way to hinder the prosecution of their business, but to save them from unnecessary expense and protect them from the designs of evil men; and you will also instruct them that it is the wish of the department that all their business be conducted through their agent. And whenever they have anything which they may desire to communicate to this office, it will be the duty of the agent to transmit such communication, giving full information as to their wishes. E. P. SMITH, Commissioner.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

CONTRACTS FOR NAVY YARD SUPPLIES AWARDED.

The contracts for furnishing supplies to the Navy Yards throughout the country, bids for which were opened recently, have been awarded. Among those who have received contracts are George H. Creed, D. Babcock & Co., William A. Hyatt, Walton Brothers, Degraw, Aymar & Co., J. W. Duryee, and Samuel G. French, of New York; Howard, Snelling & Co., and Gayle & Co., of Boston; R. H. Powell & Co., of Philadelphia; R. H. Hawley, of Chicago; Watson & Pettinger, of Brooklyn; Whittier, Fuller & Co., and Farwell & Co., of San Francisco; and Linforth, Kellogg & Co., of Mare Island, Cal.

THE YELLOW FEVER SCOURGE.

Prominent medical and other officers of the navy who have at various times been in localities afflicted with the yellow fever, and paid some attention to its cause and treatment, express the opinion that it would be wise, as a timely precaution, for all the Southern cities on the Atlantic coast to make and enforce stringent sanitary rules, as the early appearance of the fever at Key West, Fla., is an indication that it may extend along the coast this summer.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

POSTAL CARDS AND STAMPS.

Reports just made by Third Assistant Postmaster General Barbershow that 107,616,000 postal cards were issued during the fiscal year which ended June 30 last, against 91,079,000 issued for the year which ended June 30, 1874. The increase is equivalent to about 18 1-6 per cent., which shows that the postal cards are growing in popular favor.

The value of the issue of ordinary postage stamps during the year ending June 30, 1875, was \$13,271,479, an increase of \$996,237 over the previous year; of newspaper and periodical postage stamps, \$815,902.47; of ordinary stamped envelopes and wrappers, \$4,124,477.34, an increase of \$242,245.58; of postal cards, \$1,076,160; of total issues for sale to the public, \$24,288,018.81, an increase of \$2,219,794.05 over the fiscal year ended June 30, 1874. The sale of official postage stamps for the fiscal year amounted to \$834,970.25, a decrease of \$581,874.95 since June 30, 1874; official stamped envelopes, \$354,522.18, an increase of \$1,065.52 over the year 1874.

U. S. SUPREME COURT.

CONFEDERATE MONEY—SUPREME COURT DECISION—ITS INVALIDITY. IN THE SETTLEMENT OF DEBTS DURING THE WAR.

The Supreme Court, in the case of Catharine Fretz, survivor, etc., against Ralph Stover, executor of Charles Stover et al; an appeal from the Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, has rendered a decision as follows:

"The controversy in this case grows out of a bond executed by Charles Stover to Fretz and wife, on the 8th day of April, 1861, for \$2,366.18, payable on or before the 1st day of March, 1863. The bond was executed in Fauquier county, Va., where Stover lived, and was secured by a deed of trust on land in that county, both of which were delivered to Samuel Chilton, by Stover, on the day of their date. The execution and delivery of these obligations were in pursuance of a settlement made in the preceding month of February at Warrenton, Virginia, by Fretz and Stover of a long-pending litigation. The war of the rebellion ensued soon after the settlement, and all communication ceased, and, indeed, became unlawful between Pennsylvania and Virginia. After the war had closed, on inquiry, it was found that Stover, a short time before the bond matured and in satisfaction of it, had paid to Chilton Virginia bank notes and Confederate paper at their nominal or par value, and got possession of the bond or deed of trust. Naturally, Fretz and wife were dissatisfied with these proceedings, and in repudiation of them they filed their bill in chancery to set up the deed of trust and have it enforced, on the ground that Chilton had no authority to receive payment in such

paper, nor Stover the right to make it. The bill charges actual fraud between Chilton and Stover, in this, that Stover, taking advantage of Chilton's great pecuniary necessities, induced him to receive the paper at par in payment and discharge of the bond.

"Stover filed his answer denying that these payments were the result of an unlawful and fraudulent combination between the respondent and Chilton. He insists, however, that they were in law a full discharge and satisfaction of the debt and trust deed; but, if this were not so, that, to the extent of the compensation due by Fretz and wife to Chilton for professional services, he should not be compelled to pay a second time.

"We are brought directly to the question whether the payments by Charles Stover to Samuel Chilton were, under the circumstances surrounding the parties, of any validity. The decision is that the instructions given to Chilton by his client were not applicable to a state of war, and that his settlement for money current in the Confederacy was void, and that Stover had no right to discharge the debt in anything but legal money of the United States."

Mr. Justice Davis delivered the opinion of the Court.

NEW BOOKS RECEIVED.

[To be reviewed hereafter.]

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS: Comprising the Constitution of each State in the Union, and of the United States, with the Declaration of Independence and Articles of Confederation; each accompanied by a historical introduction and notes, together with a careful analysis of the Constitutions, according to their subjects, showing by comparative arrangement every constitutional provision now in force in the several States; with reference to judicial decisions, and an analytical index; illustrated by carefully engraved *fac-similes* of the great seals of the United States, and of each State and Territory. By Franklin B. Hough. In two volumes, octavo. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1872.

MACREADY'S REMINISCENCES, and selections from his Diary and Letters. Edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., one of his executors. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1875.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By J. R. Green, M. A., Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford. With Maps and Tables. New York: Harper &

Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1875.

OUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR. A Winter in Mexico. By Gilbert Haven. With illustrations and maps. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1875.

MAN AND BEAST. Here and Hereafter. By Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A. Harper & Brothers.

WALTER'S WORD. By James Payn. Paper covers. Harpers.

BLUE BEARD'S KEYS. and other Stories. By Miss Thackeray. Paper covers. Harpers.

We are not prepared to believe that the *Catholic Telegraph* faithfully represents the sentiments of our Catholic fellow citizens, but the following extract from its issue of June 24th, shows how deeply rooted its prejudice is against our common school system:

"Catholics who think they can approve of the secular system of public education which has been adopted in this country, would do well to acquaint themselves with the dogmatic decisions of the Holy See contained in the 47th and 48th propositions of the Syllabus. '*Aut nun us errat Christus*'—'either the world or Christ errs.'* In the Syllabus the Church has explicitly and absolutely condemned education, from which religious instruction has been eliminated. If any Catholic approves of this relic of paganism, he must, as a consequence, hold that the Church has erred, and he has therefore, given his assent to heresy. There is no way in which he can evade this conclusion. No sophistry is strong enough to enable him to pass this deepest of spiritual pitfalls. On this point, as in all other matters of doctrine, he must either be with Christ or against Him. He cannot make a neutral position upon which the condemnation of the Holy See does not fall."

We often hear Thomas Jefferson spoken of as "the father of Democracy." This is true in one sense and false in another. Jefferson's party up to 1816 was known as the Republican party. It was so called by Jefferson, known as such among its followers, and was so styled in all the party calls published during that period. Therefore, correctly speaking, Jefferson was the father of the Republican party. The term, Democracy, was fixed upon Jefferson's party by its opponents in order to create odium against it. After Jefferson's time it became a popular name with the party and was finally adopted by it.

Table showing Capitals of States, Governors and their Salaries, when their Terms Expire, when Legislature Meet and Elections are Held.

States.	Capitals.	Governors.	Salary.	Term Expires.	Legislature Meets.	State Elections.
Alabama.....	Montgomery.....	George S. Houston....	\$1,000	Nov., 1876...	November, 1875...	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Arkansas	Little Rock.....	Augustus H. Garland	3,500	Jan., 1877....	*November, 1876...	First Tuesday after 2d Mon. Nov. '76
California	Sacramento.....	Romuald Pacheco....	7,000	Dec., 1876....	*December, 1875...	First Wednesday in September '75.
Connecticut.....	Hartford & N. Haven...	Chas. R. Ingersoll...	2,000	May, 1876....	May, 1876.....	First Monday in April 1876.....
Delaware.....	Dover.....	John P. Cochran.....	1,333	Jan., 1879....	*January, 1877....	First Tuesday aft. 1st Mon. Nov. '76
Florida.....	Tallahassee.....	Marcellus L. Stearns	3,500	Jan., 1877....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday Nov. 1876
Georgia.....	Atlanta.....	James M. Smith.....	4,000	Jan., 1877....	*January, 1877....	First Wednesday in October 1876...
Illinois.....	Springfield.....	John L. Beveridge....	2,500	Jan., 1877....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday Nov. 1876
Indiana.....	Indianapolis.....	Thos. A. Hendricks....	3,000	Jan., 1877....	*January, 1877....	Second Tuesday in October 1876...
Iowa.....	Des Moines.....	Cyrus C. Carpenter....	2,500	Jan., 1876....	*January, 1876....	Second Tuesday in October 1876...
Kansas.....	Topeka.....	Thos. A. Osborn.....	3,000	Jan., 1877....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday Nov. 1875
Kentucky.....	Frankfort.....	Preston H. Leslie....	5,000	Sept., 1875...	*December, 1875...	First Monday in August 1875....
Louisiana.....	New Orleans.....	Wm Pitt Kellogg....	6,000	Jan., 1877....	January, 1876....	First Monday in November 1876...
Maine.....	Augusta.....	Nelson Dingley, Jr....	2,500	Jan., 1876....	January, 1876....	Second Monday in September 1875.
Maryland.....	Annapolis.....	James B. Groome....	4,500	Jan., 1876....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Massachusetts.....	Boston.....	Wm. Gaston.....	5,000	Jan., 1876....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Michigan.....	Lansing.....	John J. Bagley.....	1,000	Jan., 1877....	*January, 1877....	First Tuesday aft. 1st Mon. Nov. '75
Minnesota.....	St. Paul.....	Cushman K. Davis....	3,000	Jan., 1876....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Mississippi.....	Jackson.....	Adelbert Ames.....	3,000	Jan., 1878....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75
Missouri.....	Jefferson City.....	thos H. Hardin.....	5,000	Jan., 1877....	*December, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Nebraska.....	Lincoln.....	Silas Garber.....	1,200	Jan., 1877....	*January, 1877....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Nevada.....	Carson City.....	Louis R. Bradley....	6,000	Jan., 1877....	*January, 1877....	* 1 76. ...
New Hampshire.....	Concord.....	Person C. Cheney....	1,000	June, 1877....	June, 1876....	1 Nov. '76
New Jersey.....	Trenton.....	Joseph D. Bedle....	3,000	Jan., 1877....	January, 1876....	1876....
New York.....	Albany.....	Samuel J. Tilden....	10,000	Jan., 1877....	*November, 1876....	2 Nov. '75
North Carolina.....	Raleigh.....	Curtis H. Brogden....	5,000	Jan., 1876....	January, 1876....	3 Nov. '75
Ohio.....	Columbus.....	Wm Allen.....	4,000	Jan., 1876....	September, 1876....	1876....
Oregon.....	Salem.....	Lafayette F. Groves..	1,500	Sept., 1878....	January, 1876....	* 6.....
Pennsylvania.....	Harrisburg.....	Jno. F. Hartranft....	5,000	Jan., 1876....	May and Jan., '76.	1 Nov. '75
Rhode Island.....	Newport & Providence.	Henry Lippitt.....	1,000	May, 1876....	*November, 1876....	1876.....
South Carolina.....	Columbia.....	D. H. Chamberlain	4,000	Jan., 1877....	*October, 1875....	2 Nov. '76
Tennessee.....	Nashville.....	James D. Porter, Jr..	3,000	Jan., 1878....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '76
Texas.....	Austin.....	Richard Coke.....	5,000	Jan., 1878....	*October, 1876....	First Tuesday in November, 1875...
Vermont.....	Montpelier.....	Asabel Peck.....	1,000	Oct., 1876....	December, 1875....	First Tuesday in September 1876...
Virginia.....	Richmond.....	James L. Kempner....	5,000	Jan., 1878....	*January, 1877....	First Tuesday aft. 1st Mon in Nov. '75
West Virginia.....	Charleston.....	John J. Jacob.....	2,700	March, 1877..	January, 1876....	Second Tuesday in October 1876....
Wisconsin.....	Madison.....	Wm. R. Taylor.....	5,000	Jan., 1876....	January, 1876....	Tuesday aft. 1st Monday in Nov. '75

Democrats in italics. Independents in small capitals. * Biennial sessions and elections.

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THE DISSEMINATION OF POLITICAL INFORMATION.

Vol. V.—No. 3.

SEPTEMBER, 1875.

Whole No. 31.

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THE REPUBLIC.

Devoted to the Dissemination of Political Information.

VOL. V. WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER, 1875. No. 3.

CAN THE NATION TRUST THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

Can the nation trust Democracy with the administration of the Government? This question has already been answered by the people four times; first in 1860; second in 1864, third in 1868, fourth in 1872. Each time, the answer has been given by overwhelming majorities: "The Democratic party cannot be trusted with the control of the Government!"

Is there anything in the present condition of the country, or the present character of the Democratic party to call for a change of the popular verdict in 1876?

If there is, what is its nature? Have the people become less loyal to the Union, or has Democracy become more loyal? To call for a reversal of the verdict, rendered four times, a radical change must be shown, either in the sentiments of the people, or in the sentiments of the Democratic party. Has this change taken place? If so, when, where, and under what circumstances?

No friend of good Government, who desires peace and unity could for a moment desire the restoration of Democracy to power, if he felt assured that its political principles were the same as those held previous to the rebellion, during its existence and throughout the period of reconstruction.

To believe otherwise, would be to believe that good citizens could be found, who would be willing to reject the party whose wisdom, patriotism, and courage saved the Government, and accept the party whose energies and influence were united in the effort to overthrow it. Fair minded men will agree to the two propositions. First: The man who proves his friendship in the hour of need ought not to be distrusted in the hour

of prosperity. Second: The man who showed his enmity when friendship was needed, has no claim to our confidence when his enmity can no longer injure us. It is possible for a former friend to become an enemy, and an old enemy to become a friend, but the proof of the change must precede the belief that it has actually taken place.

The rule holds good with parties, for parties are but individuals in their collective capacity, and for this reason it may be laid down as a rule, that whatever of sentiment or principle, characterizes individuals, will surely find reflection in the parties with which they affiliate.

Therefore, the practical question for reasonable men to ask and answer is: Is the Democratic party in principle and sentiment, the same as it was in 1861? If it is, then it cannot be trusted to-day. If it is not the same, wherein does it differ? Is the change a radical one, so honestly and earnestly made, as to preclude the possibility of a recurrence of troubles which were met and overcome by the Republican party; troubles which cost the nation hundreds of thousands of lives, and millions of treasure?

Before the people can consider, on equal terms, the restoration of Democracy to power, the proof must be submitted, that a radical change has taken place in its sentiments and principles, its teachings and purposes. The proof must be strong, so clear, that he who runs may read; for on a question of such vital importance to the future welfare of the Republic, the people cannot afford to run any risks. The preservation of the Government has cost them too much to try any political experiments in the management of its affairs.

The people know what the Republican party has done, is now doing, and will do in the future for the country. On the vital question of unity and nationality they are assured that it can be trusted. True in war, they know it cannot prove false in peace. True in the past, they have every reason to believe that it will continue true in the future. Democracy having been false in the past they have the right to demand the strongest guarantee that it will not be, if entrusted with power, false in the future.

Can Democracy give such guarantee? Has it abandoned the fatal doctrine of State Rights as preached by Calhoun, fought for by the Southern Confederacy and practically maintained by the Southern wing of the party today? If on these points, the proof is clear, that a radical change has taken place, then the issue is simply one of administration, turning upon the relative character of men, and not upon the principles which they hold. The result, whatever it might be, would no longer be experimental, for the people would feel assured that a change of administration would not imperil the peace and unity of the nation.

A careful review of the Democratic record, must be convincing to the unprejudiced mind, that no change has taken place in the sentiments of Democracy. What it believed in the days of Buchanan, it advocated in 1860, endorsed in 1864, affirmed in 1868, re-affirmed in 1872, and unless checked in its pretensions by the votes of the American people, it will re-establish through a Democratic Administration in 1876.

DEMOCRACY, THE STATE RIGHTS PARTY.

For the past forty years, the Democratic party has been controlled by men who accepted the fatal doctrine of State Rights, as preached by John C. Calhoun, as the basis of our Federal Union.

Under this doctrine, the State was held to be supreme. The Union was regarded as a mere arrangement for convenience, to be cast aside, whenever it suited the pleasure or interest of a State to so decide.

A State could obey or disobey the laws of the nation, just as it saw fit. The voice of a State convention, could, under this doctrine, place the State outside of the national authority. A simple resolution declaring that the State had withdrawn from the Union was all that was required to transform the part into the whole, or the fraction of a nation into a nation, supreme in its own sovereignty. It was held by the advocates of this State Rights doctrine, that a State, entering the Union of its own free will, could withdraw with equal freedom. In other words one party to a contract, could break it at his pleasure, because he entered it of his own free will.

The fatal heresy of State Rights could have died with the Rebellion. The Southern Confederacy illustrated its full power, and with its overthrow the doctrine itself has been buried from sight forever.

If Northern Democracy had been free of its influence, this would have been the case, but it retained the old poison in its system. It has never been free from it, and to unite with the Bourbon Democracy of the South, it is under the control of Calhounism, and liable, if entrusted with power, to again plunge the country, on some slight pretext, into troubles even greater than those hitherto endured.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD BEFORE THE WAR

Through Democracy, the South, prior to the war, practically controlled the government. It shaped the affairs of the nation to suit its own interest. It filled its important offices at home and abroad. It gave direction to national legislation; it created the policy of the government, and when it could no longer govern, it endeavored to destroy. This statement is a correct one. It has passed into history and cannot be refuted.

Alexander H. Stephens who afterward became the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, delivered a speech against the policy of secession, before the State Convention of Georgia, January, 1861. He said:

"What have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general Government?"

"We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive Department. So, of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North: *although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States*, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution *unfavorable to us*. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of Government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (*pro tem*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, *have always been from the North*, yet we have generally secured the Speaker, *because he to a great extent, shapes and controls the Legislation of the country*. Nor have we had less control

in every other Department of the General Government. Attorney Generals we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign Ministers, we have had eighty-six and they but fifty-four. *While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States*, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies so as to secure the world-markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher officers of both army and navy, while a larger portion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the Executive Department, the records show for the last fifty years that of the three thousand thus employed, *we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have had but one-third of the white population of the Republic.*

"Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest: it is that of revenue, or means of supporting Government. From official documents, we learn that a fraction *over three-fourths of the revenue collected* for the support of Government, has uniformly been raised from the North.

"The expense for the transportation of the mail in the free States was, by the report of the Postmaster-General for the year 1860, a little over \$3,000,000, while the income was \$19,000,000. But in the slave States the transportation of the mail was \$14,716,000, while the revenue from the same was \$8,001,026, leaving a deficit of \$6,704,974, *to be supplied by the North for our accommodation*, and without it we must have been entirely cut off from this most essential branch of the Government."

This, be it remembered, is not the language of a Republican trying to paint a picture for party effect, but the words of the Vice-President of the late Confederacy, who will be accepted as good authority by the most ultra Democrat.

The statement shows clearly:

1st. That the Democratic party before the war was under the control of the South, and used its power to promote Southern interests and ambition at the expense of the North.

2d. It shows that the South had no justification for its attempt to withdraw from the Union.

3d. It proves the fallacy of its pretensions, that it was driven into rebellion by Northern oppression.

4th. It clearly indicates the treasonable nature of the party that preferred to break up a Government that it could no longer control, rather than submit to constitutional authority.

5th. It foreshadows the ascendancy of Southern influence in all departments of the Government under Democratic restoration.

The statement made by Mr. Stephens must convince all who are open to conviction, that the Southern States had no just cause for complaint. The defeat of the State Rights party, and through this defeat, the loss of the controlling power, were the causes which brought about secession.

Long before the election of Abraham Lincoln, the Democratic threat had been made both in the North and the South, that the slave States would not submit to a Republican President. The threat was general throughout the South, and was repeated by Northern leaders on the stump, and by the Democratic press, without a word of protest or condemnation. On the contrary, every encouragement was held out, that the Democrats of the North would not only endorse the threat of secession, but lend material aid in carrying it out.

In December, 1860, Mr. Gregg, one of the delegates to the South Carolina Convention, said:

"If we wish to find the immediate cause of the secession of South Carolina, the immediate cause of all is the election of Abraham Lincoln."

In the same convention Mr. Dargan said:

"It is not true, in point of fact, that all the Northern people are hostile to the rights of the South. *We have a Spartan band in every Northern State.* It is due to them they should know the reasons which influence us. According to our apprehension, the necessity which exists for our immediate withdrawal from association with the Northern States is that this hostile abolition party have the control of the Government."

In November, 1860, Mr. Lawrence M. Keitt delivered a speech in Charleston, S. C. He said, in answer to an assertion that any attempt to withdraw from the Union would be met with force:

"Let me tell you, *there are a million of Democrats in the North*, who, when the Black Republicans attempt to march upon the South, will be found a wall of fire in the front." (Cries of "That's so!" and applause.)

This was the feeling through the entire South. Democracy had been regarded as the State Rights party, and it was believed that any attempt to interfere with a State in its withdrawal from the Union, would unite Northern Democrats in armed opposition to it. This belief was encouraged by prominent leaders of the Northern wing of the party.

An extract from a letter written January 6, 1850, by ex-President Pierce to Jefferson Davis, and found in Davis's home, in Missis-

The people know what the Republican party has done, is now doing, and will do in the future for the country. On the vital question of unity and nationality they are assured that it can be trusted. True in war, they know it cannot prove false in peace. True in the past, they have every reason to believe that it will continue true in the future. Democracy having been false in the past they have the right to demand the strongest guarantee that it will not be, if entrusted with power, false in the future.

Can Democracy give such guarantee? Has it abandoned the fatal doctrine of State Rights as preached by Calhoun, fought for by the Southern Confederacy and practically maintained by the Southern wing of the party to-day? If on these points, the proof is clear, that a radical change has taken place, then the issue is simply one of administration, turning upon the relative character of men, and not upon the principles which they hold. The result, whatever it might be, would no longer be experimental, for the people would feel assured that a change of administration would not imperil the peace and unity of the nation.

A careful review of the Democratic record, must be convincing to the unprejudiced mind, that no change has taken place in the sentiments of Democracy. What it believed in the days of Buchanan, it advocated in 1860, endorsed in 1864, affirmed in 1868, re-affirmed in 1872, and unless checked in its pretensions by the votes of the American people, it will re-establish through a Democratic Administration in 1876.

DEMOCRACY, THE STATE RIGHTS PARTY.

For the past forty years, the Democratic party has been controlled by men who accepted the fatal doctrine of State Rights, as preached by John C. Calhoun, as the basis of our Federal Union.

Under this doctrine, the State was held to be supreme. The Union was regarded as a mere arrangement for convenience, to be cast aside, whenever it suited the pleasure or interest of a State to so decide.

A State could obey or disobey the laws of the nation, just as it saw fit. The voice of a State convention, could, under this doctrine, place the State outside of the national authority. A simple resolution declaring that the State had withdrawn from the Union was all that was required to transform the part into the whole, or the fraction of a nation into a nation, supreme in its own sovereignty. It was held by the advocates of this State Rights doctrine, that a State, entering the Union of its own free will, could withdraw with equal freedom. In other words one party to a contract, could break it at his pleasure, because he entered it of his own free will.

The fatal heresy of State Rights ought to have died with the Rebellion. The Southern Confederacy illustrated its full power, and with its overthrow the doctrine should have been buried from sight forever.

If Northern Democracy had been free from its influence, this would have been the case, but it retained the old poison in its system. It has never been free from it, and to-day, united with the Bourbon Democracy of the South, it is under the control of Calhounism, and liable, if entrusted with power, to again plunge the country, on some slight pretext, into troubles even greater than those hitherto endured.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD BEFORE THE WAR.

Through Democracy, the South, prior to the war, practically controlled the government. It shaped the affairs of the nation to suit its own interest. It filled its important offices at home and abroad. It gave direction to national legislation; it created the policy of the government, and when it could no longer govern, it endeavored to destroy. This statement is a correct one. It has passed into history and cannot be refuted.

Alexander H. Stephens who afterward became the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, delivered a speech against the policy of secession, before the State Convention of Georgia, January, 1861. He said:

"What have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general Government?"

"We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive Department. So, of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North: although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of Government. In choosing the presiding Presidents (*pro tem*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have generally secured the Speaker, because he to a great extent, shapes and controls the Legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control

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This was the feeling through the entire South. Democracy had been regarded as the State Rights party, and it was believed that any attempt to interfere with a State in its withdrawal from the Union, would unite Northern Democrats in armed opposition to it. This belief was encouraged by prominent leaders of the Northern wing of the party.

An extract from a letter written January 6, 1850, by ex-President Pierce to Jefferson Davis, and found in Davis's home, in Missis-

issippi, when taken by our troops, reveals the grounds of the belief so confidently expressed by leading Southerners, that Democracy would be a unit in their favor, in case a rebellion should be inaugurated.

After referring to political matters, and expressing a desire to have Mr. Davis the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, the ex-President says:

"Let me suggest that, in the running debates in Congress, full justice seems to me not to have been done to the Democracy of the North. I do not believe that our friends at the South have any just idea of the state of feeling, hurrying at this moment to the pitch of intense exasperation, between those who respect their political obligations, and those who have apparently no impelling power but that which fanatical passion on the subject of domestic slavery imparts. Without discussing the question of right, of abstract power to secede, I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without blood; and if, through the madness of Northern abolitionism, that dire calamity must come, *the fighting will not be along Mason's and Dixon's line mere y. It will be within our own borders—in our own streets—between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred.*"

Is it to be wondered at, that such assurance from so distinguished a Democrat as ex-President Pierce, and repeated in private letters, and public speeches by others of equal prominence, should leave the impression upon the Southern mind that armed hostility against the Government, on the part of the South, would receive the active sympathy of Northern Democracy.

In January, 1861, Fernando Wood, then Mayor of New York city, sent a message to the common council, recommending the withdrawal of the city from the State. He favored "a free city," as he termed it, and his scheme met with approval from many leading Democrats.

About the same time, (January 16) as it was a part of the Democratic programme, a meeting of Democrats was held in National Hall, Philadelphia. At this meeting a resolution was adopted favoring the withdrawal of Pennsylvania from the Union, and expressing sentiments in keeping with those of the South.

It is well known that leading Democrats of the North conspired in the spring of 1861, to carry their respective States out of the Union. Ex-Governor Price, of New Jersey, in a letter to L. W. Burnet, of Newark, N. J., said:

"I believe the Southern Confederation permanent. The proceeding has been taken with forethought and deliberation—it is no

hurried impulse, but an irrevocable act, based upon the sacred, as was supposed, 'equality of the States,' and in my opinion, every slave State will, in a short period of time, be found united in one confederacy. * * * * What position for New Jersey will best accord with her interests, honor, and the patriotic instincts of her people? I say emphatically she should go with the South, from every wise, prudential, and patriotic reason."

In this letter, the ex Governor also gives it as his opinion that New York and Pennsylvania will "choose also to cast their lot with the South," and after them, the Western and Northwestern States.

If necessary, a volume could be filled with unimpeachable evidence, tending to prove that the Southern people were misled by Democratic leaders, North and South. In the fall and winter of 1860 and the spring of 1861, the air was filled with Democratic threats and promises. Incendiary speeches were made, secret caucuses held at the national capital. The highest Government officials—all Democrats—conspired with the public enemies. Even President Buchanan, although he declared that "the election of any one of our fellow citizens to the office of President, does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union," gave his official encouragement to the dissolution, by stating in his last annual message, December 4, 1860:

"After much serious reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that the Constitution has not delegated to Congress nor to any other department of the Federal Government the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy."

At an earlier date, Nov. 20, 1860, Attorney General Black had given his opinion to the same effect. According to his view the government could act only on the defensive. It could repel an attack, but it had no constitutional right to assert its authority or protect itself by any offensive measures. In his own language: "The Union must utterly perish at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the General Government in the exercise of its proper constitutional functions."

If we need more convincing proof of Democratic encouragement of the Southern rebellion, than what has already been presented, it may be found in the deliberate transfer of arms from Northern to Southern arsenals, by order of a Democratic Secretary of War, (Mr. Floyd.)

From a report made by Mr. B. Stanton, from the Committee on Military Affairs in

House of Representatives, February 18, 1861, it is shown that in the spring of 1860 the following transfers of muskets were made from the Springfield armory, and the Watertown and Watervleit arsenals:

Where Sent.	Percussion Muskets.	Altered Muskets.	Rifles.
To Charleston Arsenal	9,280	5,720	2,000
To North Carolina Arsenal	15,480	9,520	2,000
To Augusta Arsenal..	12,380	7,620	2,000
To Mount Vernon Arsenal....	9,280	5,720	2,000
To Baton Rouge Arsenal	18,580	11,420	2,000
Total	65,000	40,000	10,000

All these arms fell into the possession of the Confederate authorities, as it was known they would by the Democratic Secretary of War when he ordered the transfer.

It was also shown in the same report that the Secretary of War ordered the transfer of forty columbiads and four thirty-two pounders, to unfinished forts on Ship Island on the coast of Mississippi, and seventy columbiads and seven thirty-two pounders to be sent to Galveston, Texas, where the fort to receive them had just been commenced. So clear was the evidence that these heavy guns were intended for the use of the rebels that a monster mass meeting was held at Allegheny, Pa., the place where the Arsenal containing them was located, and a protest was entered against their removal. Through the action of Judge Holt, the present Judge Advocate General, the transfer of the guns was prevented.

In addition to the arms sent South by a Democratic Secretary of War, upwards of 50,000 muskets were sold by the Government to parties representing Southern interests. These muskets were in good condition, and yet were sold for \$2.50. Add to the number transferred and sold, the annual quota distributed to the Southern States for 1861, *in advance*, and it will be found that not less than 300,000 muskets were placed in the hands of secessionists by the direct order of a Democratic Secretary of War. This is what the *Mobile Advertiser* said at the time:

"During the past year 135,430 muskets have been quietly transferred from the Northern arsenal at Springfield alone, to those in the Southern States. We are much obliged to Secretary Floyd for the foresight he has thus displayed in *disarming the North and equipping the South for this emergency*. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other Northern arsenals. There is no doubt but that every man in the South who can carry

a gun can now be supplied from private or public sources. The Springfield contribution alone would arm all the militiamen of Alabama and Mississippi."

Can any sane man doubt the effect of such encouragement, coming from the highest representatives of the Democratic party, upon an excited people? Is it surprising that the demagogues who fired the Southern heart gave prominence to the pledge so often made, that the Democracy of the North would stand by the South in its armed resistance to Federal authority? Yet this is the party that now demands control of the Government; and some of the very men who led it then are leaders now. They hold the same views of Federal power; they endorse the same fatal doctrine of State Rights; if entrusted with power they would encourage, as they did in 1860, the disruption of the Union. Can the nation trust this party? Can it risk its future peace and prosperity in its hands? These are questions of vital importance, and no good citizen can avoid the responsibility involved in their answer.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD DURING THE WAR.
From the record thus far presented the following deductions are made:

1. The Democratic party, as the State Rights party, educated its followers to believe in the right of a State to withdraw from the Union at its pleasure.
2. It took no steps to counteract the fatal tendency of this doctrine when it assumed the form of open resistance to the Federal authority.
3. It had control of the Government when the secession movement developed its purpose to establish a Southern Confederacy, and instead of promptly checking it, it vitalized it, by giving it official encouragement.
4. The Democratic party, through its leading officials, not only encouraged secession by friendly expressions, but with a full knowledge of its hostile intentions, deliberately furnished its advocates with arms and munitions of war belonging to the Federal Government.
5. Judged by its record; the sympathy expressed; the promises given; the material aid rendered; the unanimous action of its Southern wing, the Democratic party stands responsible for the Slaveholders' Rebellion.

Democratic encouragement having made the rebellion possible, what was its policy during the war? Did it endeavor to undo the great wrong which it had committed, by promptly responding to the calls made upon the patriotism of the nation? As a party it did not. There were noble men who proclaimed themselves war Democrats, who responded with alacrity to the defense of the

Government. They laid aside the partizan and became patriots, and by their sacrifices made good their early professions of fidelity to the Union and the Constitution.

But the Democratic party as a political organization was hostile to the Government and the efforts put forth for the suppression of the rebellion. Its mass meetings, its party caucuses, the correspondence of its leaders, the riots incited by its followers, its attitude in the elections, its undisguised expressions in Congress, its encouragement of desertion, and defense of those who were arrested for treasonable conduct, its continual clamors for peace in the face of the enemy, all go to prove that its sympathies were with the Southern Confederacy and against the cause of the Union.

On the 9th of January, 1861, Mr. Howard, of Michigan, offered, in the House of Representatives, a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee to enquire—

1. Whether any executive officer of the United States was treating with any person or persons for the surrender of the forts or other public property of the United States.

2. Whether any officer of the Government had entered into any pledge, agreement or understanding, with any person or persons not to send reinforcements to the forts in Charleston Harbor.

3. What demand had been made for reinforcements and why they had not been sent.

4. Where the ships of the Navy were stationed.

5. What public property had been seized, and the particulars of such seizure.

6. What naval vessels had been seized, and whether any efforts had been made to protect or recover them.

These simple precautionary resolutions, intended to inform the Government of the extent of the danger, although adopted by the House, received only 17 Democratic votes, out of the 133 yeas. 60 Democrats voted against it.

On the 11th February, 1861, on the bill providing for the construction of war vessels, the vote in the Senate stood 30 yeas to 18 nays—all Democrats in the negative. In the House, on the 20th, the vote stood 114 yeas to 38 nays, only 12 Democrats voting in its favor.

Lieut.-General Scott, apprehensive of an attack upon the Capital, had ordered seven companies of artillery, and one company of sappers and miners, of the regular army; to be quartered at Washington.

February 14, 1861. Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, introduced a resolution, declaring the presence of these troops offensive and insulting, and demanding their immediate withdrawal.

This resolution was laid on the table, by a vote of 125 to 35. Thirteen Democrats voted in favor of the motion to 35 against it.

February 21, 1861. A resolution was introduced by Mr. Dawes, censuring the Secretary of the Navy for sending to distant seas all the available ships of the Navy at so critical a period, when their presence was needed at home; also for accepting the resignations of officers who were in arms against the Government. The report accompanying the resolution says:

“That the entire naval force available for the defence of the whole Atlantic coast at the time of the appointment of this committee, consisted of the steamer Brooklyn, twenty-five guns, and the Store Ship Relief, two guns; while the former was of too great draught to permit her to enter Charleston Harbor with safety, except at spring-tides, and the latter was under orders to the coast of Africa, with stores for the African Squadron. Thus the whole Atlantic seaboard has been to all intents and purposes without defence during all the period of civil commotion and lawless violence to which the President has called our attention as ‘of such vast and alarming proportions’ as to be beyond his power to check or control.”

Yet a resolution to censure so clear a betrayal of the public safety, and one that ought to have received the vote of every true man, received only one Democratic vote out of the 95 cast in its favor. Fifty-six Democrats voted against it.

July 9, 1861. Mr. Lovejoy offered in the House the following resolution: “That in the judgment of the House, it is no part of the duty of the soldiers of the United States to capture and return fugitive slaves.” The vote was, yeas 92, nays 55, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

July 15, 1861. Mr. Benjamin Wood offered in the House a resolution recommending the several States to convene their Legislatures for the purpose of appointing delegates to a general convention to devise measures of peace. Although this proposition was offered a few days after the Federal army had been defeated at Bull Run, it received the entire Democratic vote with the exception of one, who voted with the 93 Republicans against the resolution.

July 29, 1861. Mr. Cox offered a resolution, providing for the appointment of commissioners, empowering them to request from the Confederate States a like commission, the two bodies to meet and confer on such measures as may be deemed necessary “to assuage all grievances,” said Commissioners to meet at Louisville on the 1st Monday in September, and in conjunction with a committee of one from each State, appointed by the House, consider such amendments to the

Constitution as might tend to restore peace. Although the war was in full operation, and the South confident of success, this resolution commanded 41 Democratic votes—only two Democrats voting with the 83 Republicans against it. The vote stood 41 yeas, 85 nays.

August 2, 1861. On a bill to seize and appropriate the property of those in rebellion against the United States, and for the more effective suppression of the Rebellion, the vote stood yeas 61, nays 48, only two Democrats voting in its favor.

August 5, 1861. Mr. Calvert offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of nine to consider and report upon amendments to the Constitution, necessary to secure peace. The vote stood 39 yeas, 72 nays, only one Democrat voting against it.

August 5, 1861. A bill was introduced in the House, approving of, and legalizing the acts of President Lincoln, in calling out the militia and strengthening the army and navy. Out of 74 votes in its favor only three were Democrats. The 19 voting against it were Democrats.

December 10, 1861. Mr. Julian offered a resolution, instructing the judiciary committee to report a bill, so amending the fugitive slave law, as to forbid the recapture or return of any fugitive from labor without satisfactory proof that the claimant of such fugitive was loyal to the Government. The resolution was passed, yeas 78, nays 39, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

February 6, 1862. The House voted on the proposition for the issue of \$150,000,000 in Treasury notes, known as "legal tenders," also for the issue of \$50,000,000 in bonds. The vote was, in favor of the measure, 95, against it 60, only six Democrats voting in its favor.

February 25, 1862. The new article of war, prohibiting military or naval officers from employing any of their forces to capture or return into slavery any fugitive from service or labor, passed the House. Yeas, 95; nays, 51, only one Democrat voting in its favor.

April 3, 1862. A bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia passed the Senate, by a vote of 29 to 14, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

April 11, 1862, it passed the House by a vote of 92 to 39, only five Democrats voting in its favor.

May 12, 1862. A bill passed the House prohibiting slavery in the Territories of the United States. The vote stood, yeas 85, nays 50, only one Democrat voting in its favor.

June 9, 1862. Mr. Colfax introduced a resolution, instructing the Judiciary committee to report a bill giving the right of trial by jury to all Fugitives who deny un-

der oath that they were slaves; also requiring proof of loyalty on the part of the claimant. Adopted by yeas 77, nays 42, only two Democrats voting in its favor.

July 11, 1862. A bill was passed by the house; to "suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes." The vote stood, yeas 81, nays 42, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

July 16, 1862. A bill authorizing the President to receive into the United States service, persons of African descent, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, performing camp service, and doing such military or naval service as they might be found competent to perform, was passed by the House, yeas 77, nays 30, only 4 Democrats voting in its favor.

Dec. 11, 1862. Mr. Yeaman, of Kentucky, offered a resolution, declaring that the Emancipation Proclamation of the President was not warranted by the Constitution—that the policy of Emancipation was dangerous to the rights of citizens and to the perpetuity of a free people. The vote on this was: In favor 47, against it 95, only 3 Democrats voting against it.

Dec. 15, 1862. A resolution was introduced by Mr. S. C. Fessenden in the House, endorsing the President's emancipation proclamation as a war measure, as an exercise of power with proper regard for the rights of the States and the perpetuity of free government. The vote stood, yeas 78, nays 52, only two Democrats voting in its favor.

Jan. 28, 1863. Mr. Davis introduced a proviso to be added to a pending bill: "That no part of the sums appropriated by his act shall be disbursed for the pay, subsistence or any other supplies of any negro, free or slave, in the armed military service of the United States." Eight Democrats voted in its favor, 28 Republicans against. A strict party vote.

February 20, 1863. The important measure, known as "The National Currency Act, of 1863," passed the House by a vote of 78 yeas to 64 nays; only three Democrats voting in its favor. Under this act our present National Currency took the place of the defective currency issued under the old state bank system. The currency act of 1864, which passed the House April 18, was also opposed by the Democrats, the vote standing in its favor 80, to 66 against it, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

Dec. 14, 1863. Mr. Fernando Wood offered a resolution requesting the President to appoint three commissioners to negotiate with the authorities at Richmond, "to the end that this bloody, destructive and inhuman war shall cease."

Although no desire had been expressed on the part of the South for such a conference, this resolution was supported by 59 Democrats, 9 Republicans and 6 Democrats voted against it.

Dec. 17, 1863. Mr. Green Clay Smith offered a resolution in favor of "a vigorous prosecution of the war until the Constitution and law shall be enforced and obeyed in all parts of the United States," opposing any armistice or intervention "so long as there shall be found a rebel in arms against the Government," and ignoring "all party names, lines, and issues" until the authority of the Government was re established. This was passed by a vote of 94 yeas, 65 nays, only four Democrats voting in its favor.

Dec. 17, 1863. Mr. Edgerton offered a resolution denouncing "as among the gravest of crimes, the invasion or occupation by armed force, of any State, under the pretext or for the purpose of coercing the people thereof to modify or abrogate any of their laws or domestic institutions that are consistent with the Constitution of the United States." Although the laws and the institutions of the Confederate States were being used to destroy the Federal Government, this resolution was not opposed by a single Democrat. The vote stood: In its favor 66, against it 90, a strict party vote.

Dec. 21, 1863. Mr. Harding offered an amendment to the deficiency bill that no moneys appropriated should be used for the raising, arming, equipping or paying of negroes. It was favored by 41 Democrats, the vote standing, yeas 41, nays 105.

Jan. 18, 1864. The joint resolution, pending in the House, dropping from the rolls of the Army all volunteer officers who were absent from duty, except for good cause, and intended to weed out of the service those useless officers who drew pay without performing service, was agreed to, by a vote of 72 to 45. This resolution had for its object the improvement of the service, yet not a Democrat voted in its favor.

Feb. 1, 1864. A resolution was introduced by Mr. Eldridge opposing the system of drafting, declaring it a failure and repealing all acts authorizing drafts. The House rejected the measure, 42 voting in its favor and 84 against. All those voting in its favor were Democrats. Only three Democrats voted against it.

Feb. 1, 1864. A resolution favoring a more vigorous policy in the enlistment of negroes, to relieve thereby the burdens resting upon the white soldiers, was passed, by a vote of, yeas 80, nays 46. All Democrats in the negative.

Feb. 12, 1864. An amendment to the Supplementary Enrollment bill providing for enrollment of colored persons passed the

House. The vote stood, 84 yeas to 71 nays. Not a Democrat voted in its favor.

It is a noticeable fact, that at the very time when negroes were being employed by the rebel army, and their enrollment sanctioned by confederate legislation, the Democrats of the North were united in opposition to such a policy on the part of the Federal Government.

The bill as amended, passed by a vote of 94 yeas to 65 nays, only five Democrats voting in its favor on the final passage.

Feb. 15, 1864. Mr. Arnold offered a resolution: "That the Constitution be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States, wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof forever." This resolution was passed by a vote of 78 to 62, only one Democrat favoring it.

March 17, 1864. On a bill before the House to incorporate the Metropolitan Railroad Company of the District of Columbia, the proviso: "That there shall be no regulation excluding any person from any car on account of color," was agreed to, yeas 76, nays 62, not a Democrat voting for it.

March 21, 1864. Pending the Army appropriation bill the proviso was offered: "That no part of the money herein appropriated shall be applied or used for the purpose of raising, arming, equipping or paying negro soldiers."

This was favored by 18 Democrats, opposed by 8 Democrats, and 74 Republicans.

April 6, 1864. A vote was taken in the House on a section of the currency bill, authorizing the issue to National Banks of small notes. The vote stood, yeas 76, nays 54, only four Democrats voting in its favor.

April 9, 1864. A resolution was introduced in the House by Mr. Colfax, declaring Alexander Long unworthy to be a member, said Long having favored upon the floor, the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy. The vote on this stood, yeas 80, nays 70, only one Democrat voting in its favor. On the same day Mr. Washburn offered a resolution for the expulsion of Benjamin G. Harris for the following language: "The South asked you to let them go in peace. But no; you said you would bring them into subjection. That is not done yet, and God Almighty grant that it never may be. I hope that you will never subjugate the South." The vote stood, yeas 84, nays 58, only one Democrat voting in its favor. The resolution requiring a two-thirds vote, it was lost. Mr. Schenck then offered a resolution of censure, the vote on this standing yeas 98, nays 20, seventeen Democrats voting in favor of it, and twenty-one refusing to vote.

April 16, 1864. A bill passed the House preventing States from taxing the capital stock of National Banks at a higher rate than an equal amount of capital in the hands of individual citizens, also preventing the taxation by States of the capital invested in U. S. Bonds for deposit on circulation. The vote stood 70 yeas to 60 nays, only two Democrats voting in its favor.

April 30, 1864. A bill increasing soldiers pay, and giving bounty to colored soldiers, passed the House by a vote of 80 yeas to 51 nays, only two Democrats voting in its favor. All Democrats against it.

June 6, 1864. A bill for the punishment of guerrillas, passed the House, yeas 72, nays 37, only two Democrats voting in its favor.

June 13, 1864. The House passed the bill for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. The vote stood, yeas 90, nays 62, only one Democrat voting in favor of this most righteous measure.

June 18, 1864. Pending the consideration of the loan bill Mr. Holman moved to add this proviso: "That nothing in this act shall impair the right of the States to tax the bonds, notes, and other obligations issued under this Act." It was rejected by a vote of 71 to 77, not a Democrat voting against it.

June 19, 1864. The following proviso to the civil appropriation bill pending in the House: "That in the Courts of the United States there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color" was adopted, yeas 68, nays 48, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

July 2, 1864. One of the most important military bills of the war passed the House. It provided for the raising of additional troops either by volunteer enlistment or by drafting. The President under this Act, called for 500,000 men for one year, July 18, 1864. Vital as were the provisions of this bill for the success of our cause, the vote stood, yeas 66, nays 51, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

July 4, 1864. The special war income tax of 5 per cent on all incomes over \$600 a year was adopted by the House, by a vote of 53 yeas to 49 nays, not a Democrat voting in its favor. It passed the Senate on the same day by a vote of 28 to 7, only one Democrat voting for it.

Jan. 9, 1865. A joint resolution passed the House declaring that the wife and children of any person mustered into the United States service shall be forever free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. The vote stood, 74 yeas to 63 nays, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

Jan. 16, 1865. Mr. Cox offered a resolution, that the President be requested to

send commissioners to the Confederate authorities "with a view to national pacification and tranquility" "although we do not know that the insurgents are yet prepared to agree to any terms of pacification which we would or should deem acceptable." The vote on this stood, yeas 51, nays 84, only two Democrats voting against it.

A similar resolution was introduced by Mr. Dawson, Feb. 13, 1865, and laid upon the table by a vote of 73 to 47, only one Democrat voting with the 72 Republicans in favor of tabling the resolution.

Jan. 31, 1865. The joint resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution for the extinction of slavery throughout the United States, and requiring a two-thirds vote for its passage, passed the House, by the following vote, yeas 119, nays 56, only sixteen Democrats voting in its favor.

February 27, 1865, an amendment was offered to a pending military bill, repealing all acts or parts of acts authorizing conscription. This was favored by 27 Democrats, and opposed by only ten; 84 Republicans voting against it.

The Enrollment Act of March 3, 1865, containing important provisions for strengthening the Army, passed the House by a vote of 72 to 56, only five Democrats voting in its favor.

March 3, 1865, a bill for the establishment of the Freedman's bureau, to have the general superintendence of all freedmen; to watch over the execution of all laws, proclamations and military orders of emancipation, and to establish necessary regulations for their protection, was passed by the House by a vote of 77 yeas, to 52 nays, only one Democrat voting for it.

March 3, 1865, Mr. Schenck from the military Committee reported a resolution for the revocation of the Military order which required all colored persons leaving Washington to procure passes. The vote stood, yeas 75, nays 24, only 4 Democrats voting for it.

Thus the record might be continued with the votes on other measures of equal importance.

The public acts to which reference has been made, and the votes thereon, are but a few of the many that could be shown proving the deep rooted Democratic sympathy for the Confederate cause, and the organized opposition of the party to measures absolutely essential to the successful prosecution of the war. Can any impartial mind in the review of the votes presented, be brought to believe that a Democratic majority in Congress would have ever secured the preservation of the Union. To the strong Republican majorities, representing the national will, and the determination of the loyal people to maintain without compromise or dishonor

the unity and integrity of the Republic, we owe the existence of the Government. This much at least the impartial historian will accord to the Republican party, and its patriotic record when the political history of the Rebellion is truthfully written.

From the record presented three conclusions may be fairly drawn.

1. The encouragement which the Democratic party gave to the secession conspirators before the war, lost none of its force during its prosecution.

2. The attitude of the Democratic party if not openly hostile to the Union cause was far from friendly to it.

3. If the policy of the Democratic party, as foreshadowed by its votes in Congress, had prevailed, the Southern Confederacy would be to-day an established fact.

Would the restoration of such a party to power be conducive to the interest of the nation? Would not the future peace and prosperity of the Republic be endangered by Democratic ascendancy? Would not the organized opposition to the enactment of those measures which are now the laws of the land, find expression in a failure to execute or administer them? In a word, would not the restoration of the Democratic party to the control of the Nation, be the restoration of that political power which encouraged the South to secede, and discouraged by vote and example the efforts of a loyal people to suppress the rebellion and preserve the Union? These are questions for the people to answer at the ballot-box. They will then and there resolve themselves into a single question: "Shall those who were the enemies of the nation in time of war, be chosen by the people as their trusted guardians in time of peace?"

DEMOCRATIC POLICY WOULD HAVE LED TO CONFEDERATE RECOGNITION.

It has been shown by the record submitted, that Democracy encouraged the rebellion, and opposed those efforts which were deemed necessary for its suppression.

It may be urged by its leaders to-day, that it was in favor of suppressing the rebellion, and that its opposition was not to the Union, but to the means employed to save it. Whatever its purpose may have been, it is certain that the effect of its opposition to the means employed tended to prolong the war, by holding out the hope to those in rebellion that peace would be obtained through the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

When the Southern States seceded, they did so with the determination never to return to the Union. If the history of the movement is clearer on one point than another, it is on this resolution of the

seceded States never to submit to Federal authority. An independent Southern Confederacy was the only ultimatum which the South had to offer as a basis of peace. The official and private correspondence received from the South; the speeches of its leaders and the language of its press; the debates in State legislatures and in the Confederate Congress; the informal conferences held from time to time; the proclamations and messages of its President, all go to prove, that, from the inception to the close of the movement, peace was not desirable, except on the basis of a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Yet, with a full knowledge of this fact, Democracy, throughout the war, kept clamoring for a peace which its leaders knew could not be had, and for a peaceful settlement of existing difficulties, which they knew to be impossible.

In April, 1861, Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, said, in response to a serenade, at Charleston, South Carolina:

"Gentlemen, I thank you, especially that you have at last annihilated this accursed Union, reeking with corruption and insolent with excess of tyranny. Thank God! it is at last blasted and riven by the lightning wrath of an outraged and indignant people. Not only is it gone, but gone forever. In the expressive language of Scripture, it is water spilt upon the ground which cannot be gathered up. Like Lucifer, son of the morning, it has fallen, never to rise again. For my part, gentlemen, if Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin, to-morrow, were to abdicate their offices and were to give me a blank sheet of paper to write the condition of re-annexation to the defunct Union, I would scornfully spurn the overture."

These sentiments were received with tumultuous applause and wild enthusiasm, and, as subsequent events showed, truthfully represented the prevailing opinion at the South. Yet, in the face of these positive expressions, while the life of the nation trembled in the balance, Democracy devoted its energies to the discussion of the Constitutional rights of those who were leading armies against the Government, and in demanding for rebels in arms the same mild treatment accorded to law-abiding citizens. Is it any wonder that the loyal people distrusted Democracy, and that the Confederates regarded it as a Northern ally, whose triumph meant Southern independence.

Reference to letters written by Southern leaders, and to the debates in the rebel Congress, and the editorials in the Southern press, strengthen the statement that the forlorn hope of the Southern Confederacy centered in the restoration to power of the Democratic party.

In the winter of 1862, (Dec. 24,) George N. Sanders wrote a letter to certain prominent New York Democrats. The letter was headed :

"Governor Seymour, Dean Richmond, John Van Buren, Charles O'Connor, Washington Hunt, Fernando Wood, and James Brooks, representative men of the *triumphant revolutionary party* of New York."

In his letter he said :

"Let heart and brain into the revolution ; accelerate and direct the movement, get rid of the Baboon, (or What is it!) Abraham Lincoln, pacifically, if you can, but by the blood of his followers if necessary. Withdraw your support, material and moral, from the invading armies, and the South will make quick work with the Abolitionists that remain on her soil. Suffer no degenerate son of the South, upon however plausible pretext, to idly embarrass your action by throwing into your way *rotten planks of reconstruction. Unity is no longer possible.* The very word Union, once so dear, has been made the cover for so many atrocious acts that the mere mention of it is odious in the ears of Southern people. The State legislatures will be called upon to obliterate the hated name from the counties and towns."

This was the response of the South to the Democratic triumphs throughout the North in November, 1862. How faithfully these "representative men of the triumphant revolutionary party of New York," endeavored to carry out the plan suggested by Mr. Sanders, may be understood by consulting their record, and noting their persistent opposition to the efforts of the Government to suppress the rebellion.

After the Democratic successes in the fall of 1862, Southern papers took occasion to assure the North that there could be no peace except by recognizing the Confederacy.

The Richmond *Examiner* said :

"They do not yet understand that we are resolute to be rid of them forever, and determined rather to die than to live with them in the same political community again."

The Richmond *Dispatch*, anticipating a Democratic majority in Congress as a result of the elections, said :

"It is probable, that they might propose a reconstruction of the Union, with certain pledges, guarantees, &c. To this the South will never consent. They will never exist in the same political association, be its name what it may, be its terms what they will, and be the guarantees whatever the good will of the Democrats may make them. We of the Confederate States have made up our minds to endure the worst extremity to which war can reduce a people. We are prepared for

it. The Government that should propose to reunite us with the Yankees could not exist a day. It would sink so deep beneath the deluge of popular indignation that even history would not be able to fish up the wreck."

Again, on the 18th of October, the same paper said :

"Nor, after the sacrifices which the South has suffered at Northern hands, could she ever consent, of her own free will, to live under the same Government with that people."

In December (2) 1862, the Legislature of North Carolina, as if fearful that Northern Democracy would insist upon the Southern States coming back on their own terms, passed this resolution:

"Resolved : That the separation between the Confederate States and the United States is final, and that the people of North Carolina will never consent to a reunion at any time or upon any terms."

December 8, 1862. Governor Letcher, of Virginia wrote :

"Let it be understood that the separation is and ought to be final and irrevocable; that Virginia will under no circumstances entertain any proposition from any quarter which may have for its object a restoration or reconstruction of the late Union, on any terms or conditions whatever."

In a speech delivered at Richmond, and reported in the *Enquirer* of January 7, 1863, President Davis said :

"By showing themselves so utterly disgraced that if the question was proposed to you whether you would combine with Hyenas or Yankees, I trust every Virginian would say, give me the Hyenas."

The *Dispatch* of January 11, 1863, said :

"We warn the Democrats and Conservatives of the North to dismiss from their minds at once the miserable delusion that the South can ever consent to enter again, upon any terms, the old Union. If the North will allow us to write the Constitution ourselves, and give us every guarantee we would ask, we would sooner be under the Government of England or France than under a Union with men who have shown that they cannot keep good faith, and are the most barbarous and inhuman, as well as treacherous of mankind."

The Richmond *Sentinel* thus replies to the address of New Hampshire Democrats, declaring that if the South would "come back into the Union, the Democracy of the North will do all in their power to gain for them (the Southern States) such guarantees as will secure their safety."

"Do the New Hampshire Democrats suppose for one moment that we could so much

as think of reunion with such a people? Rather tell one to be wedded to a corpse! Rather join hands with a fiend from the pit. When those in the United States who are disposed to deal fairly with us shall gain the rule, we may in time begin to bury the many bitter memories which now add energy to our resentment, and make with them treaties that shall be mutually advantageous. Perhaps, hereafter, good will may be revived again. But Union—never let it be mentioned! It is impossible.”

The Richmond *Enquirer* of October 16, 1863, said:

“What we mean to win is utter separation from them for all time. We do not want to govern their country; but after levying upon it what seemeth good to us, by way of indemnity, we leave it to commence its political life again from the beginning, hoping that the lesson may have made them sadder and wiser Yankees. We shut them out forever, with all their unclean and scoundrelly ways, intending to lead our lives here in our own confederate way, within our own well-guarded bounds, and without, as St. John says, “without are dogs.”

September 28, 1863, a resolution was introduced into the Virginia house of delegates for inquiring into the tone and temper of the people of the United States on the subject of peace, with a view to responding, if favorable. The *Sentinel*, of the 29th, in speaking of it, said:

“The House, by a unanimous vote, put its foot on the resolution, without a word of discussion, or a moment of delay. In this it but fairly represented the manliness and unanimity of our people.”

In 1864, Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana, said in his inaugural:

“I speak to-day by authority. I speak as the Governor of Louisiana, and I wish it to be known at Washington, and elsewhere, that rather than reconstruct this Government and go back to the Union, on any terms whatever, the people of Louisiana will, in convention assembled without a dissenting voice, cede the State to any European Power.”

The Richmond *Dispatch*, in March, 1864, in an editorial on President Lincoln's amnesty proclamation, said:

“No one, however, knows better than Abraham Lincoln, that any terms he might offer the Southern people which contemplate their restoration to his bloody and brutal Government, would be rejected with scorn and execration. If instead of devoting to death our President and military and civil officers, he had proposed to make Jeff. Davis his successor, Lee, Commander-in-chief of the Yankee armies, and our domestic in-

stitutions not only recognized at home, but re-adopted in the free States, provided the South would once more enter the Yankee Union, there is not a man, woman, or child in the Confederacy, who would not spit upon the proposition. We desire no companionship upon any terms with a nation of robbers and murderers.”

A volume might be easily filled with sentiments similar to those quoted, showing that the people of the South were determined to accept no terms whatever, that ignored the recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

Yet, with a full knowledge of this determination on the part of the South, and the impossibility of restoring the Union, except by the defeat of the Confederate armies, the Democratic party tried to divide Northern sentiment and cripple the administration, by proclaiming that the Southern States were anxious to return to the Union, and that the Republican party would not allow them.

Impartial history will record these facts:

1. The Southern States gave up the Confederacy when they could no longer sustain it.

2. They came back to the Union when they had no power to keep themselves out.

3. The people are indebted for the preservation of the Union, not to the Southern States, for accepting what they had no power to reject, nor to the Democratic party for its peace propositions, but to the Republican party for organizing the means necessary for the prosecution of the war, and to the loyal millions who supported it with their votes, and under its inspiration fought for the salvation of the Union.

Can the nation forget these facts in ten short years? Can it blindly turn aside from Republicanism to the embrace of Democracy? Can it safely transfer the control of its Government from hands known to be loyal to those still red with the blood of its defenders? These are questions for the American people to answer, and on their solution depends the weal or woe of the Republic.

CONFEDERATE HOPES OF A DEMOCRATIC TRIUMPH.

It has been shown that, despite the assertions of the Northern Democracy, the Southern States were at no time, from the inception of the rebellion to its final crushing defeat, willing to make peace on any other terms than the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. To assume that Democratic leaders were ignorant of this, is to assume that those who were in correspondence with leading rebels knew less of their intentions than those who were not.

The Presidential election of 1864 was the turning-point in the rebellion. The Chicago Democratic Convention had declared the war

a failure, and favored a cessation of hostilities. McClellan was the Presidential candidate on this platform. Although he professed a desire to restore the Union, it was plainly evident that his election would secure its permanent disruption. Rebel sympathizers in the North believed this, and the rebel authorities in the South so regarded it. The Southern Confederacy strained every nerve to hold out until the people of the North decided for the Union or against it. The re-election of Abraham Lincoln was the death blow of the slave confederacy. Its shell was broken, and its formidable resistance at end. The defeat of the Democratic party was the extinction of its hopes and pretensions.

In an interview with Governor Randall, in 1864, President Lincoln said :

"I do not think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from these infirmities, but I cannot but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November. There is no programme offered by any wing of the Democratic party but that must result in the permanent destruction of the Union.

"But, Mr. President, ventured Governor Randall, "General McClellan is in favor of crushing out this Rebellion by force. He will be the Chicago candidate."

"Sir," replied Mr. Lincoln, the slightest knowledge of arithmetic will prove to any man that the rebel armies cannot be destroyed by Democratic strategy. It would sacrifice all the white men of the North to do it. There are now in the service of the United States nearly 200,000 able bodied colored men most of them under arms, defending and acquiring Union territory. The Democratic strategy demands that these forces be disbanded, and that the masters be conciliated by restoring them to slavery. The black men who now assist Union men to escape, are to be converted into our enemies, in the vain hope of gaining the good will of their masters. We shall have to fight two nations instead of one.

"You cannot conciliate the South if you guarantee to them ultimate success; and the experience of the present war proves their success is inevitable if you fling the compulsory labor of millions of black men into their side of the scale. Will you give our enemies such military advantage as to insure success, and then depend on coaxing, flattery, and concession to get them back into the Union? Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men, take 200,000 men from our side and put them in the battle-field or corn-field against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks.

"We have to hold territory in inclement and sickly places; where are the Democrats

to do this? It was a free fight, and the field was open to the war Democrats to put down this rebellion by fighting against both master and slave, long before the present policy was inaugurated.

"There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion."

These practical views of President Lincoln fully illustrate what was then thought of the conservative policy of the Democratic party throughout the war. It was a policy which insisted upon treating as friends, men who had repudiated friendship, and who proclaimed themselves uncompromising enemies.

In a letter to Hon. E. B. Washburne, dated August 16, 1864, General Grant thus refers to Confederate hopes of a Democratic triumph in the North :

"I have no doubt but that the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope for a counter revolution; they hope for the election of a peace candidate; in fact, like Micawber, they hope for something to turn up. Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South, because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have 'peace on any terms,' the South would demand a restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty that would make the North slave hunters for the South. They would demand pay or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North."

Similar views were expressed by General Thomas, and other leading Union generals, who recognized in a Democratic triumph the success of the Confederacy.

It can be readily shown that while the Democratic party was trying to deceive the Northern people into the belief that the election of McClellan in 1864 would bring about a restoration of the Union, Southern leaders were regarding his election as the certain step toward Confederate recognition.

Sep. 22, 1864. Alexander H. Stephens, wrote to some of the leading members of the Georgia Legislature and thus expressed himself in regard to the Democratic party:

"The action of the Chicago convention, so far as its platform of principles goes, presents, as I have said on another occasion, a ray of light, which under Providence, may prove the dawn of day to this long and cheerless night, the first ray of light I have seen from the North since the War began. This cheers the heart and towards it I could almost exclaim: 'Hail! holy light, offspring of Heaven, first born of the eternal, o-eternal beam. May I express thee unblamed, since God is light.' Indeed I could have quite so exclaimed, but for the sad reflection that whether it shall bring healing in its beams or be lost in a dark and ominous eclipse ere its good work be done, depends so much upon the actions of others who may not regard it and view it as I do. So at best it is but a ray, a small and tremulous ray, enough only to gladden the heart and quicken the hope."

William W. Boyce, in a letter to Jefferson Davis, dated Sept. 29, 1864, thus refers to the efforts of Northern Democracy.

"But fortunately Mr. Lincoln and those he represents are not all of the North. There is a powerful party which condemns his policy. That party is rational on the subject of slavery. It represents whatever of amity or conservatism is left at the North. This party proposes that the war shall cease, at least temporarily, and that all the States should meet in amicable council, to make peace if possible. This is the most imposing demonstration in favor of peace made at the North since the war broke out. I think our only hope of a satisfactory peace, one consistent with the preservation of free institutions, is the supremacy of this party at some time or other. Our policy, therefore, is to give this party all the capital we can. It may be objected that to meet the Northern States in convention, is to abandon our present form of Government. But this no more follows than that their meeting us implies an abandonment of their form of Government. A Congress of the States in their sovereign capacity is the highest acknowledgment of the principles of State rights."

Herschel V. Johnson, in a letter dated September 25, 1864, in referring to the peace movements of Democracy said:

"I look with anxiety to the approaching Presidential election in the United States. For, although the Chicago platform falls below the great occasion, and the nominee still lower, yet the triumph of the Democratic party of the North will certainly secure a temporary suspension of hostilities and an

effort to make peace by an appeal to reason. They confess that four years of bloody war, as a means of restoring the Union, has proven a failure. They declare that the true principles of American Government have been disregarded and trampled under foot by the present executive of the United States. Their success will bring a change of administration, and, with that, a change of policy.

* * * * *

"If the Government of the United States should pass into other hands, repudiate the policy of subjugation, and indicate a desire for negotiation, I would, if need be, have our Government propose it—certainly accept the offer of it, if tendered by the Federal authorities.

"We cannot have peace so long as the present rulers of the United States are in power."

In a letter to Thos. J. Semmes, under date of Nov. 5, 1864, Alexander H. Stephens, in speaking of the Chicago Convention, and its desire for a Convention of States, said:

"There is no prospect of such a proposition being tendered, unless McClellan should be elected. He cannot be elected without carrying a sufficient number of the States, which, if united with those of the Confederacy, would make a majority of the States. In such a convention then, so formed, have we not strong reasons to hope and expect that a resolution could be passed, denying the constitutional power of the Government, under the compact of 1787, to coerce a State? The Chicago platform virtually does this already. Are there not strong reasons, at least, to induce us to hope and believe that they might? If that could be done it would end the war. It would recognize as the fundamental principle of American institutions the ultimate, absolute sovereignty of the several States. This fully covers our independence—as fully as I wish ever to see it covered.

* * * * *

"You will also allow me to say, that I look upon the election of McClellan as a matter of vast importance to us in every view of the case, and hence I thought it judicious, patriotic, and wise, to do every thing that could be properly done to aid in his election. Whatever may be his individual opinion, he is the candidate of the State Rights party of the North, in opposition to the centralists and consolidationists, whose hobby now is abolitionism. I have thought, from the beginning, that our true policy was to build up and strengthen such a party at the North by all means in our power. Not only upon the wise maxim of Philip of Macedon, to divide the enemy as a question of policy merely, but from a higher and much nobler motive.

Not only an early peace, but our future safety, security, and happiness required it.

"The old Union and the old Constitution are both dead, dead forever, except in so far as the Constitution has been preserved by us. There is for the Union as it was, no resurrection by any power short of that which brought Lazarus from the tomb. There may be, and doubtless are, many at the North, and some at the South, who look forward to a restoration of the Union and the Constitution as it was; but such ideas are vain and illusory, as the dreamy imaginings of the Indian warrior, who, in death, clings to his weapons in fond expectation that he will have use for them beyond the grave, in other lands and new hunting grounds.

"These fears of *voluntary* reconstruction are but chimeras of the brain. No one need entertain any such from McClellan's election. But, on the contrary, I think that peace upon the basis of a separation of the States and our independence, would be the almost certain ultimate result if our authorities should act wisely, in the event of his election. * * * *

"At least two-thirds of McClellan's own party manfully hold and proclaim the doctrine that there is no power in the central Government to coerce a State. This element would oppose a further prosecution of the war. Meanwhile financial embarrassments would be doing their work. The war would inevitably fail in consequence (in the event of McClellan's attempting to carry it on). When all efforts to persuade our people to go back into the Union voluntarily, failed, as they would, if our authorities shall so act as to secure the hearts and affections of the people as they ought, then McClellan would ultimately be compelled to give up the restoration of the Union as a forlorn hope. Peace would come slowly but surely upon our own terms, and without any more fighting.

"Other causes would operate to the same results, which, of themselves, even without considering those above stated, would effect the same thing. The moment McClellan should renew the war with the avowed object of restoring the Union with the old Constitution and all its guarantees, that moment, or as soon as possible, our recognition abroad would come. * * * *

"Lincoln had either to witness our recognition abroad, the moral power of which alone, he saw, would break down the war, or to make it an emancipation war. He chose the latter alternative, and the more readily because it chimed in so accordantly with the feelings and views of his own party. This, in my opinion, is the plain English of the whole matter; and just as soon as McClellan should renew the war with a view

to restore the Union, the old Constitution, with slavery, etc., would England, France, and other European Powers, throw all the moral power and influence of their recognition on our side.

"So in any and every view I can take of the subject, I regard the election of McClellan, and the success of the State Rights party of the North, whose nominee he is, of the utmost importance to us. With these views, you readily perceive how I regarded the action of the Chicago convention as a ray of light, the first ray of *real* light I had seen from the North since this war began."

The views presented, coming as they do from those who were considered conservative leaders in the South, prove conclusively, that the Democratic policy, throughout the war, tended to prolong the rebellion by exciting well-grounded hopes of the ultimate recognition of the Southern confederacy. They further prove that the old Democratic cry of the "Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was," was as utterly repudiated by the rebels themselves as was the Federal authority against which they fought. Therefore, it may be fairly concluded, that the triumph of the Democratic party in 1864 would have resulted in the permanent dissolution of the American Union.

DEMOCRACY AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Has Democracy changed in its principles since the close of the war? If it has, there is no record of the change. Throughout the period of reconstruction, when the Government sought to throw proper safeguards around the Republic, and to provide a Republican form of Government in those States lately in rebellion, the Democratic party was even more unanimous in its opposition to Governmental measures than it was during the war, and this opposition it has continued down to the present time.

The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, absolutely necessary for the protection of the nation in the future, were opposed unanimously by the Democrats, not only in Congress, but throughout the States passing upon their ratification. The joint resolution proposing the 14th amendment, passed the House, June 8, 1866, by a vote of 138 yeas to 36 nays, not a Democrat voting in its favor. The joint resolution proposing the 15th amendment, passed the House January 30, 1869, by a vote of 150 yeas to 42 nays, not a Democrat voting in its favor.

Thus two of the most important amendments to the Constitution, on which vast interests of property and life depend for safety and security, are in force to-day, without the endorsement of a single Democratic vote. Is it probable, in view of this significant fact,

that a Democratic administration would faithfully carry out their righteous provisions?

A review of the Congressional record shows a marked unanimity on the part of the Democrats against all measures of reconstruction. During the war, they based their opposition on the ground that the Union could be preserved without fighting, although the mighty armies of the Confederacy proved this to be impossible. At the close of the war, they opposed all reconstruction measures on the ground that the States could be restored without them, although disorder, and anarchy, and smothered hate in the rebellious States proved this to be impossible.

The Government exerted itself to restore all the Southern States to their proper relations in the Union, and to lift as quickly as possible the hardships of war from the shoulders of the Southern people. But at all times, in every effort, Democracy met it with opposition. It threw obstacles in the way; it encouraged the Southern people to believe, as it did in 1860, that their rights were being invaded; it aroused a feeling of bitterness and defiance, against which the Government was forced to contend; it created divisions among those who had honestly accepted the situation; it finally arrayed, through its influence, the whites against the blacks. In a word, it prolonged the period of reconstruction, as it had the period of war, by clamoring for certain conditions which it knew to be impossible, and by holding out hopes to the Southern States which it knew could never be realized.

The Ku-Klux organizations; the white masses of helpless men who have called for no trace as directly the encouragement as and out, by the Democratic leaders. And prosperity have been States, and even at the close of the war, the firmness of the Government as it prosecuted the war of the Union, and right nor to the left, so it has gone on with its work of reconstruction. The Democratic opposition, it has resorted to the revolted material wealth of the Southern States times the entire

believes that the South will be converted by the Government but to study the Southern States where it is the character of the suffrage and labor;

the reassertion of the old State Rights doctrine, which marked its rule in *ante bellum* times; the cunningly drawn amendments to State constitutions intended to again divide allegiance; the political character of the men who are to represent it in the coming Congress; the elevation through its votes and influence of those who were mainly responsible for the Southern rebellion, and who led its armies against the Government. All these things combined, point, as with the finger of prophecy, to the resurrection of the fatal doctrine of State Rights under Democratic domination, if again clothed with national power by the votes of the American people. Its votes, its speeches, its acts, prove the Democratic party the same enemy of good government that was dismissed from power in 1860. Shall it be restored? Can the nation trust in its hands its honor, its unity, and the solution of those great problems of humanity and civilization, which to-day demand the highest wisdom and the purest patriotism.

Why should it trust to-day what it dared not trust in 1860, 1864, 1868, 1872? The party has not changed. Its principles, its sympathy, its purposes are as clearly defined now as then. If the nation could not trust the men who voted and worked against the Union, how can it trust them, now that they are under the domination of those who fought against it? Let loyal men have faith in the party that has so nobly borne the burdens of the past, and so grandly brought the nation through its trials. Let them forget all local jealousies and minor issues until it is settled beyond dispute, that the men who saved the Republic shall continue to govern it. Let them hold out to all, whether friends or foes, that the only true basis for reconciliation and safety, is, devotion to the Union, and obedience to its laws and authority.

Under Republicanism a grand future awaits the Republic. If it continues true to the principles of freedom, justice and humanity, it will soon become the leader among the nations of the earth. Already its name is honored throughout the civilized world. Its mighty power, as shown in the crushing out of the greatest rebellion of modern times; its wonderful development since the close of the war; its admirable system of finance, which has made it possible for the Government to meet every obligation; its willingness and ability to protect its citizens at home and abroad; its generous treatment toward those who forfeited by treason all claims upon its generosity; its hearty sympathy for the oppressed of every clime, have won for it the respect and admiration of all nations that love freedom and justice. Devotion to Republicanism means fidelity to the nation.

TAKING A CENSUS—IN WHAT STATES—AN INDUSTRIAL CENSUS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Nothing shows the peculiar nature of State-growth on this Continent more than the strange diversity of Constitutional provisions and laws relating to subjects on which most ordinary students of the science of Government would expect to find some uniformity, as they can see the great advantage to be achieved by such unity and general identity. Take the matter of school laws and requirements, for instance, and examine the tables, reports and other sources of information, which have, during the past five years, been gathered under the National Bureau of Education, in its annual reports. Complication seems to have been originally added, in order to produce diversity, so that the people of one State might dilate, with pride, on the differences between their institutions and those of some other State. Lawyers and students of political science are quick to perceive the diversities that exist in our local courts and their modes of procedure, descending even to the petty details of a "justice" bench. A comprehensive scheme of jurisprudence is regarded by scholars as notable evidence of national character. But out of our diversity, often unnecessary and harrassing to those who practice law or have to plead in courts, has grown a system of equity which has already lifted the decisions of our highest courts in the opinion of the civilized world, and must in the long-run, evolve principles of jurisprudence, as comprehensive as those which our policy as a nation has virtually incorporated into the international political and commercial codes, under which the intercourse of nations is mainly directed.

These differences are most strikingly exhibited in the older States. In the majority of the "Land States," as those Commonwealths are termed, which have been carved out of the Public domain, there is, in some matters, a greater degree of uniformity. This is due to causes common to all of them. The United States system of land survey and sub-division, is, in part, accountable for a general acceptance of the political as well

as geographical township. Again, in many of the States the emigrants, who, in the main shaped their first Constitution, may have largely come from adjoining States. The Constitution of Ohio will be found to have been the basis of a majority of the central Western States. Michigan has moulded the Northwest, while the Southern States have taken on a more provincial hue, owing largely to the necessities superimposed by slavery and the Spanish and French law, custom and traditions, which have been incorporated into the life of such States as Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, part of Texas. "Parishes," "districts" and "magistrates' beats," as municipal sub-divisions, are heard of in the former slave States, while the land terms belong to other nationalities, making a "confusion of tongues" which strikes Northern or Western citizens, as so conflicting. Another illustration of the fact, that unity is not always found in diversity, as we are apt to boast in relation to American affairs in general, is that of weights and measures. There are wide differences in different sections, especially in dry measure, which cannot but injuriously effect the consumer's interests.

Perhaps the useless diversity under consideration, can find no better illustration than in the provisions found in State Constitutions or laws, relative to the enumeration of inhabitants or census-taking, within the borders of the several States. Under the Federal Constitution, a general census is taken at the end of each decade. In addition to this, a majority of the States provide for some sort of intermediate enumeration of their inhabitants. The logical and common sense view of such provisions and what is to be accomplished thereby, would be to make them decennial in character, so that they might afford an admirable means of comparison between those taken by the General Government. This uniformity has not been adopted, and it is difficult to imagine why, in most cases.

In Hough's "American Constitutions," vol. ii., page 607, will be found a table under

the title of "Basis of Representation; census," which illustrates this diversity. The States in which a separate census is provided for are Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Wisconsin—in all seventeen.

The States in which no provision is made either by Constitutional requirement or legislative enactment, are the following: Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Maine, New Jersey, Ohio, Texas, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia—in all eleven.

In the States of Maryland and New Hampshire, the legislature can make provision for such occasional enumeration as they may deem proper.

In six of the remaining States, provision is made for the taking of a census regularly, at the following periods and dates:

Indiana every six years; the last being had in 1871.

Kentucky every eight years; the last in 1873.

Missouri every ten years; the last in 1866.

Pennsylvania every seven years; the last in 1871.

Tennessee every ten years; the last in 1871.

Michigan every ten years; the last being in 1874.

In the State of Mississippi the new constitution required that the legislature should provide for the taking of the census as a basis of apportionment at its first session, and every ten years thereafter. If such action has ever been had, it is not known at this writing.

There seems to have been some concerted action in the Southern States now under Democratic rule with regard to the present census. But whether there was or not, the result is the same, and that is a failure to provide therefor. Florida, Alabama, Arkansas and North Carolina, are under the control of the party of reaction. Just as its disposition is manifested by cutting down the school funds, it is also exhibited in refusing appropriations for the purpose now

under consideration. In Alabama and North Carolina it was openly avowed that the money required for the census should be diverted to defraying the expenses of constitutional conventions, illegally called, and intended to obliterate the landmarks, so far as courage and opportunity allows, gained under Republican reconstruction. In Florida, as far as is known, no action has been taken, while in Louisiana and South Carolina of the Southern States alone will there be an enumeration. Both States are Republican in politics.

Elsewhere the census-takers are busily engaged in the States of California, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island and Wisconsin. These thirteen States in which enumeration is to be had, will enable the statisticians to make a fair exhibit for the centennial year, of the then actual condition of the Union. It is greatly to be regretted that action was not taken in all the States, so that we might have known in positive form the huge strides taken in every direction by the Republic, whose birth was recognized one hundred years ago by thirteen feeble colonies and their three million of inhabitants.

In all the States but Massachusetts, the plan adopted, is that of enumeration by means of officers appointed for the purpose, in the same way that the United States census is taken. This is regarded as the best one, where the population is scattered over large areas, or special circumstances lead to the belief, as in the case of a large body of foreign-born residents, that individual citizens would not be likely to fill up the blanks in proper form.

The two more important States retaining this form of census-taking are New York and Rhode Island.

The latter State is the first to complete the digest and publish the returns. The enumeration was made with very great care, and every attention was given from the start to the minutest details necessary for its correct and complete taking. A close scrutiny was instituted with respect to the qualifications of the enumerators, and the result as regards completeness and prompt presenta-

tion of the digested result is, as was reasonable to anticipate, in a very high degree satisfactory.

The population of the entire State, according to the census of 1875, is 258,132; according to the National census of 1870, it was 217,353, showing a gain in five years of 40,779—18½ per cent. for the five years, or 3½ per cent. per annum.

The population of the State, according to the State census of 1865, was 184,965. Comparing this with the numbers just ascertained, it appears that the gain in ten years is 73,167, a gain of 39½ per cent. for the decade, or 3¾ per cent. per annum. During the first five years of the decade, the increase was at the rate of 3¼ per cent. per annum.

It will be seen that the increase during the second half of the decade is greater than during the first; the increase during the first having been 32,388, and during the second half 40,779, making together an entire increase of 73,167.

The schedules adopted by New York, are quite as full as the system allows, and the work is well advanced to completion.

Schedule No. I relates to population, and embraces the following questions:

1. What is the number of this house and the name of the street in which it is situated?

2. Of what material is it built? Of wood, stone, marble or brick?

3. What is its present valuation as it stands—not as regards its assessed value or original cost?

4. How many families reside in this house? Are there any families residing in the cellar or basement, if the house has a cellar or basement?

5. What are the names of the persons residing in this house?

6. What is the age and what the sex of every person residing in this house?

7. Who of them are white, who black, who mulatto, who Indian, who Chinese, who Japanese?

8. How does such persons stand in relation to the head or heads of the family or families in this house? That is to say, who are wives, sons, daughters, or relatives, to the head or heads of the family or families? Who servants, and of what grade?

9. What is the birthplace of each person?

10. Who of them are married who widowed, who single?

11. What is the profession, trade, or occupation of each one?

12. What is the usual place of employment of each one? Are any members of the family absent in the service of the United States, and, if so, in what service?

13. Who of the residents in this house are voters? Who are the voters of native birth, who are voters by naturalization? Who of the residents are aliens?

14. Who of the residents are owners of land?

15. How many residents are there over 21 years of age who can neither read nor write?

16. Who and how many of the residents are deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic?

It will be noticed that the foregoing looks to the bringing out of facts not heretofore embraced in a census, such as the material, valuation, etc., of the inhabited buildings, number of city land owners, mulattoes, Japanese, voters, &c. The New York census is the first in which the Japanese residents are to be enumerated separately. The Federal census of 1860, was the first at which an enumeration of Chinese residents was made.

Schedule No. II relates to marriages and contains the following questions:

1. Of the husband: What is your full name? What is your age? What was your civil condition before the present marriage; were you single, a widower or divorced?

2. Of the wife: What is your full name? What is your exact age? What was your civil condition previous to the present marriage; were you single, a widow or divorced?

3. What is the exact date of your marriage?

4. What is the name of the city or town in which the marriage took place?

5. By whom was it solemnized? By a clergyman, a civil magistrate, or by a declaration before witnesses? Give me the name or names of the clergyman, magistrate, or witnesses by or before whom the marriage was contracted.

This is a new form and will elicit a great deal of valuable data, as will also Table No. III, concerning deaths, in which these questions are asked:

1. What is the name of the person deceased? The age, sex, color, and civil condition.

2. What was the exact date of death?

3. What the native country of deceased?

4. What the trade or occupation of deceased?

5. What the disease or cause of death?

Schedules IV and V relate to agriculture

and other industries, and are in the main, modeled after those of the United States census for similar purpose. A miscellaneous schedule is added, covering places of public worship, public libraries, literary institutions, newspapers, etc., number of hotels, stores, &c., in each district, domestic animals in cities and villages, remarks on the harvest, mortality, etc., and a table of wages, exclusive of board. A special blank is provided for deaf, dumb, blind and idiotic, which is to be filled by medical men and the officers of institutions devoted to their care.

Complaints are quite frequent in the New York press, urban and rural, of the careless and indifferent manner in which the enumerators perform their duties. This is especially charged against those of New York City. It is asserted that whole blocks and rows have been omitted; that flagrant delays have occurred, while it is certain that the officers themselves have been greatly impeded by inhabitants refusing information. Nor are these latter complaints made of the poorer classes alone; but largely of persons residing in the more fashionable portions. It is even asserted that so far as the city is concerned, the work is unreliable and proposals are being discussed to induce the Legislature to have the work done over again. It is understood this is, in part, due to the regulations of the Bureau in charge, requiring too much at the hands of one enumerator, but more to the fact that the work has been used to reward political strikers of the Democratic persuasion. It is worth noting, at this point, that the compilers believe the returns will show a population of more than 1,200,000 in the city of New York. As the census is to be made the basis of apportionment for Legislative representation, it will be seen that important interests are watching its results with anxiety. So far as they are known, it appears that a large increase is exhibited in the interior cities and towns.

Massachusetts is the first State to formally recognize the position of Labor, and its right to recognition at the hands of government, in so far as to systematically make inquiries and report on the conditions and relations existing between employer and

employed, capital and labor, production and speculation. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in that State, established under a Republican State administration and legislation, is the first evidence given that the standpoint of the men who toil for wages is to be considered, co-equally at least with that of the men who work for profit. The four valuable reports of this Bureau have not been given to the public without arousing severe animadversions from antagonizing interests. While the Bureau was open during the first years to the criticism that it was used too exclusively as a means of agitation, and not enough as a clear and impartial channel of examination, it has, nevertheless, steadily increased its hold on public attention, alike in the State of whose administrative machinery it forms a part, and in the larger body outside, interested in the subjects committed to its charge.

The taking of the industrial and decennial census, now in progress, has been committed to the charge of this Bureau. The present chief, Col. Carroll D. Wright, and his able deputy, Major Long, are fine types of the clear-headed young men who have been practically disciplined by service as citizen-soldiers, while trained in their public and political relations in the school of loyalty to freedom, equity and national integrity, honored under the name of the Republican party. Understanding, then, that the people, in their organized capacity, have a right to a knowledge of the facts which affect and control their action as individuals, whenever said facts relate themselves to the community as well, they have endeavored to shape their inquiries in such a way as will bring out the largest amount of information, giving a thoroughly practical and comprehensive character to the schedule. They recommended, and the Legislature adopted, a form of schedules, which requires the persons to be enumerated themselves to fill up the blanks. The forms adopted in the national census legislation, and followed generally by the States, in taking their census, requires the enumerator or marshal to fill the blanks himself. The plan adopted by Massachu-

setts is, however, the first attempt but one* of the kind, made in this country. It is based on what is termed a simultaneous enumeration; *i. e.*, a statement of the entire number of inhabitants in the State, on a certain day, made by each householder or head of a family. Dr. Barnard, formerly National Commissioner of Education, says, in relation to the one taken in the District of Columbia, that "Three methods of enumeration have hitherto been employed in taking a census: By the first, formerly used in the national census and still practiced in several of the Western States, the returns are made by families upon blanks ruled into as many columns as the census makes inquiries, and each family using but one line of the blank; by the second method, used in the national census, at the last two enumerations, and in several of the Northern and Eastern States, the blank provides that each name shall occupy one line, and the page is ruled into as many columns as there are separate inquiries."

Both these methods require the intervention of an enumerator, who writes down on the spot the information given him. The third is that adopted by the Commissioner. In several European countries, notably Great Britain and Bavaria, the custom has long been to employ householders' schedules, to be left with every family for a few days before the day fixed for taking the census, with instructions requiring the head of each family to fill out the various answers. This is the one adopted by Massachusetts. How thoroughly the Bureau has shaped the needed inquiries may be seen from the following review of the blanks:

There are five schedules, the "Family," "Individual," "Manufactures," "Occupation," "Products and Property." Accompanying these are instructions as to the proper way of filling them; also very complete instructions to the enumerators. The first schedule is that for the "Family." It

* The exception noted above was that of the District of Columbia, where the Bureau of Education, under a resolution of Congress, adopted March 9, 1867, provided for a school census therein. The police were used to distribute the form, and an enumeration of all the inhabitants was had on the eleventh of November, following. The plan was successful, and the results satisfactory.

is ruled in blanks on both sides, and on the file front where folded, the officer has to insert "A" number of dwelling house; "B" family number; "C" number of families in each house, and "D" how many pay rent. Persons are informed that they are required by law to fill up the blanks and properly answer inquiries. Then follows a certificate of distribution and reception after being filled, which is signed by the official who does this work. The inquiries are then found on each side, designated as "A" and "B." The several blank columns are numbered from "one" to "twelve." The following schedule belongs to this:

Christian name in full, and initial of middle name; surname; relation to head of family; sex and age; color and race.

Single, married, widowed or divorced; number of children borne by women; place of birth.

Profession, trade or occupation.

Children attending school three months during the year ending May 1, 1875; cannot read; cannot write.

Deaf, dumb, deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic and degree of infirmity; how long afflicted; particular disease or accident causing the infirmity; if from birth, give blood relationship of those similarly afflicted.

If pauper, give cause of pauperism.

If convict, give nature of crime.

Ratable Polls; legal voters; naturalized voters.

This gives a very complete basis for the enumerated side of the census. This numbering of the inhabitants was formerly the only purpose of a census. The necessities of our complex life made other data essential. Under the foregoing schedule there will be obtained a very accurate enumeration of whole and comparative "illiteracy"—a distinction which is of value, but it has not heretofore been obtained. Under the national census, the distinction is not made, and so persons who can read, but not write, or vice versa, are not separated from those who can do both. The questions numbered from 11 to 14, have been adversely commented on, but the Bureau in reply has cleared up misapprehension. It is claimed that the comparatively small number of cases to which the questions apply, as the probable fact that the parties are under

medical care, renders the facts require^d readily obtainable.

The "individual schedule" marks the distinct departure made in the Bay State from old systems. If this blank is generally and properly filled it will meet one of the most important wants of social and economic science, by presenting a very large amount of reliable data on the important points indicated. The Bureau believes that at least two-thirds of the one hundred thousand blanks it has distributed will be correctly filled. The questions contained in this schedule are:

What is the occupation upon which you chiefly depend for a livelihood; were you at work May 1, 1875; number depending upon you for support; number of hours per day employed in your occupation; number of days employed in it, during the year ending May 1, 1875.

Average daily wages, for working days, derived from it, during the year ending May 1, 1875; amount of wages derived from it, for the year ending May 1, 1875; amount of your other earnings for the year ending May 1, 1875; amount of wife's earnings for the year ending May 1, 1875; amount of minor children's earnings for the year ending May 1, 1875.

Number of persons in your family, over 18 years of age, prevented by continuous sickness or physical disability from attending to any occupation.

Do you own the house you live in; if you own it, what is the amount of mortgage on it; rates of interest paid on such mortgage; if you hire, what is the number of rooms; amount paid for a year's rent.

Value of garden crops raised by you, and used in your family, less all money expenditures on account of the same.

Cost of supporting your family [or yourself,] for the year ending May 1, 1875.

Amount deposited in savings banks by your family [or yourself].

Number of volumes in your private library if the number is 100 or over.

It must be borne in mind in reviewing these questions and those of the other schedules, that the law under which they were framed, expressly guarantees, that the returns are to be regarded as strictly confidential, that no names are to be used in connection with the facts stated, that these are not to be at any time made the basis of assessment or taxation, and penalties are provided

for improper use, as well as for refusal to properly fill the various schedules provided.

The object of the census being to present the actual condition of Massachusetts, at the close of the first century of its active State life, there are in addition to the foregoing schedules, others which will, when filled, exhaustively present the material facts for such a review. The next blank is the "manufacturer's schedule," and the person filling it tells the value of his buildings and machinery, of foreign machinery bought in the last decade, and the description, quantity and value of stock used and goods manufactured during the last year; the number of persons employed, their working time and wages, motive power, size of establishment and fire-escapes. A separate item is made of the work furnished women at their homes, and relief funds and libraries are also mentioned. The other questions on this paper relate to gas companies, paper, grist flouring, and lumber mills, tanneries and cheese factories, machinery for cotton, woolen and worsted goods, ship-yards and publishing houses of all kinds. It also requires a classification of labor as to ages, sex, day and piece work, highest and lowest rate of wages at specified periods during the year ending May 1, 1875, ranged according to age and sex. This schedule properly filled, is one of the most valuable of the series, and properly helps to supplement that for the individual laborer, already given.

The next is the "occupation schedule," which is to be filled out by all other employers, and seeks information of the number of hands in each occupation, the value of their work and the capital invested, the number of each sex both under and over fifteen years of age, and the time each class is employed, as well as the highest, lowest and average wages. The motive power used is to be described minutely, and the number given of those killed or disabled by accident in each establishment during the past year; the dimensions of the building used are also asked for, with the persons employed on each floor and the means provided for escape in case of fire. The fishermen are required to give the same class of information concerning wages, profits and investments in cod, mackerel, shell-fish and whale-fishing. Coast-

wise and ocean commerce are also to be stated, the hands and capital employed, names of vessels, whether owned by citizens or foreigners, residents of the State or otherwise ; also the value and proportion of the shares owned by each class.

The remaining general schedule, for "products and property," is for those owning or hiring farms, market-gardens, mines, quarries, etc. The first provides for the returns of domestic manufactures, which include many things, from bark, blankets, boots and butter, to railroad sleepers, sorghum molasses, wines and yarn. The description, acreage, quantity mown and value of hay, form a separate division ; the acreage, quantity and value of over fifty kinds of vegetables and grain are asked about, with information concerning as many more miscellaneous farm products, including fruits, meats and dairy crops. The description and value of farm lands and buildings are taken in detail, and also the other productive property, including trees and vines, mines, quarries, pits, and domestic animals, while there are also questions concerning the number of persons employed and wages paid. There are some special schedules intended for the officers of public and private institutions, such as prisons, poor-houses, reform schools, houses of correction, asylums for the insane, blind, deaf mutes, libraries and schools (public and private), and reservoirs. The information under the last head will be scanned with some interest, after the disasters which have occurred from the destruction of some of them within a year or two.

The work is progressing with rapidity and a completeness that fully equals expectation. and all the returns are already in the hands of the compilers. Colonel Wright fully expects to present the report at the meeting of the Legislature, and its publication will be pressed with the utmost speed. This census is the crowning effort of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as such, to fitly bear its share in the coming centennial representation. It will be, without doubt, worthy of her great place and character.

ITS MISSION NOT ENDED. — For fourteen years the Republican party has governed the nation. Its record has become the most brilliant chapter in American history. No

citizen need blush over a single line. Posterity will dwell with admiration over the grand work recorded in so brief a space of time.

It has delivered the nation from the hands of its enemies ; its future mission will be to conduct it to the highest possible plane of nationality. It has a public debt to pay, the pledged faith of the country to maintain, a currency to redeem in coin, an emancipated race to protect, before it can retire from a work to which it was called by the voice of the people.

It is not idle boasting, but a recognized truth, when we say that the Republican party represents the intelligence, the wisdom, the patriotism, the honor of the nation, as found among all classes, among men of culture, wealth, industry, the true governing elements of nations.

Democracy has some good men in its ranks, men who desire to do right, and who earnestly seek through their votes and influence to advance the interests of their country. But they are in a hopeless minority, powerless to control the bad elements which exert a controlling influence in the Democratic party.

Rascals will creep into the best organized society. They will get into the church, the best protected orders, the family circle. They are not invited, but they come under the guise of honor, and are known only when their acts betray them. Such men are discovered from time to time in the Republican party, but as soon as known they receive the lash of indignation, or if criminally guilty, the penalties laid down in the law.

To search out and punish the delinquent, to ignore the unworthy, to turn a cold shoulder to those who would use the party to promote their own selfish purposes, should be the object and aim of true Republicans. Our ranks are filled with noble characters, men of public and private virtue, whose names have become household words in the localities where they reside. To bring them to the front, to nominate them for office, to select them as leaders, is to write victory on our party banners. Let this important duty be performed.

EDUCATION IN ALABAMA.

The progress of Democratic reconstruction will bear continued watching, especially in the direction of public education. There is a good deal of discussion going on in the Southern States, both in the press and the forum. A few notes by the way will not be misplaced.

In the partial reaction of 1874, Alabama was carried by the Democrats. As elsewhere, victory there is followed by blows at the public school system, as established under the Republican constitution of 1868. The character of those blows illustrate their policy of action and shows the value of the talk now so abundant.

The *Mobile Register* of the 1st inst., contains an able address made by ex-State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Joseph Hodgson, before the schools of Mobile and an audience of the friends thereof. That Mr. Hodgson is not in marked opposition to the party in power there, is evident by his words, and so in using them, the accusation of unfairness cannot be made.

Preparatory to a statement of the present policy, comes an account of the *ante-bellum* schools, funds and legislation, which shows with great clearness the manner in which the slaveocracy of the South dealt with this subject.

Alabama was admitted to the Union in 1862, and set aside the sixteenth section of the Constitution which township for education was used under the grant, and the township wherein it was no such section before the Federal Government, other towns were to be selected elsewhere. The area was about one and one-half million acres.

A considerable proportion of the more valuable cotton lands.

Some portion of it is still unsold at the present time. It has been shamefully mismanaged. In 1856, no public schools were established, and the funds derived from the sixteenth section, were used for private schools. Up to 1868, a Constitutional system

in 1868, there were no free schools in Alabama. Mobile possessed, till the war broke out, the nearest approach thereto. Col. Hodgson tells of a township owned by a few planters, who had themselves made School Commissioners, and then appropriated the school land to defray the education of their own children in Europe. The breaking out of the civil war in 1861, stopped even the feeble efforts, theretofore making, to maintain public schools at different points. When the war closed, the Democratic Legislature organized under the call of Andrew Johnson, appropriated the State school fund, small as it was, to pay the interest on the bonded debt and to meet other expenses of the State.

This school fund is derived from the proceeds of the school lands. That trust was badly managed. Instead of several millions, the total proceeds thereof amounted to but \$1,837,000. As a fund its existence is only nominal.

Col. Hodgson says:

"It was lost through the ruin of the State banks, and exists to-day only as an interest-bearing debt recognized by the State. Within the past few years the State has allowed an annual interest of eight per cent. upon this trust debt; amounting for the year 1875 to \$146,983.00."

The present Legislature reduced the interest to four per cent. In 1852 the interest allowed was six per cent. The Republican Legislature, from 1868 on, allowed eight per cent. The reduction of interest is now the only depletion this valuable fund has undergone.

The annual School fund in 1854 and '56, amounted to \$270,000. In 1860, it was reported at \$276,024—the interest on the land fund being \$97,727. The balance was made up from interest on certain surplus revenues of the United States given to the States under the act of June 23, 1836, \$53,526; an annual legislative appropriation of \$100,000, and the retail license fees, etc., \$24,770.

The Constitution of 1868, and the legislature framed under it by the Republican

majority, increased the State school fund as follows :

Interest of 10th section fund.....	\$147,983.32
Interest of surplus revenue fund..	53,526.94
One-fifth of the annual revenue..	250,000.00
Poll-tax collected.	80,000.00
Legislative appropriation.....	100,000.00
Total.....	\$630,510.26

Among the first acts of the Democracy, when they once more obtained control of the Legislature was, the cutting away of several of these items. The reductions were :

Interest on the surplus revenue fund.	\$53,526
Annual appropriation	100,000
Reduction of interest on school land fund, to four per cent.....	73,491
Total reduction.....	\$227,017

It is proposed to make up this reduction by a more faithful collection of the poll tax. This impost, as laid and controlled in the South, is made to bear hardest on the colored citizen, from whom, in fact, it is mainly collected. Its payment is a condition precedent to voting.

It is not proposed to deny that there is a larger and more creditable degree of interest on the subject of public education, throughout the South, in Alabama as well as elsewhere. To so deny, would be to confess that Republican principles and administration, had been barren of results in one of the most important of the aims they have sought. But on the other hand the old school of Democratic politicians are gaining renewed control. They have always been hostile to free schools, except when conducted as was formerly the case in Mississippi, as "poor" or pauper schools. Under their control, the general endowments for educational purposes, made by Congress from the earliest legislation on the territories down to the present time, have, so far as the South is concerned, been wantonly squandered ; used in the main for the corrupt advancement or enrichment of the privileged few. The same spirit is still at work.

An illustration of this has been given in the foregoing. The Alabama Legislature, (Democratic), have called a constitutional convention, for the avowed purpose of modi-

fying and changing the one framed in 1868, in important particulars. The Democratic candidates for delegates from Mobile, were required to endorse the following, submitted by "Admiral" Semmes :

1. To vote for no delegate to the State convention who does not announce himself in advance as being uncompromisingly in favor of retaining in full the present constitutional exemptions.

2. Who is not in favor of restricting future legislatures from contracting debts in the name of, or pledging the faith of the State to any person or corporation.

3. Who is not in favor of expunging from the constitution any reference whatever to the late war, and the qualifications of voters as affected thereby.

4. *Who is not in favor of abolishing the special school legislation.*

This latter is probably a mere euphony for "equal and free schools." In connection with this matter of curtailing the usefulness of the common schools, it may be worth while to see what is the need thereof in Alabama.

According to the census of 1870 the school population, between the age of five and seventeen inclusive, in Alabama, was as follows :

Males	173,273
Females	169,703
Total	342,976
<i>Native</i> —Male.....	173,100
Female.....	169,548
Total foreign born.....	328
<i>Whites</i> —Male.....	91,989
Female.....	89,798
Total white.....	181,787
<i>Colored</i> —Male.....	81,274
Female.....	79,882
Total colored.....	161,156
Excess of white children over col...	20,631
Besides the above there are twenty-three Indian children in the State.	

Of the foregoing school population the attendance in 1870 was as follows :

Male	31,098
Female	30,226
Total.....	61,324

The whole number of children of the school age being 342,976, the census leaves unaccounted for and not attending school not less than 265,837. According to colors the divisions were as follows :

Attending schools, White.....	61,324
“ “ Colored.....	15,815
	77,139

Dividing still further, and it will be seen that there were in 1870 not less than 120,463 white children not attending school, and presumably growing up in ignorance. Of the colored children, the result is as startling, though far more excusable, considering their but recent condition of slavery. The total not in attendance on school was 145,341.

Five years have passed since then, and if we estimate that the children attending school have increased by one-half, which is probably within the mark, we shall have a total school attendance of about 112,000 out of a school population of about 370,000, thus leaving 258,000 receiving no education. Nor is this the worst or sum total of illiteracy in Alabama, present and prospective.

According to the census of 1870, the total number of persons of the age of ten years and upwards, who could not read, was 349,771; while there were 380,012 who could not write. The actual illiterates were little less than one in three, out of a population numbering 996,992 persons. Of this class, 72,259 were white, and 280,898 colored. In the first class 48,430 were 21 and over; 19,599 from 15 to 21—making of those who had practically passed beyond school influences, a total of 68,029. The colored stood as follows: 15 to 21, 54,531; 21 years and over, 179,361, a total of 233,892. To these 38 Indians are to be added, making in 1870, a total of 251,658 persons over the age of 15 years, who were wholly illiterate, or not quite one in four of the whole population.

It is difficult to perceive why there should

be any objection to the present Constitution, on the score of its article on education. It organizes a Board of Education, consisting of the governor, *ex-officio*, and without a vote, as he has to approve or otherwise, of its acts; the superintendent of public instruction, and two members from each Congressional district, nine in all. This body has the management of the common schools, and acts as Regents to the State University.

Section six provides that it shall “be the duty of the board to establish, throughout the State, in each township or other school district, which it may have created, one or more schools, at which all the children of the State, between the ages of five and twenty-one years, may attend free of charge.” Under the same article it is declared, the proceeds of all lands granted for the purpose, all swamp lands, and all other lands given by the State, or by individuals, and unclaimed estates, with all money paid for military exemptions, and the rent of leased lands, shall be reserved as a school fund. One-fifth of the annual revenue collected by the State is also to be devoted to school purposes. It is this latter portion which the Democratic legislature has refused to provide for, among the other reductions they have made.

These figures, compared with the Democratic reduction of the school fund, and Semmes' instructions relative to the school provisions of the Constitution, do not augur very well for Democratic interest, so far as Alabama is concerned, in the cause of public education.

If the Southern States have failed to become prosperous, the fault is not in the measures of reconstruction, but in the people themselves. If Southern Democrats had worked one-half as earnestly to help reconstruction as they have to oppose it, peace, security, happiness, and prosperity, would be fully possessed by the South to-day. It is not too late to learn wisdom from the past. Let the intelligence and wealth of the Southern States unite in efforts to build up, instead of tearing down, and the Centennial year will see the South on the high road to wealth.

NEW STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

The growth of the United States has been more marked than that of any other country. The age thereof is but ninety-nine years, but in that period, despite the fact that we started out on our march, staggering under a heavy national debt, and have been confronted by three sanguinary struggles, each of which made heavy drafts upon our treasure and resources, we stand to-day more than the peer of any nation on earth. Ninety-nine years ago, we numbered but thirteen States, whereas now we number thirty-seven States and ten territories. Then our territory embraced but three millions of people, while now we number forty-two million. Ninety-nine years ago we had no railroads. Nor was it until 1827 that the first railroad tie was laid, and in that year we had but three miles. Now we have over seventy thousand miles of railroad. Then we had no telegraph wires, neither had we half a century ago, but now we have one hundred and fifty thousand miles of electric telegraph, not counting some thirty-five thousand miles of submarine telegraph. The Fathers of the Republic never rode on a railroad car, sent a message by telegraph, used a postage stamp, or saw a self-sealing envelope. Steam, as a motive power, was undeveloped. Daguerre had not discovered the fact that the sun could be utilized as a portrait taker, and nearly all of the labor-saving machines of this age are creatures of the inventive genius of the present generation.

Great as has been our growth, it may be said that we are but beginning to grow. The billows of the Atlantic are made white with the steam and sails of vessels coming hither, bearing people from every nation, speaking every tongue and representing every class and condition of society, with strong hands and buoyant hearts, ready, willing and anxious to cultivate our soil, delve in our mines, work at our forges and add to our store of literature and general information. From the crowded streets of London, the pine-clad hills of Norway, the vineyards of Germany and France, tax and tithe-ridden Ireland, from every portion of the world come old men and women, young men and maid-

ens, and women bearing in their arms their tender offspring, who have bidden farewell to the home of their birth and youth, and graves of their sires. The intelligence that a land of freedom, where despotism never reigned, where labor is respectable and laborers respected, and where industry is properly rewarded, had been wafted across the deep to them, and they resolved on casting their lot with us and becoming part of us.

One of the most prominent evidences of the growth of our country, is manifested in the fact that the States are outgrowing their Constitutions. Even those which have been working under Constitutions formed since the close of the late war, find themselves hampered thereby, and are forming new ones better adapted to the times and exigencies. True, some of the *ante-bellum* slave States, give evidence of being seized with apprehension, lest they have advanced too far, and favor retrogression, but the train of thought and progress is rushing along our every highway, and they who do not heed it will be crushed by its wheels. Especially do the fossils air their Bourbonism by opposing progressive school systems and measures, but the masses realize that education is the key to knowledge, and that knowledge is the basis of our system of government, the bulwark of our security as a nation and a people. The better informed the elector is, the more dependence he places upon his own power of discrimination, and the less is he controlled by those who have no responsibility for his action. The enfranchisement of the blacks and the securing of their civil rights, are measures which have shocked the reminiscences of ancient chivalry, and they would fain retard or impede the progress of those who accept the situation and hail its incident blessings.

Before us lies the Constitution lately framed by the Constitutional Convention of the "Junior State," Nebraska, an epitome of which cannot fail to interest the general reader :

It prohibits special legislation ; abolishes all fee compensation for State officers ; it

confers the right of suffrage upon all male citizens of the United States, and all foreign-born citizens who have taken out naturalization papers; prohibits sectarian instruction in schools supported in whole or part by the State, and prohibits the acceptance by the State of any grant, conveyance or bequest of money or property to be used for sectarian purposes; prohibits the diversion of State revenue for any local purpose; limits its county taxes to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; prohibits subscriptions by municipalities to railroads, but allows donations of money when sanctioned by a majority vote; confers on the legislature large powers over railroad management; declares railroads to be public highways and authorizes the Legislature to establish maximum rates of freight and transportation;

prohibits municipalities from incurring indebtedness for ordinary purposes exceeding five per cent. of the assessed value of property; provides that each Legislator and State officer shall subscribe to an oath not to take or accept a bribe, under penalty; drunkenness is made a cause for impeachment and removal from office.

There are two coupon or separate clauses—one prohibiting the removal of the State Capital, except by a majority vote of the people, the other providing for an expression of the people as to their preference for U. S. Senator, prior to the meeting of the Legislature, which shall elect such official, a new and novel feature, the teachings of which will be solicitously watched.

REPUBLICAN PROSPECTS.

We believe that the result of the State elections this fall will disclose a compact, vigorous and successful Republican party. From every quarter there comes the most cheering intelligence. Out of the shadow that came over us in the general elections of last year, we see unmistakable evidence of returning light and of noon-day effulgence. The dark cloud of political insanity, which since then has seemed to hang ominously over the nation, is surely breaking away, and the clear light of political reason is hastening its homeward flight. Not only those who have all along been Republicans, but truthful and honest men everywhere, have become conscious of the approach of danger, and that it must be averted. They are fully alive to the tremendous importance of the present campaign in the pivotal States, and they have both the courage and the ability to command success. In Ohio and in Pennsylvania, in Ohio especially, where the fiercest battle must be fought, our friends are marshaling in solid phalanx, with an earnestness and enthusiasm, that are auguries of victory in every good cause. The people, who, for various reasons, were sluggish and fretful a year ago, are now awake to the fact that they have some things yet which they hold dear, and which they are unwilling to surrender.

They well know that the time has come when they must renew in earnest the struggle with their desperate and unscrupulous foe; that the elections in October and November next, are something more than ordinary skirmishes—that they are battles for position in the great conflict next year for the possession of the national Government; and they do not propose to permit the occasion to pass without administering to their enemy such a rebuke as their audacity and hypocrisy deserve. It has not yet become quite clear to their minds, that it will be safe to trust well-known and avowed enemies with all that is most sacred in life; to drive from the grand old ship the crew that have remained steadfast in the performance of their trust, through storms and perils, through sorest trials and fiercest assault, that pirates may plunder and destroy her. Those who in all seasons have stood firm as a rock amid the sea, must not be supplanted by those who trim to every passing breeze, steadfast in nothing, but an eager desire to seize the spoils.

That the present omens are auspicious, need not be surprising. Last year, for various reasons, which no man could foresee and no government prevent, the people were sullen and supine, and showed their discontent by

ting down their friends and voting up their enemies, who have either betrayed them, or who will do so at the first opportunity. There is then no great national peril; but that little experiment has fully satisfied their prurient curiosity. The friends of good government, of the maxims and tenets of the republican party, are now, as they have been since 1860, in the majority; and it is absurd and illogical to suppose, that in a crisis they would surrender all the ground they have dearly, yet so dearly, won. Experimenting with and trusting the Democratic party as now led, and as it is now comporting itself everywhere, would be a folly of which we trust the nation will never be guilty. To believe that, in the light of experience, and under the sober teachings of history, this people could so far forget their duty to themselves and their country, as to deliberately reverse all their glorious history, and set the seal of idiocy upon all their grandest achievements, by ushering into power a combination of men whose inspiration and hope are in the degradation and betrayal of the nation, would be unworthy an American citizen, and too absurd to find a lodgment in any honest heart. It takes long years of tyranny and oppression to reduce a great people to a state of indifference, and to cause them to look without concern and without dismay upon their ignominy and their shame. It was only after long centuries of shameless lawlessness and tyranny, that the once great Roman empire could be sold at auction to the highest bidder; and the day is yet distant when this people will so forget their duty and their honor, as to set their seal of condemnation upon all their achievements.

This then is the time for all good citizens to stand shoulder to shoulder; and we believe that thousands who have not yet affiliated with the Republican party, and thousands more, who, in 1872, followed an old and trusted leader into a crooked path, whose termination could be nowhere else than in the present so-called Democratic party, will now be found in our ranks. And they are welcome! Their hearts are with us, and let them come. The party has yet a bright

future before it, and it cannot afford to quarrel with its friends over the past. It has freely used the scalpel and the broad-axe in severing from itself the putrid excrescences and deformities which are incident to human government, and it is now ready and equipped for the campaign.

MR. AMASA WALKER has written a letter on the finances, in which he says the Americans use a dollar of less value than that of any other civilized nation of the globe, and he adds:

“This is one of the chief causes of the existing business depression, and we shall not recover from it fully until our currency is restored to par with gold. We cannot export our cotton manufactures as before the war, and why? Because our redundant and depreciated paper circulation makes our dollar of less value than the dollar of any other country, and thus enhances the cost of our fabrics by raising home prices. The people of the United States suffer great loss upon everything they send abroad, whether of agricultural or manufacturing production, and no time should be lost in calling upon Congress to authorize the funding of greenbacks until at par with specie, whether by direct conversion into bonds or indirectly into compound interest notes, convertible, after a given time, into such bonds. The latter is best, because the most easy and natural, but either will accomplish the object.”

THE WORLD'S IRON AND COAL PRODUCTION.—The world's annual production of cast or pig iron, is set down at 14,485,972 gross tons. In production, Great Britain leads the world, its production of pig iron, in 1873, being 6,566,451 tons. The United States, during the same year, produced 2,560,962. Germany comes next, with 1,664,802 tons in 1872, and France, with 1,381,000 tons, in 1873.

The annual production of coal throughout the world, for 1873, was 262,567,342. Great Britain heads the list, with 127,016,747 tons; the United States stands second, with 45,413,400 tons; Germany third, with 42,324,469; France fourth, with 16,500,000 tons. In 1872, Belgium produced 15,658,948 tons; Austria, 10,443,998, while the great Empire of Russia produced only 1,097,832 tons, a trifle more than Nova Scotia, which produced 1,051,467. The coal production of Germany has been more than doubled since 1862.

ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

A safe proposition to lay down and challenge opposition, is that no dominant political party was ever wholly overthrown, except when an issue that every body could see and feel, was presented in antagonism thereto. What hope therefore, have the elements in conflict with the Republican party, for success? What issue do they present in conflict with the ruling ideas of the dominant political party of the country? What has the dominant party done to forfeit the confidence of the people? These are queries which we purpose scanning and answering:

1st. What hope have the elements in conflict with the Republican party for success? Surely none founded upon reason, or aught save prejudice and lust for office. Some, when questioned as to what they base their hopes upon, say that it is upon frauds perpetrated by Republican officials, and with apparent earnestness inquire if we deny that corruptionists have been revealed within the official fold of the Republican party? We answer, "No." But, coupled with our answer comes the question: "Who discovered and exposed the corruptionists?" There has not been an administration from that of Washington down to Grant, under which corruption has not shown its hideous head, and confronted the governing power. But notwithstanding the fact that not until the Republican party came into power, were opportunities for plunder so manifold, the Government has been, proportionately, more exempt from loss under Republican authority than while the Government was administered by any other party. The war and the condition of things resulting therefrom, occasioned the creation and maintenance of many more offices than were ever before known to our political system. The Republican party did not generate the necessity for these offices. Those opposed to the Republican party did, however, and the administrations following that of Buchanan confronted the war and its attendant incidents as necessity demanded. As a rule every corruptionist developed in the Republican party, has

been drawn into the light by the hand of the party which clothed him with power or opportunity to steal, and in a majority of cases the Government has been made whole, and penitentiary doors have swung open to receive the peculators. We take it that if a son commits a theft of which his father has cognizance, and is handed over to the authorities by said parent for trial and punishment, complicity would not rightfully attach to the name of the family, however much disgrace the son might have brought upon himself and his own character. Fortunate would it have been for many Republicans, honored with positions of trust, had they never sought or accepted such places. They owe their fall to themselves, and their exposure to the party whose confidence they violated.

2d. What issue do they present in conflict with the ruling ideas of the dominant political party of the country? None; and it is a fact known to every political student, that no party in this country was ever overthrown, save on sharp and clearly defined issues, antagonistic to such party and in consonance with the sentiment of the people. The reader need but turn his mind's eye back to three years ago, when all the odds and ends were associated with the Democratic party, to disintegrate the Republican organization, but there being no principle to sustain them, and no issue save that founded upon personal or political prejudice, the attempt was impotent, covering the parties to the scheme with shame and confusion.

3d. What has the dominant party done to forfeit the confidence of the people? In all our reading from what falls from tongue or pen of those in antagonism to the Republican party, we have failed to note any substantiated charge of want of fealty by the Republican party to its pledges, or to the best interests of the country. Charges are not wanting against representatives of the party, from the President down to the humblest of his subordinates, but they are the offspring of hate and malice, bearing upon their face the impress of their origin. It

matters not that the national debt, which the democracy were wont to say, could never and would never be lifted, has been materially reduced, diminished to an extent which demonstrates as well the capacity to pay it off, as the will and design of the party in power to pay it, and this too, while the work of unloading our people from the burthens of taxation has been going on. It matters not that every pledge in harmony with the platforms, upon which representatives of the party were elected, have been redeemed; still pencils are worn out, ink wasted and breath exhausted, in denouncing the men and party who and which deserve plaudits for preserving inviolate, their plighted faith. No, the Republican party has done nothing to forfeit the confidence of the people.

We argue from these premises, that the Republican party cannot and will not be de-

feated in 1876. Nor indeed, do we believe that its mission will be wholly fulfilled in 1880, nor until the life of professed and pronounced Republicans is as safe in the South as that of Democrats is and always has been at the North—and further, until the principles which underlie the organization, are accepted and illustrated by all the nations of the earth. It took well nigh a century for the seed sown by the Fathers of the Republic to spring forth, and it was only through the agency of the Republican party, that it fructified—that our country became in fact as in name, free, and we have faith to believe that the practical workings of a true Republic—a Republic founded upon the consent of the people—will spread and permeate until it takes hold upon all the governmental systems of the world.

CARPET BAGGERS.

Col. John Forsythe, of the *Mobile Register*, thinks that the old rebel element in the South made a mistake in holding aloof while reconstruction was in progress, and in ignoring the negro. The late owners of slaves let slip the opportunity to conciliate the freedmen when the war was over, and they possessed the rights of citizenship. Instead of smiling upon the colored man, who could cast a ballot for whom he pleased, the Southern gentlemen, who were above labor, stood upon the order of their gentility, abused the negro, and prophesied that he was so improvident that he must become extinct, or that there must be a war of races in which his extinction would be hastened by the delight his extinguishers would take in the work. When those gentlemen addressed themselves to affairs they found them complicated, and were much grieved that they had not assisted in the complication. But there was worse behind. They found the negro controlled by a lot of adventurers—carpet-baggers—who had educated him up to a distrust and dread of the gentlemen in all matters political, and who, by negro votes, were set up to misrule the State. “The negroes,” Col. Forsythe said, “always trusted us in all else; came

to us for advice and for assistance when in trouble, and gave us their money to keep for them. But they were taught such terror of us that under no circumstances would they vote with us. This it was that forced upon us what you term the white line. We succeeded. Now they find they are not re-enslaved nor are their rights abridged, and we look for that line to disappear. But it will take some time.”

It will be observed that the Colonel spoke of the colored citizens dreading the old governing class so that they could not be induced to “vote with them.” And we think it possible that the idea might be extended, and include a determination not to vote for them or for any man who holds similar sentiments. At all events they may feel called upon to delay their support of the class in question, until they are assured that the colored people will receive fair play and protection at its hands—a trifling matter, perhaps, in the estimation of that class, but of vital importance to the negroes themselves. But the timidity of the negro is not altogether without cause, even if we take the bland expression of Col. Forsythe at its best interpretation. For a recent writer on the affairs

of Alabama, in immediate connection with the statement of the gallant Colonel, puts on record that—"by no possible reconstruction can the white population of Alabama be reconstructed into a State like Massachusetts or Illinois. In considering their condition and progress, begin by dropping such notion."

Surely this is the key to the mystery! The colored citizens understand the political aspect of affairs in which their interests are involved. And in view of such a record as the above, the colored voters have abundant reasons to withhold their ballots from electing men who keep the State in continual agitation.

The epithet "carpet-bagger," and the opprobrium sought to be fastened in its application, mean nothing more than that a Republican stranger from another State, probably from the North, has exercised his right of citizenship in removing to the South. But there are some men who have removed to the South whom the bravest and most gallant of the whole army of gentlemen who fought for the lost cause would never dream of calling "carpet-baggers." Gov. Houston is a "carpet-bagger" in that sense, but no Southern gentleman would demean himself by calling him so. We learn that Houston, elected Governor on the white-line ticket, will be remembered among the politicians as having been a member of Congress from 1841 to 1861, with the exception of a single term, and as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee during Pierce's administration. He was a Douglas Democrat and an Anti-Secessionist up to the time of the war, and he withdrew from Congress in the year 1861, apparently following his State, as he supposed, out of the Union.

Now, Mr. Houston was born in Tennessee, and though he went to Alabama when young, he has never been charged with carpet-baggerism; and such a charge against him would never be brought. But if a Northern Republican went to Alabama with the intention of making it his home and living up to his principles, he would be a carpet-bagger, marked, to be ostracised. The difference is here. Mr. Houston fell into the arms of the governing class, who dry-nursed him to this day, because an exponent of its sentiments.

The crime of carpet-baggerism in the Northern Republican living South, is that he loves freedom strong enough to claim it for himself and for all men who have the rights of citizenship, because he believes that all men are equal in the eye of the law. For this he is a carpet-bagger. And yet the governing class, individually and collectively, say they are friends of the negro, and lament that he will not vote either with them or for them. Is the negro wise, or otherwise?

BOURBON DEMOCRACY wants reconciliation but it must be on a Democratic basis, or none at all. This is the way the *Louisville Courier-Journal* (Dem.) regards the situation:

The South is readier than the North to celebrate the national birthday. It is the Radical party that stands across the path, breathing hate and death, flourishing its bloody weapons and displaying—not the beautiful Star-Spangled Banner—emblem of liberty and law—but the black flag of subjugation, with skulls and cross-bones.

The Republican party was brought into existence to defend and maintain "the beautiful Star-Spangled Banner—emblem of liberty and law." When Bourbonism becomes reconciled to this banner, and the only issue before the country is, which party can best protect this "emblem of liberty and law," we shall have reached the true basis of reconciliation. For this "good time coming" the Republican party is earnestly laboring.

Nothing excels in wonder the bridge system of the West, all built up since the war. The Missouri is bridged at St. Charles, (3,535 feet long), Boonville, Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, St. Joseph (\$1,000,000), and Omaha. The cost of these bridges was about \$11,000,000, or \$3,000,000 less than the single bridge and approaches at St. Louis. The Ohio is bridged eight times below Pittsburg at a cost of \$16,000,000. The Mississippi is bridged at St. Louis, Hannibal, Keokuk, Burlington, Clinton, Dubuque, Winona, La Crosse, St. Paul, and other places, at a cost of \$25,000,000. An engineer said a few days ago that the bridges of the United States built since the war had cost \$150,000,000. The great bridges at Saybrook, Albany, Havre de Grace, and Buffalo do not bear comparison with the bridge system of the West.

PUNIC FAITH.

The Missouri Constitutional Convention now about adjourning, has formed a Constitution for that State, which is certainly a remarkable instrument. It will be remembered that the Democracy of that State regained power by the help of some 50,000 Republicans. These voters, who believed that disenfranchisement was a two-edged weapon cutting either way, sacrificed their party organization to enforce that belief. By their action the State was transferred to that party, to which the voters alluded to, had always been opposed. Of this result no special complaint has been made. Indeed, it must have been foreseen. But, on the other hand, there comes the use made of the newly acquired power.

Some one has said of Americans with a brevity which has the soul and essence of wit in it, that—no people forget yesterday so readily. The Missouri Germans and other "Liberals" forgot it with a vengeance. The treason that had no excuse passed with them as if it had not been. The years of brutal propaganda which had been aroused against Kansas and its free-soil citizens; the hideous deeds which marked the daily record of proslavery and Confederate warfare in Missouri; the oaths that were wantonly violated;—all these and more, were forgotten. But the reward of such purblind action has not been wanting. How have the "Liberals" of Missouri been repaid by the rebel Democrats, whom their votes enfranchised?

The Convention to which reference is made is itself a striking reply. The majority of its delegates represented a considerable minority of the people. Its presiding officer was an ex-United States and ex-Confederate Senator whose boast is, that he is still "unreconstructed," and whose strongest speeches were made in opposition to free schools, to equal representation, and in favor of provisions looking to the indirect assertion to say the least, in the new "Bill of Rights," of the old heresies of State sovereignty and secession. The Convention has practically disfranchised the "Liberals," and with them not less than 250,000 of the population are cut off from the basis of apportionment.

Nowhere will criticism of this latter outrage be found in the Democratic press. Only, does the St. Louis *Republican* (Independent) characterize it in fitting terms, but the Democracy endorse it. "Anything to win" is their motto.

A most important illustration of the animus exhibited, and that on the vital topics of equal rights, the relations of the State and the Union, with all its important consequences, will be seen in the following review of certain sections in the present and proposed "Declaration of Rights."

It is provided in that portion of the present Constitution—

1. That all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, the fruits of their own labor, and the pursuit of happiness.

The new declaration omits this important paragraph altogether, and in doing so it is the first step towards a planned and understood design to remove from the constitution of the State all the distinctive provisions by which paramount allegiance to the Union was set forth and enforced.

2. The present Constitution declares there shall be no slavery or involuntary servitude.

The new instrument omits this entirely. It was argued that it was surplusage, as the Federal Constitution provided the necessary barrier to any State action. But other omissions make this particular one of special significance.

3. The Declaration now controlling provides at length, against any civil disqualification except for crime, of any person on account of color. Such person is not to be debarred from the jury box, the courts, the schools, or otherwise unduly hindered in any way.

This section is also omitted from the new "Declaration of Rights."

4. Sections 4 in the present Declaration and Section 1 in the new instrument are identical and read as follows:

"That all political power is vested in and derived from the people; that all government of right originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

5. In section 5 of the present instrument it is declared :

"That the people of this State, have the inherent, sole and exclusive right to regulate the internal government and police thereof, and of altering and abolishing their Constitution and form of government *whenever it may be necessary to their safety and happiness, but every such right sha'll be exercised in pursuance of law, and consistently with the Constitution of the United States.*"

Section 2, of the new Declaration reads to the italicized portions as above. Between the word "whenever" to "necessary" the new instrument substitutes the words, "they may deem it," so that it will read, "whenever they may deem it necessary"—an obvious difference, with a distinction quite in the line of the impotent treason that marks the whole effort. After the word "happiness," they add "provided such changes be not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States."

The foolish specimens of "Punic Faith," involved in the foregoing are readily understood. They are contemptible in character, and would not be worthy of notice, but for the fact that just such word-mongering formed a potent weapon to the conspirators who organized the "Slaveholders' Rebellion."

The next two sections in both documents are worthy careful scrutiny and comparison. Sections 6 and 7 of the present Declaration states—

"That this State shall ever remain a member of the American Union; that the people thereof are part of the American Nation; and that all attempts, from whatever source, or upon whatever pretext, to dissolve said Union, or to sever said Nation, ought to be resisted with the whole power of the State.

"That every citizen of this State owes paramount allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States, and that no law or ordinance of this State, in contravention or subversion thereof, can have any binding force."

There is no mistake in these declarations. The conscience of no citizen could be caught by them in the meshes of divided allegiance. Read now, and carefully, what it is proposed to substitute therefor :

"That Missouri is a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, and as the preservation of the State and the maintenance of their governments are necessary to an indestructible union

and were intended to coexist with it, the legislature is not authorized to adopt, nor will the people of this State ever assent to any amendment or change of the Constitution of the United States which may in any wise impair the right of local self-government belonging to the people of this State."

"That constitutional government is intended to promote the general welfare of the people; that all persons have a natural right to life, liberty, and the enjoyment of the gains of their own industry; that to give the security to these things is the principal office of government, and that when government does not confer this security, it fails of its chief design."

The first section quoted is probably as plausible a piece of political Jesuitry as the brain of the ex-Rebel, Waldo P. Johnson, was capable of concocting from the *olla podrida* of Calhounism left therein. If any can, in the light of history, fail to see the intent, that one must be very obtuse. Missouri being a free and independent State, subject only to the Constitution of the United States," has the right to forbid the legislature "to adopt" and to declare *ex cathedra*, that "the people" of the said State will not "Assent to any amendment or change of the Constitution of the United States which may in any wise impair the right of local self-government belonging to the people of this State."

If this is any thing else than another method of proclaiming the right of nullification, there is then no force in language.

Suppose it happen hereafter that a Constitutional majority of the States should ratify an amendment to the Federal Constitution, the operation of which the Bourbons of Missouri might consider as impairing the "right of local self-government," what would they do about it, under such a declaration as the foregoing? Had they been in power, and this section had been in the State Constitution at the time of the adoption of the last three amendments to the Federal Constitution, it is to be presumed they would again have attempted the "sovereign right of resistance," and declared that supreme allegiance in such a contingency was due the State and not the Union. The section, apart from its mischievousness is an impertinence, in that it undertakes to deny the future right of the people or the Legislature of the State to "assent

o changes in the Constitution of the United States," in the manner provided for in that instrument itself, or to intimate that changes will ever be proposed, such as may "impair the right of self-government."

The other section speaks for itself. It is an attempt under the form of trustful common place enunciations, to justify to the citizens of Missouri, those political teachings with which Democratic speeches and writings are now so rife. In other words the solemn jargonology of a State Constitution, in its Declaration of Rights, is used to testify that the general government has failed to confer that security to do which is "the principal office of government;" that therefore the people of Missouri are practically absolved from alle-

giance, and need only wait fitting opportunity to make it manifest. And in order that this may more clearly appear, the declaration of "paramount allegiance," which every citizen owes "to the Constitution and Government of the United States" is to be wholly expunged from the instrument.

These people are mischievous rascals. They are playing with fire only to be themselves consumed. But the lesson taught by their puny faith, their shameless dishonesty, sustained as it is by the Democratic party, must not be overlooked by those who are loyal and true, or forgotten at the ballot-box by those who are asked to add forgiveness to their virtues, and trust this forsworn party with renewed power to again betray the country.

CONSISTENCY A JEWEL.

Since the accession of the Republican party to power the Democratic party proper has been consistent in its opposition to the every tenet of the Republican party. But if there is anything in the signs of the times, it is evident that they are now divided upon a vital issue—that of finance. Take, for instance, the State of Ohio. Here we find Pendleton and Thurman pulling in opposite directions, one favoring rag money and the other "money that chinks," as they express it in Buckeye parlance. Pendleton, however, is consistent with himself, while Thurman is inconsistent. The two Democratic gladiators were present at their State convention, and each strove to have his financial ideas incorporated in the platform. Pendleton succeeded in his designs, and Thurman was frustrated in his, thus reversing the old adage, and showing that a dead dog was greater than a living lion. The Pendletonian policy was presented to the people of the nation in 1864, when its author ran for Vice-President on the same ticket with Gen. McClellan, and particularly in 1868, when Pendleton was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. He was disappointed in securing the empty honor, but successful in having his ideas of financial economy incorporated

in the platform of the party, vaguely it is true, but made plain and unmistakable by his own speeches as well as those made by Vallandigham and others of his henchmen. Let us go back to the record. The Democratic platform upon which Seymour and Blair stood said:

"Where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States."

The lawful money of the United States was said, by Pendleton & Co., to be greenbacks, whereas the Republicans took the position that greenbacks were but the issue of a military necessity. The Republicans on attaining power inherited from their predecessors a war upon which hinged the life of the nation, and an empty treasury. The soldiery had to be paid, and in the absence of money the Government issued its notes—greenbacks—which the sold-
lien of "money that chinks"
sentative of such money.

Now how did the Repub
issue then? By resolving:

"We denounce all forms
as a national crime; and th
requires the payment of the

ness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted."

In all the speeches delivered and letters written by Pendleton in 1868 and prior, he took the position that the 5-20 bonds should be redeemed (?) in greenbacks, the greenbacks not to be redeemable in coin. Lincoln and Johnson beat Seymour and Blair when this greenback issue was presented, nearly half a million on the popular vote; and on the 16th day of December, 1869, the following resolution was introduced in Committee of the Whole in the House of Representatives, by Mr. Garfield, and received 124 yeas to one nay, the negative vote being Thomas L. Jones, of Kentucky.

"Resolved, That the proposition, direct or indirect, to repudiate any portion of the debt of the United States is unworthy of the honor and good name of the nation; and that this House, without distinction of party, hereby sets its seal of condemnation upon any and all such propositions."

This resolution was aimed at the Pendletonian idea that greenbacks were money, and that the payment of a claim in greenbacks by the United States was a liquidation of such indebtedness.

True, there were then as there are now, men who indulged in the philosophy that owing to the heavy debt which menaced the nation, it would be expedient to declare greenbacks to be money. In ancient times money was represented in some countries by salt, in others by iron, etc., and Biblical history tells us of patriarchs paying for property in oxen, not as barter, but oxen had a standard value. But we have passed beyond the day when value had no true and fixed measure. Now all civilized countries recognize gold as the standard representative of true value. And right here we are led to remark that people are apt to argue that inasmuch as the supply of gold is so limited, compared to the demands of business for money that we can never arrive at a specie basis. How is it in England? How was it in this country in years anterior to the war, when paper money oftentimes demanded a premium over gold? There and then monetary value did not

fluctuate, gold was the standard and paper the representative of coin value. As well argue that because there is not provender sufficient in the world to supply the inhabitants thereof with the wants of a lifetime for consumption at one meal, that the earth could not yield sufficient to supply ordinary demands, as that there need be gold sufficient available to represent the wealth of the world. There are none who advocate the abrogation and annihilation of paper money, but there are those—and we believe they comprise a majority of the people of this Union—who favor confining the issue of paper money to the demands of trade and commerce, and within the bounds of possible and probable redemption in the money of the world.

Some argue that owing to the pressure of the times it is expedient to increase the volume of rag money and cease looking to a resumption of specie payment. But we argue that such increase would not be honest, and further, that what is dishonest is inexpedient. The Government has all along pledged its faith to the resumption of its bonds in money, and the taking up of one note by giving therefor another, is not redemption by a nation, any more than a like procedure on the part of an individual would be business-like and honorable.

The Ohio platform, of which mention has been made, asserts that "the contraction of the currency heretofore made by the Republican party, and the further contraction proposed by it, with a view to forced resumption of specie payment, has already brought disaster to the business of the country, and threatens it with general bankruptcy and ruin." This clause is neither Democratic nor true. It is not Democratic, for the reason the Republican party invented the greenback policy, and adopted it over the protest of the Democracy. It is not true, because the Republicans first expanded the currency, and in contracting, are but endeavoring to attach the country to moorings which the Democracy sought the Republicans not to depart from. Before the war the only lawful money was gold, silver and copper, and the Republicans are but endeavoring to return

to the "good old days," for which modern Democracy so often sigh. But the Democracy of Ohio insist on the issue of more promises to pay value, without making provision for a redemption of the pledge, or creation of the value. Time was when the "twin relics of barbarism" were understood to be slavery and polygamy; now they are recognized by the Democracy of Ohio, as gold and silver.

Now, let us see how William Allen, the candidate of the Ohio Democracy for Governor, stands upon this question. A quarter of a century ago he was a member of the U. S. Senate, and used the following sound argument:

"One clause of the Constitution expressly declares that Congress shall coin money and regulate the value of foreign coin.

Another clause declares that no State shall make anything a legal tender, except gold and silver; and I take it for granted that no man will assert that Congress should do what no State is permitted to do."

But now we find Allen indorsing the platform made for him by the leaders of his party in Ohio, notwithstanding that, in a speech made since his nomination, referring to his career in the U. S. Senate, he said he had never uttered a word or thought, as Senator, which he would reverse.

The only vital and vitalizing resolution in the Ohio platform spoken of, is that pertaining to finance, and here we find representative Democrats, like unto Allen and Thurman, accepting that. Consistency is said to be a jewel, which, if true, proves that Allen and Thurman are not fond of jewels.

BOURBON RECONSTRUCTION.

The progress of Democratic retroaction is worthy close observation. Just now, three Southern States are discussing the election of delegates to Constitutional Conventions. These States are North Carolina, Alabama, and Texas. The country is not left in doubt as to the purposes sought through the convening of these bodies. As a naturalist is able to frame the skeleton of an unknown animal from one bone, so the whole process can be illustrated by any one preceding example. If any difficulty could be experienced, the conditions now existing in Missouri, where a Democratic convention is engaged in framing a new State Constitution, would leave none. In that body, called under an ingenious system of "gerrymandering," so that a minority of the people could dictate to the majority thereof, the public school system has been assailed, and its efficiency will be greatly impaired. Under similar motives, the territorial idea of representation in place of population, has been so incorporated that not only have a minority of 844,849 persons; living in 90 counties, been given 38 members more than a majority numbering 876,806, living in 24 counties, but the system will require these latter to increase their population over one million persons before they can have an equal share

in the government of the State. It is barely possible that the entire instrument will be rejected at the polls, but that is almost too much to hope for in a State where there is a Democratic majority. This majority owes its present position to the fifty thousand or more Republican votes that in 1871 divided their party, in order to remove disqualifying provisions from the Constitution of that date.

If we go back to Democratic reconstructions that have become accomplished facts, what shall we see? The present condition of Arkansas is bruited abroad as being so much better than in the pre-Democratic period. Nordhoff & Co. haste to tell us of the good order and industry that prevails. It is to be feared that the peace is in some degree akin to that which is said to have existed in Warsaw. Of the industry no doubt exists. But Arkansas is "restored"—that's the phrase—to the direction of its "proper leaders." The "Garland," as the new State Constitution is called, provides that "the State shall ever maintain a general, suitable and efficient system of free schools," but the Democratic Legislature that succeeded, appears to have done nothing to carry out this provision, and has done some things whereby the school system then in existence has been injured greatly. The State Super-

The National Banks, prior to May 1, 1871, paid to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue a license, or special tax, of two dollars on each \$1,000 of capital, and an income-tax on net earnings to December 31, 1871. The special or license-tax, from May 1, 1864, to May 1, 1871, amounted to \$5,322,688; the income-tax, from March 1, 1869, to September 1, 1871, amounted to \$5,539,289. The total amount of tax paid to the Government by the National Banks, from the organization of the system to July 1, 1874, is, therefore, \$68,580,595.

It is evidence, therefore, from the exaction of such an amount, that Congress did not intend that National Banks should be allowed to escape taxation, or a fair share of it; and the payment of the money into the Treasury is gratifying, as showing the confidence of the people in the system of National Banking.

"I WAS ALWAYS A DEMOCRAT."

We frequently meet with men who say, "I was always a Democrat, and am one now." They appear to look upon *attaches* to a political party as England was wont to look upon citizenship, "Once, an Englishman always an Englishman," to consider that the professor of a certain political faith could not renounce it, nor withdraw his allegiance from the party he originally joined. Occasionally we meet with gentlemen who served with credit in the late war, and on the Union side, thus account for re-attaching themselves to the Democratic party. To us the point of argument is very attenuated and wanting in force. Surely no man of reading, experience and ordinary understanding will pretend to deny that the Democratic party plunged the nation into the vortex of war in 1861. It will not do to say that the masses of that party were hostile to disunion. A party is at all times responsible for the action of its administrators, and certainly it will be admitted that the representative Democrats of this country, North as well as South, *i. e.*, a majority of them, were either openly or secretly in sympathy with the the disunion projects. Douglas and a few others were honorable exceptions, but he and they withdrew from the party when it threw its weight in the scale for the dissolution of our Government. Douglas, in his last speech at Chicago, made on the first day of the month of May, 1861, the last month of his life, in closing, after showing the conspiracy in which the Democratic leaders had been engaged in involving the country in a civil war, and declaring that the election of Lincoln was but a pretext, said:

"But this is no time for detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known; armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There is only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, *only patriots or traitors.*"

As early as January 6, 1860, Franklin Pierce, Buchanan's predecessor as President, in a letter to Jefferson Davis, gave evidence that he was privy to the scheme of attempted dissolution of the Union, saying:

"If through the madness of Northern Abolitionists that dire calamity (war) must come, the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely."

He then went on to predict that in all Northern cities the war would be waged. Pierce was considered a pretty good Democrat, and a Northern one—aye, a New England one at that.

Jeff Davis, with crocodile tears in his eyes, withdrew from the United States Senate on the 21st of January, 1861, in order to take his position as leader of the revolting hosts when the revolution was ripe. He, too, was considered a pretty good Democrat.

D. L. Yulee telegraphed his people in January, 1861, that the Democratic Senators and Representatives were occupying their positions in Congress simply to tie the hands of Republicans and prevent the passage of force bills, etc., which would enable the Republican administration to resist the designs of the seceders. Yulee was a Democratic United States Senator from Florida.

Fernando Wood, then as now, a Democrat, favored early in 1861, in a communication which he addressed as Mayor of New York to the Council of his city, that steps be taken to secede from the State, and said

that much could be said in favor of the justice and policy of the measures being taken by the South to dissolve the Union.

We might go on and quote pages of evidence to prove that leading Democrats, North as well as South, were pledged, prior to the breaking out of the late war, to recognize the right of the insurgents to bring war on the Union, while challenging the production of any Republican of '61. who by word or deed gave aid or comfort to the enemies of our Government and Union. But our only object is to demonstrate that the declaration of war made by the Democrats of the South, and the sympathy given them by the leaders of that party in the North, justly forfeited respect and attachment of loyal men for and to that political organization, while the war itself obliterated all party lines, leaving none, as Douglas expressed it, but patriots and traitors. The party in charge of the honor and perpetuity of the nation at the time they were in peril was the Republican party. True, there were those who had heretofore affiliated and acted with the Democratic party, who sympathized with and fought for the Union, but in so doing were not in harmony with their party. On the contrary, a majority of such openly abjured and renounced the party.

Then again there is no question now at issue between the political parties of the country which divided them before the war; hence the absurdity of men claiming that because they were members of the Democratic party before and up to the breaking out of the late war, they should, forsooth, renew their allegiance to it now. The fact is, there is nothing left of the old party but its name, and that has been smirched and made odorous of treason.

The Republican party of to-day stands as in '61 and '65, pledged to the indissolubility of the Union, and equal rights to all men under the law. That is the only question which in the years named divided the Republican and Democratic parties. Then the Democratic party denied the power in the Government to coerce the South; in other words, insisted that the right of self-preservation was not inherent in the Government of

the United States. The Republican party asserted and affirmed the right, and "fought it out on that line" for four summers and as many winters. All other questions of a political character at issue between the Republican and Democratic parties, have sprung up since the war, and have no relation to parties anterior to the rebellion. How foolish then for a man to argue that he is a Democrat now because he was a Democrat in *ante bellum* days.

It has been said by some sage, "Wise men change, fools never." As time rolls on, new principles evolve and new duties present themselves. Parties are but the consolidation of individuals holding views in common, and while such individuals may hold similar views upon a vital issue to-day, it does not, or should not, follow that they will think in unison on all questions which may arise in the future. The writer of this article has been a Republican from the formation of the party, but he would not permit himself to resolve, far less to openly declare, that he would always be found voting the Republican ticket. But so long as the party first organized or victory by Abraham Lincoln is confronted by the "putrid reminiscence," the Democratic party, marshaled by men who refused to hold up the hands of the martyred President, and whose names are reminders of chilling sentences rhetorically poured down the galled backs of the brave "boys in blue," we will not hesitate to say that such party and such men cannot afford refuge or companionship for him. The Democracy of to-day is made up of the same material which composed it in former days. Then it was controlled in the interest of one section, and in antagonism to another. *Per contra*, the Republican party is professedly and practically the friend and champion of the whole people, and invites within its folds all who love Republican institutions, and revere the Union as their mother and each patriot as a brother.

DEMOCRATIC lawyers in Philadelphia have publicly indicated their intention to support a republican candidate for a local judgeship, and the democratic organ is shocked at such conduct.

PATRIOTISM.

The careful student of history knows that the records of names and dates, however valuable, can never yield him the instruction at which he aims. He must regard history as the outspread chronicle of human thought, for while thought may appear very evanescent, it is thought which lies at the foundation of and controls all human actions. Our fathers determined to build up a nation upon this continent, the elements of which they designed to bind together with an indissoluble bond. They had all the events of the world before them as sources of instruction; and they drew inspiration from the best examples and the wisest masters. History to them was the science of the human mind and of human nature. Men and women were but ideas clothed with flesh and blood, who, in working out their destiny left the pathway they traveled clearly shown. Trains of thought were observed to mark particular periods. Principles were seen to spring from leading minds and prevail as public opinion. And as ideas controlled actions, so principles shaped events.

It has been said that particular eras and particular nations have, indeed, been the embodiment of some one great idea of which their most energetic political institutions and their most massy material structures have been, not the creators, but the creatures. Rome's magnificent architectures and massy bulwarks, her imperial roads, nay, her capital itself, resplendent with the trophies of a conquered world, to the outward eye, no doubt, presented an aspect of solidity infinitely more striking than any abstract idea or bodiless principle ever could present to the eye of the most vivid faith. Yet, what laid her walls as firm, apparently, as the earth's foundations, and reared her battlements, menacing the earth with haughty supremacy? It was one grand, all-absorbing idea, which for centuries filled the heart of every Roman and of Rome, subordinating to itself every other thought and feeling, and straining every nerve to a pitch of self-devotion and enthusiasm which nothing within or without could withstand. It formed her national faith, to which, whoever was heretic was not Roman. That idea which created all her greatness, was, in one

word, **PATRIOTISM**. The supremacy of that idea was subsequently lost in *superstition*, which, again was observed by our fathers to be relaxing its hold; and they revived in this glorious Republic the idea of **PATRIOTISM** and beheld the dawn of a new idea—that of the **EQUALITY OF MAN**, which has been reserved for Republicans of this age to establish in the Constitution and the laws.

But what would the Fathers say of the Democracy? For their lack of patriotism they would denounce them as heretics, anti-Americans, with no love of country, inasmuch as, with a good name, they sanctioned and supported slavery, encouraged the rebellion, and promised the rebels 50,000 armed allies from the city of New York alone. The Democratic party, through ex-President Pierce, in his letter to Jefferson Davis, promised also that "the fighting will not be along Mason and Dixon's line merely. It will be within our own borders, in our streets, between the two classes of citizens"—meaning Abolitionists and Democrats. Democrats confessed too, that they had no faith in the Union—the apple of the eye with the fathers in the political fabric—and were willing to let the South destroy it, while denouncing the efforts of the North for its preservation. As to the equality of man—the colored man being admitted to citizenship as one of the issues of the war—the Democratic party is still of the same heretical sentiment. It cannot change. It would bring the negro again under the control of his late master. Gerritt Smith said truly that the war is not over; nor will it ever be until the Democratic party is dead. Only at the death of this party will the evil spirit that has dwelt in it and inspired it for half a century go out of it.

And who will deny the fearfully destructive heresy so outspoken in the Democratic party, and illustrated in its demand to pay the interest on the national bonds in greenbacks, instead of gold, and in its financial theories of inflation. The few upright men in that party, who see the fraud and folly of such a proceeding, cannot control the Democratic masses, and must therefore yield to the sheer force of numbers. Advocates of the Pendletonian heresy are numerous and

active to-day, seemingly unaware that they are aiming at the destruction of the credit of the nation, by procuring repudiation of the national debt. Every national security is injured at home and abroad. And the tendency to invest the savings of people in bonds, is not only restrained, but a spirit of fear and alarm is raised among foreign holders which has induced many to part with their bonds, or to send them back to America for sale. The great financial markets of Europe are incessantly struck at from the United States, as if the people were really behind the movement, intent upon destruction or inflicting incalculable evil. But who are the men who strike—who are the authors of this great disaster? They are the leaders of the Democratic party, whose reckless theories would have wrecked the nation but for the honor and patriotism of Republicans. For the Republican party is altogether free from the financial heresies of the inflation Democracy; and it has used its influence in building up the national credit until the national bonds command a premium.

The case therefore stands thus: The Democratic party embraced the heresy of human slavery and supported the claims of the slave-owners. The Democratic party believed in the heresy of secession, and went as far as it dared to aid the Rebellion. And every prominent rebel was a prominent Democrat. The Democratic party sustained the heresy that the war for the Union was a failure while the armies of the Union were conquering the rebels. The Democratic party opposed the measures to raise money to save the country; and since the war was ended has labored to keep alive the old spirit of intolerance and discontent among the late masters, which prevents the healing of discord in the South, and the full realization by the South of the prosperity within its reach if peace prevailed. In all this the Democratic party has proved itself to be a party so ingrained with heresy that it has lost sight of the patriotism and teachings of the fathers, and abandoned the cause of the patriot.

On the other hand, the Republican party accepted the teachings of the fathers—believed in the preservation of the Union at

any hazard—and preserved it. Republican statesmen toiled to carry out the ideas of the founders of the Republic, and have written on the statute book the equality of all men before the law. Republican statesmen have learned from experience, and introduced measures to prepare the way for specie payments, and to raise the paper currency to the value of gold. In a word, Republicans have looked with reverent eyes on the evidence of the patriotism of men, who, a century ago pledged their lives, fortune, and sacred honor in founding the Union as the natural home of human freedom, intelligence and political integrity. And in all the details of legislation and administration, in war and in peace, Republicans have looked out from the ceaseless task of political adjustment so incessantly opposed by the heresies of the Democratic party to the certainty of the patriotism of their acts, and to the proud satisfaction that in spite of their mistakes sometimes, because they were mortal, they were at heart patriots, and that the nation would accord their claim without dispute—without hesitation.

THE German citizen is generally right on the vital political issues of the day. At a German Club in the city of New York, the following resolution was recently adopted without a dissenting voice:

Resolved, That, in view of the monstrous doctrines advocated in the platforms of the Democratic conventions in Ohio and Iowa, we implore our German brethren in those States to vote as one man against the party that favors financial inflation, and by its attitude, endangers our free school system.

IF President Grant had attended the races at Long Branch, every Democratic paper from Maine to California, would have noted the fact. But he only attended camp-meeting, and it is safe to say that no Democratic journal will devote a line to the visit. Race course reports travel with the speed of lightning, while camp-meeting ones seldom get beyond the lips of the person who utters them. This may be accounted for by the fact that Democratic reporters are seldom found at camp-meetings.

THE LOUISIANA CENSUS.

In illustration of the present condition of this State, the following statement of the enumeration under the current census, of a representative parish—that of Plaquemine—is significant. The total population by the national census in 1870, was 10,462. That of 1875, foots up to 11,882, a total increase of 1,420, or a ratio of about seven and one-third per cent.

The colored population in 1870, was stated at 6,838; in 1875, it is 8,196, an increase of 1,358, leaving only 60 additional persons to the other class. Of these 27 are Chinese, as there were none named of that race living in the parish at the enumeration of 1870. The total number of foreigners in 1870, was 917; in 1875, the total is but 572, of whom 185 are not naturalized. The total number entitled to vote is 3,038 or about one in 3.9. There are 1,971 white males, and 4,154 colored.

Of those who can read, there are 2,613 persons, being

White	2,295
Colored	318

Total	2,613
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who are classified as

Males	1,511
Females	1,102

Those who cannot read are

Whites	675
Colored	6,282

Total	6,957
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and are found to be

Males	3,634
Females	3,323

There are 9 schools in the parish with 379 pupils, while there are 3,879 children of the legal school age, i. e., between six and twenty-one. To accommodate them all would give 431 scholars to each school-house, now crowded with an average of 42 pupils.

Its area includes 21,750 acres of improved land, and 63,357 acres unimproved. There were 482 children born therein during 1874.

Taking the parish of Plaquemine and the increase it shows, as a basis for an estimate of the present population of Louisiana, and the result will be about as follows:

In 1870—

Whites	362,065
Colored	364,210
Indians	569
Chinese	71

Total	726,915
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Leaving out the last two classes, it was 726,275. An increase of six per cent.—that of Plaquemine parish is over seven—would give to the State an additional population of nearly, or quite, 50,000. The increase for the ten years embraced by the ninth census, was 18,913. For the preceding decade, however, it was 190,460. The difference is plainly traceable to the devastating influence of the Democratic war for slavery, to the loss of life consequent thereon, as well as to the hindrance to emigration it created, and the other causes arising from the absence in camps of the larger portion of the male population, which need not be discussed here. The probability is, that the present decade will show a much larger proportionate increase than did that from 1850 to 1860.

There is another point indicated by the Plaquemine figures. The charge has been frequently made during the past two years, in the discussions arising over Louisiana affairs, that there was practically a fraudulent enumeration, by which the colored population was largely over-stated. There seems to be nothing especially noticeable in the parish of Plaquemine, by which to account for the large increase of colored inhabitants. The figures indicate that there at least no over-statement was made, but rather the contrary. If the increase in the State should be one half as great as it appears to be in the parish named, the colored population will, in 1880 have reached a total of over 400,000—a ratio of increase which will make them more largely outnumber the whites than at present, and of course insure the success of Republican principles. But, without doubt, a considerable portion of the increase in the parish of Plaquemine, is due to increased industrial activity, which attracts labor to the sugar region of which it is a part. The figures confirm the statements

that have been made in relation to the migration of colored persons, to the rich lands of the Mississippi, and Red River valleys. Just now the "color line" hostility is found most marked in the four States to which it is believed this migration tends: Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. It is quite active in the second and fourth named. Not, however, on the part of the colored people or Republicans generally, but the reverse. The indications are strong in proof

of the theory which has been broached, that in the valleys named, there will be a marked concentration of the colored race. If so, it will grow out of two causes—climatic conditions and fitness, and the persecution endured elsewhere, which make the people seek the safety of numbers. But the immediate motive is the material activity that exists. Free Labor pays, and the sugar planters have found out the fact, by the demand for its products.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE WORKING MEN.

The people for the most part are honest and earnest, comprehend generally the meaning of things and wish to do right. But the people are sometimes deceived by appearances, and all that is necessary is to "explain the fact" in order that they may act intelligently and upon just principles. There never was a greater fraud perpetrated upon the Nation than the assumption of the word "Democratic" by the party using it. The true principles of Democracy, as understood politically in this country, were never the principles of Democrats. The Democratic party is Democratic in name only, and not in practice; for a Democratic Government means a Government of and by, and in the interests of the people. Not so the Government of the Democratic party. While it must secure power by popular vote, when power has been obtained, the Democratic party has instantly turned on its supporters, and introduced class-legislation of the most stringent kind—legislation in direct antagonism to the interests of labor and the workingman. Compare the promises of the Democratic party with the record of its acts, and it will be found that it has belied them in almost every instance. The secret is, it made the promises with no intention of keeping them; because they were promises knowingly built upon untruth. In the City of New York, the Democratic party charged the financial condition of the country to the Republican party; and promised to make money abundant if the party triumphed. Working men believed it, and added their vote to swell the vote of the great foreign body

of ignorant Catholics, at the bidding of the Romish priests who sold it for value received to the Democratic leaders. But what has the Democratic party done? Has it relieved the merchants and manufacturers of the pressure upon them, and made money easy? Nothing of the kind. And the Democratic platforms of Ohio and Indiana, show the party is willing to plunge its dupes still deeper in the mire, by clamoring for "more money," which means inflation of the currency which is now at a discount and irredeemable, and which if more was issued would increase the cost of everything that speculators might be rich, while the earnings of the working man would purchase much less. Having failed to remedy financial distress as promised, it did have the opportunity of employing the working men in New York city, at wages for their labor, on which their families could be supported. But the Democratic party had neither honor nor good intention towards the working man. And when the Democratic leaders were pressed to give employment to more than they could fairly pay, they did not hesitate to cut down wages so low that the workmen could not live on them.

The people of Connecticut are industrious and intelligent, and not unfamiliar with the record of the Democratic party. Yet a year or two ago, through the apathy and neglect of Republicans to go to the polls, the Democratic party came into power. Then it began to demonstrate that as a party it is not in favor of the people—the Democracy. It said it was a party of retrenchment and reform. A party so much in need of reformation it-

self, was not likely to initiate measures which the historian would classify as useful and beneficial to the State. So the historic page of reform by the Democratic party in Connecticut, stands in that connection, an absolute blank. But its system of retrenchment is as fraudulent as its name. Reduction of taxation can never be successful, unless accompanied by a reduction in expenditure. This, however, formed no part of its plan; and the consequence was, that the deficiency must be made up. How the deficiency occurred and how it was made up, we learn from the *Lansing Republican*. It says:

"For political clap-trap, the Democratic government of Connecticut, two years ago, cut down the State levy from two mills to one on the \$1. They sounded it abroad as 'reform and economy.' But there was no real retrenchment; and now, to meet the necessary current expenses of the State, they have had to levy additional taxes. First they strike the savings banks for about \$100,000, although these little hoards of the poor now pay more than their just proportion. They let off the railroads and insurance companies, which are wielded by heavy capitalists and make enormous profits, with just half the tax they formerly paid. This specimen of Democratic 'reform' is troubling the party a good deal in Connecticut."

The people of Connecticut ought to be troubled, particularly Republicans. To have been placed at the mercy of the Democratic Bourbon party—the proclaimed enemy of the working man—and by their own acts too, is a true cause for trouble. And if Republicans do not bestir themselves and throw off the incubus which is keeping the State from its legitimate advancement and prosperity, the people outside will stand aghast at their forbearance to their own injury—at their lack of shrewdness and determination, at a period which loudly calls for the exercise of both. We hope the Republican party will put forth its best efforts to rescue the State from Democratic domination; for it seems so natural that Connecticut should be Republican, that we can hardly imagine how it was possible it ever sunk into the control of the Democratic party. A wise and vigorous preparation, followed by united action, will assure a Republican victory.

EXCLUSIVE EDUCATION.—High schools are provided for the white children in the larger cities of Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana,

under the common school systems of those States, but the colored children are not allowed to attend, nor are any provided for them. In Louisiana the law otherwise declares, but social influence and persecution have been sufficient as yet to prevent its enforcement. Yet the colored people all pay the poll tax, which is a large share of the school fund, and also pay other taxes. In Georgia they are two-fifths of the population and receive one-fifth of the school fund. In Louisiana they are one-half at least, and in Alabama they are three-sevenths of the whole.

MINING ACCIDENTS.—The average of fatal mining accidents in England and Wales during 1874 was one in 602 of all persons employed in or about the mines, and one death by accident among every 510 persons. 157,222 tons of minerals were got for each fatal accident, 133,251 tons for each death. In the preceding year (1873) the fatal accidents and the number of deaths from such accidents were more numerous in proportion to the number of persons employed, there being one accident among 526 persons, and one death among 479. In proportion to the weight of minerals raised, the figures for 1873 showed one accident for 146,867 tons, and one death for 133,677 tons. In Scotland there were in all 126 deaths, while the number of accidents was larger in proportion than in England.

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.—The American Missionary Association, whose labors are mostly in the South and among the colored people there, have fifty-two churches in the old slave States; seven universities and colleges; seventeen normal and graded high schools, as well as thirteen others, besides a force of 250 teachers and missionaries. The total number of students under their instruction is 11,744, of whom 2,017 are in the higher institutions.

Four ladies have been nominated in California as County Superintendents of Education.

ENEMIES OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

“Government of the People, for the People, by the People,” as Abraham Lincoln so wisely and sententiously described the Republican form—is always in danger from that ignorance which is not merely illiterate, but shuts out all the widening influences of active knowledge, by repressing enterprise and barring the road to liberalizing influences.

The world’s history is full of the most damning proofs of this statement. Our own land has been drenched in fratricidal blood, in order to make it apparent. Yet, in the face of these things, the powers of darkness rally to renewed attacks on the free school system—that agency which is potent to stimulate intelligence and able to make men and women capable of self-government. There are various forces at this terrible work. For present purposes, the one to be dealt with is more immediately formidable.

The illiteracy of the South is alarming. Not only have the former adult slaves grown up in abject ignorance, but a whole decade has passed during which little or no effort was made to secure the education of the generation of whites then growing up. A war, the merciless conscription to sustain which, almost robbed the cradle and the grave, and “swept the male youth to the camp and the battle-field.” The secession insanity plundered the school funds to sustain the armies of the Confederacy. So feeble were all attempts at public schools in the South before the civil war, that swept them out of existence, and left the rising generation without the most ordinary means of education. Not until 1869 and 1870 was there a revival, or rather a creative effort made.

The Republican party established a free school system in each one of the ex-Confederate States. They embodied provisions in the Constitution under which Congress readmitted them to representation. Those systems exist, and have grown to increasing usefulness, to just the extent that the Democracy has failed to re-secure control of any State. Wherever such control has been obtained, an attack on the common schools

has followed. They cannot be entirely broken down, but they have been greatly impaired.

Yet the need is very great. Let us look at the facts. The following table exhibits the danger:

PERSONS OVER TEN YEARS OF AGE WHO CANNOT READ.

Section.	Total Population.	Cannot Read.
Eastern and Middle States, (including foreigners)..	12,303,534	17,806
Western States, (including foreigners)	12,023,629	409,175
Southern States, (including foreigners)	13,878,435	3,550,425

Thus 25.5 per cent. of the population of that age, in the South, are illiterate, against 3.8 per cent. in the Eastern and Middle, and 3.4 in the Western States.

Again, taking the total of the male population of voting age, and it will be found that of those who cannot read, the Eastern and Middle States have 226,592; the Western 217,403; the Southern 1,137,303, or, in other words, there are 39 per cent. of the Southern voters who are illiterate, as against 8 per cent. in the other two sections.

As to the cost, the reports of the Bureau of Education furnishes the materials for the following comparison:

SECTION.	POPULATION.	EXPENDED FOR EDUCATION.
Eastern and Middle States	12,303,534	\$32,451,601
Western States.	12,023,629	34,828,628
Southern States.	13,878,435	11,176,344

From this table it appears that the Southern States, with a population *larger* than either of the other sections, expend only about *one-third* the amount.

The per capita comparison is even more striking. Taking the population between 6 and 16 as the basis, and the rate is as follows:

IN THE NORTH : Massachusetts, the highest \$21.74. Maine, the lowest \$6.57.

IN THE SOUTH : Maryland the highest \$6.55. North Carolina, the lowest .62.

Thus the lowest expenditure *per capita* in any Northern State is higher than the highest in the South ; while the lowest in the South is only the fraction of a dollar !

Yet with these terrible facts staring them in the face, Southern Democrats are still defiant of and hostile towards the common school system. Light breaks in various directions. That is to be seen, but the general tone is one of prevailing hostility, not only to negro instruction, but to free schools. Yet, according to the census of 1870, there were in the Southern section nearly 284,000 illiterate whites between the ages of 15 and 21, while of white adults there were 797,000, making a total above the age of 15 of not less than 1,081,000 who were then growing up in ignorance. Hostility to common schools and general education does not then find its only genesis in colorphobia. It goes back of race and partizan policies, and strikes at the fundamental conditions by which alone "government of the people, by the people, for the people," can exist. The Southern Democrats and all others who oppose the common school system are the deliberate and intentional enemies of free Government.

NOBLE SENTIMENTS OF MR. LINCOLN.—The following extract from a letter written by President Lincoln, August 26, 1863, will be read with interest. It brings vividly before the mind the many obstacles which were placed in the way of those who were devoted to the Union. Mr. Lincoln could do nothing to strengthen the army, or encourage the country, without drawing upon himself the fire of Democratic criticism. The patience with which he endured it, the noble magnanimity with which he answered it, the hopeful spirit which lifted him above its range, are all shown in the language which follows :

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you ; but no matter. Fight you then, exclusively, to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting it will be an apt time then for you to de-

clare you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. Do you think differently ? I thought whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, leaves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you ? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them ? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motives, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

"The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it ; nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The Sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the Republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all.

"Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon and come to stay ; and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among freemen there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such an appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. There will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation, while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they have striven to hinder it.

"Still let us not be over sanguine of a speedy, final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just GOD, in his own good time, will give us the rightful result."

THE NEW NATIONAL LIFE.

Judging from the experience of past ages it would be unreasonable to expect that a new nation could be organized so complete and perfect in all its parts as to become populous and powerful without experiencing the necessity of constitutional changes in the course of its development. The framers of the Constitution of the United States may have been endowed with even greater wisdom than statesmen who lived before them. Yet their work was not perfect. One element alone in the Constitution—the recognition of chattel property in human beings, early in the national development, divided the popular sentiment and placed the slave and free States in an antagonistical attitude. Although there was a decided difference of opinion held by the framers of the Constitution on the subject, it may be claimed that each individual was actuated by a conscientious desire to dispose of the question of slavery so as to promote the best interests of the whole country. At all events the slave interest found friends and opponents North and South.

In 1790 there were 697,681 slaves in the United States, distributed by States as follows :

SOUTH.	NORTH.
Delaware..... 8,887	New Hampshire. 158
Maryland.....103,036	Rhode Island..... 948
Virginia.....292,627	Connecticut..... 2,764
Tennessee..... 3,417	New York .....21,324
N. Carolina...100,572	New Jersey.....11,423
S. Carolina...107,094	Pennsylvania..... 3,737
Kentucky.....12,430	
Georgia.....29,264	
Total South..657,327	Total North..... 40,854

But before this time it had become a settled conviction in the minds of many thinking men that slavery was morally wrong, and on September 5, 1774, the first general Congress assembled at Philadelphia, proclaimed the following as one of its “articles of association:”

“That we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day

of December next ; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.”

From that period slavery continued to grow more and more unpopular in the Northern States, while it was pretty generally accepted South as a permanent institution. The Southern influence secured the insertion of a clause in the Constitution providing that the importation of slaves should not be prohibited by Congress prior to 1808. During the intervening period the importation of slaves was stimulated and largely increased—the census of 1810 showing a slave population amounting to 1,191,362 souls. It is more than probable that both sections were governed to some extent in their sentiments on the subject by pecuniary considerations ; but experience had proved that slave labor was less profitable in a cold than in a warm climate. Under this feeling, strengthened by a sense of moral obligation, Massachusetts had already taken the lead in abolishing slavery in that State. In 1780, Pennsylvania passed an act providing for gradual emancipation. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire followed. New York and New Jersey prohibited the further importation of slaves, and even at that time general emancipation had many enthusiastic friends in all the States North of and including Virginia, among whom were some of their most prominent and distinguished citizens. Maryland had also passed a law providing against the further importation of slaves, and a bill of a similar nature was prepared and presented, but after a lively debate was lost in the Virginia legislature.

From 1790 the advocacy of the system became more and more sectional. The popular voice in the North condemned the system, and under local laws it gradually disappeared from all the Northern States. At the same time its permanence in the South became a popular and settled policy, and the aggregate slave population continued to increase until in 1860 it numbered 3,953,760 souls.

But long ere this period the slave had become the innocent cause of an inter-

mosity between the slave-holding and non-slaveholding sections of the Union. The more Northern men said and wrote against the institution, the more firmly were the slaves held by their owners. On the one side the traffic in human chattels was claimed to be in violation of the principles and spirit of Christianity, morals, and humanity; on the other, it was accepted as of divine origin and in accordance with revelation and scripture precept.

Holding these views and claiming a constitutional warrant for the movement, the Southern delegations in Congress, including eighteen members returned under the three-fifths basis of slave population, persistently demanded that the institution should be extended to new Territories and States.

At this juncture, after an experience of years in labored and exciting debate in the national councils, for and against the demand thus made, the slave interest was confronted by a popular uprising on the part of the people, which brought the Republican party into existence, elected Abraham Lincoln, and took the control of the government out of their hands.

The next movement on the part of the slave interest was secession, with the view of building up a Southern empire with slavery for its basis. This resulted in a protracted war, a signal defeat of the slave interest, emancipation of the four million of slaves, and the restoration of the seceded States to the Union.

A general amnesty followed, and the restored States entered upon a new era in their political experience and social relations in the Union. They had the best wishes of every other section of the Union for their unlimited prosperity and future welfare. Not only was this the popular feeling among the people from Maine to Oregon, but the Government displayed a magnanimity and a generosity toward the conquered States never before manifested under similar circumstances; and through Congress and the Executive, everything consistent with the Constitution was done to help the disabled States to enter upon a career of prosperity commensurate with that of the other sections of the Union. This much at least will be admitted by every intelligent and unprejudiced citizen; and there are few to claim that the Government could have done more than was actually attempted on its part toward the recuperation of the disaffected

States. Yet neither the sympathies of the people nor the magnanimity of the Government were appreciated or recognized by the South, except in individual cases, and reconstruction and recuperation were unnecessarily impeded and delayed.

But time often secures results that cannot otherwise be obtained. And now, in the closing year of an entire decade, our Southern neighbors are affording gratifying indications of returning reason, by manifesting a conciliatory spirit and an effort to harmonize the sections. There is not that evidence afforded yet that this feeling is general; but of the fact that it is the sincere wish of an undefined portion of the better thinking classes in the communities of the South, there is no just reason to doubt. The heaven is at work, and, if genuine, it will in time do its work, and do it well. The transition may be slow, but it will be successful. Of this there need be no doubt. The stumbling block of the past ten years was idleness. This is one of the worst of all mischief-makers. The planters did little or nothing but worry over the "lost cause;" the poor whites preferred bar-room politics to active industry; the blacks, in their transition state, were jostled between politicians and planters, with little encouragement to toil, and without prospect of fair remuneration for labor from either party when performed. Now, the planter is giving more attention to his fields, while necessity is forcing the poorer class of whites into better habits of industry, and colored labor generally finds employment and remuneration.

We have reliable accounts that the transition from depression to general prosperity is going on more rapidly now than at any former period since the close of the war. The farms are better cultivated, and consequently give a larger return for labor than they did in former years. The reports for the present year show that while the great staple, cotton, is not neglected, but will yield more than an average crop, the area devoted to cereals and vegetables has been largely increased. Wheat and oats are harvested, and the first installments of new wheat-flour are already (Aug. 3) in the market in advance of north-western competition.

In manufactures commendable progress is manifested. There are nearly 200 cotton factories in the South, competing successfully with those in the North. In fact, so far as returns of earnings have been obtained, the figures show conclusively that the mills in the South are making larger profits than those in the North. In New England the Chicope Mills, with a capital of \$430,000, made an average of 25.6 per cent. during the period from 1862 to 1871. The

Salem Mills, with a capital of \$2,000,000, made a profit of 22.5 per cent.; the Pacific, capital \$2,500,000, made 21.25 per cent.; the Naumkeag, capital \$1,500,000, made 19.62 per cent.; the Merrimac, capital \$2,500,000, made 15.5 per cent.; and the Middlesex, capital \$750,000, made 12.5 per cent. These profits, leaving out of the calculation the capital invested, show an average percentage of 17.98.

In the South the Macon, Georgia, cotton mills report their profits at an average of 35 per cent. per annum for the last two years. The annual profits of the Petersburg, Va., mills are reported at 25 per cent.; the Langley, S. C., mills, over 25 per cent.; the Augusta, Ga., mills, 20 per cent.; the Columbus, S. C., mills, (3,000 spindles and 900 looms,) 20 per cent., as shown by the furnished report of the President; and the Tallahassee, Florida, mills, 20 per cent. are the annual profits for the last, and in cases the full average per annum for the last two years. These six leading mills average 24 per cent. profit per annum, while the average profits of the six Northern mills for a period of ten years—1862 to 1871, were 17.98 per cent., showing the profits of Southern mills to be over 6 per cent. more than those in the North. It is not claimed, however, that these figures are absolutely correct in every case, nor can they be accepted as showing the exact average profits of all the cotton-mills North and South; yet, they are approximately correct, and show conclusively that the profits on cotton manufactures are significantly larger in the South than they are in the North.

In view of the fact that the North has the advantage of better educated labor than the South, it would naturally be supposed that the larger profits would be with the greater intelligence. But this advantage seems to be more than balanced by others favoring Southern manufacturers. In the South wages are comparatively low. Again, they have the cotton at their doors, while transportation to Lowell costs \$5 per bale; commissions, \$1.50; insurance, 50 cents; exchange, shipping and truckage, 65 cents; total, \$7.65. A bale of 450 pounds, at 15 cents, is \$67.50, on which expenses of transportation, etc., is 11 per cent. Add the loss by waste in shipping, transportation, reshipping, etc., which is always calculated at 15 per cent., and this increases the disadvantage of the Northern manufacturer, as against his Southern competitor, to 13.33 per cent.

This, with the diminished cost of labor in the cotton growing regions, secures to the South advantages that cannot fail to stimulate the manufacturing industries of that section. In fact, there appears to be nothing

to prevent the South from taking the lead in this important branch of our manufactures. Millions of dollars are annually invested and employed in the production of cotton fabrics and mixed goods, in their large and increasing varieties, and no section of the Union promises so large returns for these investments as the South.

But the renewed energies of the South are not confined in their application to cotton manufactures. Woolens and mixed wool and cotton fabrics for women's wear; boots and shoes, clothing and furniture are embraced in the programme of new industries, while mining and iron and coal products are receiving more attention than ever before, as are also the articles of lumber, naval stores, and oil cake from cotton-seed.

Such are some of the elements in the transition of these States, and the abandonment of slave for free labor. Others will follow, as a matter of course. What are the grand results of this? The factory attracts population, and affords employment to male and female hands. New villages spring up; villages grow into towns, and towns into cities. An extended market is afforded for agricultural products. Vegetables, fruits and other articles, that will not bear transportation to a distance, find ready markets at home, and are converted into cash at fair prices, or exchanged for cloths, women's wear, boots, shoes and clothing for family use. Thus the factory and the farm help each other; the industries of the neighborhood are enlarged and stimulated, and the material prosperity and wealth of the State are increased.

Better than all else, a lively competition between North and South will obliterate the last vestiges of sectional animosity and substitute a spirit of honorable rivalry in manufactures and general development. In fact it may safely be predicted that the day is not distant when the people North and South, will look back upon these transition years as the period which inaugurated the NEW NATIONAL LIFE, with the fundamental elements of discord removed; with the people on the broad basis of universal free popular education, and pledged to common effort for national development and material prosperity.

The nation occupies a more exalted to-day than ever before; and every removed forever, with the harmoniously united, with more cultivation and more factories than ever before, with a fair field and a vast inter-States commerce free trade, reaching from Ocean and commence its second century paces that may well command the and elicit the congratulations of

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...The death of Andrew Johnson, the progress of the Centennial Exposition, with the reported declination of several important foreign governments to participate, and the controversy now raging over the management of Indian affairs, are the only events of interest sufficient to be grouped under this head.

...In the comments on the life and character of the ex-President, with which the press is still teeming, a notable illustration is presented of the inadequacy of post-mortem eulogies.

Fortunately thinking persons do not expect to find in them any really critical review of a man's career. They are, therefore, not disappointed, even when they are so insufficient as in this instance. But the superficial readers and busy persons, who are glad or are compelled, perhaps, to take opinions at second-hand, will be misled by much of what has been uttered over Andrew Johnson. That as a private personage, he was honest in business matters, kindly in dealings with his fellows, sagacious in intellect, dogmatic and self-opinionated to a degree almost insufferable among any class, but those who were his inferiors, there can be no doubt; nor that in public affairs he was personally ambitious, a daring politician with an intensely combative individuality which often stood in the light of conscience and judgment both, and led him to positions that if he could have understood and used the forces opposing him with any practical tact, might have marked him in history as both heroic and dangerous; that his life was a romance—one of those careers which refute the theory that there is no place for exceptional character and personality in a Democracy—no one will deny. His career at the outbreak of the rebellion, is deserving of unqualified commendation. The speeches which he delivered in the Senate in the winter of 1860-61, were not merely words ably arrayed to set forth his purpose and argument. Coming as they did from a man of acknowledged pro-slavery views, they were like the marshalling of armed battalions—like an outbreak in

the enemy's line of battle. They gave courage to the faint-hearted and were a beacon light to those who were beset in the South itself. Mr. Johnson represented, as no other public man has ever done, the virtues and faults of the class from which he sprung—the poor and non-slaveholding whites. He was a man of "moods and tenses," and in the wonderful weeks of that dreary winter, and more startling months that followed, he was at the height of his most superlative mood. There can be no doubt, even though some of the earnestness he displayed was the result of his personal antagonism to a personal and class insolence that had often been levelled at himself, by men like Davis and Tombs, that his devotion to the integrity of the Union was unquestionable, and that he gave, at the period named, the highest service with all the vigor of a powerful character. Yet, those events do not give a complete idea of Mr. Johnson's public character during the memorable period in which he was so prominent an actor.

After all, however, returning to the value of the average post mortem criticisms of a public man, what light is shed by most of the sketches and articles that have been written during the past month, on the real character of Mr. Johnson? How much do they teach us of the conditions which created this man, or of the purposes which animated him, or the passions which dominated and surrounded his daily walk and acts, in the memorable eight years in which both were of marked importance to the American people and to general history? We believe him personally honest. What was it, however, in his character that surrounded him with corrupt and venial hangers-on? What was it, we add—if Mr. Johnson's patriotism was so broad and national in character; so free from personal bearing, as is claimed—that made it so sectional in results; so intensely personal in character—and so seemingly revolutionary in spirit and purpose? There have been periods of great political excitement in the brief history of this Republic. The fury of foreign war has been forgotten in tempest-

nous shocks of civil strife. Power has been rudely used, as in Jackson's day, and again abused as in the Presidencies of Pierce and Buchanan. The Nation gathered itself almost in bewilderment at its own wonderful vigor, when under Abraham Lincoln it marshalled to suppress sectional rebellion. But never did we appear, as a people, so near an intestine struggle, as during the incumbency of Andrew Johnson. Yet the critical historian, calmly analyzing the records, will see in after years that to him and his obstinate self-sufficiency, inordinate belief in his own views, and those of his section, rather than to patriotic respect for the whole country, was due the larger portion of the disturbing influences which so nearly plunged the Republic into another and more desolating civil strife, threatening even a division of States and not one by sections only. The time has not yet arrived for a clear and calm judgment of Andrew Johnson's career—its power, as well as limitations. He seems to us to have been a man of more daring purpose; of more directly ambitious intents in the carrying them forward, than the current judgment at this writing accords. The contest which animated his administration was one of deeper historical significance than that at which it is now estimated. It was a repetition, under new conditions, of the old, old struggle, between parliamentary or representative government, and that of government by the person or the executive. It was an impinging of the days of Charles the First and the English Parliament. At times it seemed as if Mr. Johnson would have liked to have masqueraded as the Southern Cromwell—to have brought the seventeenth century into the nineteenth, but he never comprehended the North, or the conservative, right-restraining forces, that evolve from free institutions. Of these he practically knew nothing. Here was his weakness and his strength also. He lived out positively the only life he knew, and was destroyed by it. We repeat, the time has not come to pass a final judgment on Andrew Johnson. Perhaps occasion may offer to draw the vail from some of the interior dangers which threatened. If so, it will be seen that this powerful politician was chiefly restrained

from a renewal of civil war, and baffled in his daring designs by the untiring vigilance of a few clear-sighted citizens who *knew* whither those designs led and took measures to thwart them. Their acts, unknown to this day by the general public, combined with the intelligent opinion of the loyal masses, stirring to active resistance a Congress somewhat weak and vacillating at the beginning, temporizing during the progress of the conflict, but growing in spirit and vigor as the people were heard and the dangers became more clearly apparent, were the means by which it was averted.

...The declination of Russia and Italy to participate as governments in the Universal Exposition at Philadelphia, by which we propose to celebrate our Centennial, is a disappointment to the management and the American people both. So far as Russia is concerned, it is her loss, not ours. Italy will probably present, through individual exertions, a fair exhibit. It is her poverty and not her will, that prevents the government, as such, from putting in an appearance. Without any disrespect to the Italian Sovereign it might be suggested that a reduction of a lavish civil list would doubtless afford the means for the exposition itself, as well as lighten the burdens of a heavily taxed people, whose annual expenditures are nearly \$300,000,000. For Russia, however, the difficulty is worthy of notice. The Czar cannot understand how this Government could commit such a diplomatic *faux pas* as that of inviting him—the ruler of eighty odd million people—to join in an enterprise conducted by plain American citizens. This involves quite plainly the whole difference between a coercive and a co-operative form of government. The Czar Alexander, commands; the American Congress assists. This is a distinction with a difference. It is, however, to be regretted that our ally and friend will not be with us at Philadelphia. Mr. John Jay, ex-minister resident to Austria, to whose desire to prove how much, or how little he knows about expositions universelle, we owe the bringing out of the fact that Russia would not accept our invitation, might, however, refrain from offering his advice gratis, which, as the elder Sheridan once said abo

a doctor's sign to the same effect, is "forty per cent above its value." Whether he was right or not in the early stages of the disgraceful imbroglio of 1873, his management of that and all other matters connected with American interests at the Vienna Exposition, was such as could only result in winning for him the hearty dislike of all his compatriots who had the misfortune to be there at the time.

...The Sioux Indian investigation is still in progress. We shall know, ere long, actual facts. The country will accept the report to be made by the able gentlemen, who compose the commission. Spotted Tail, the Brulé Chief, is again demonstrating his shrewdness as a diplomat. Learning by the eagerness of the whites to enter the Black Hills, something of the value they are likely to place on it, he is actively engaged in enhancing the claims of his people, in order to obtain a larger price. If the press dispatches are reliable—and that is a large "if"—he has given another proof of his own capacity at least, to cope with his white neighbors, by addressing a miner's meeting and notifying them and the country generally, of the Brulé way of establishing their side of a discussion and bargain.

...The contest in the Cherokee Nation, about which so many contradictory reports have been received, has probably ended in the re-election of the present chief, Wm. P. Ross, as well as the return of a large majority of his party friends to the Cherokee Senate. This result, almost wholly unexpected by those, who, at a distance, gained their information from telegraphic dispatches, must teach caution in making a definitive judgment on affairs in the Indian Territory. Ouncelletta, (Charles Thomson) the opposing candidate, is a full-blooded Cherokee, a Baptist minister of some natural ability and acquired knowledge. He was a private soldier in one of the U. S. Indian Volunteer regiments, raised during the civil war. Downing, whose name was used for a party cry, was the Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment. He

is a full-blood; who died some time ago. His son is a man of no force. The dividing the Cherokees are no longer

those of the Ross and Ridge factions—though the latter, who were mostly rebels, have since the war closed and they were permitted to return, joined the full-bloods, who, under the leadership of a well-known Baptist missionary, Rev. Mr. Jones, and his son, long domiciled among the Cherokees, have from 1866, led a party against the Ross family and their friends. The younger Jones desired to secure the chieftainship and failing that, Ouncelletta was put forward. Colonel Boudinot, who is so often named in these matters, is a man of fine talents, formerly regarded as the "hereditary" leader of the Ridge party—exiles for nearly thirty years from the Cherokee country. He was the Indian Delegate to the rebel Congress, having before that been Secretary of the Arkansas Secession Convention. He is now the advocate of the "Railroad" policy, as it is called by those who oppose it, of sectionalizing the Territory and abolishing the tribal life. The Grand Council of the Indian tribes and communities settled in the "Territory of Oklahoma," provided for by the treaty of 1866, holds an adjourned session during the present month. Their last meeting was in May, and the following tribes and bands, with the enumerated membership, were present by delegates:

(Tribal Census 1872.)

Cherokees,	18,000
Choctaws and Chickasaws,	22,000
Creeks,	12,295
Seminoles,	2,398
Senecas, Shawnees and Quapaws,	544
Ottawas (150) Peorias (160) and Wyandotts (222),	532
Pottawatomies,	1,600
Absentee Shawnee,	663
Sacs and Foxes,	463
Osages,	3,956
Wichitas and seven affiliated bands,	1,250
Modocs,	50
Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes, ..	6,786
Total, ..	70,537.

The discussion showed that the leading Indians are now united on the idea of a general territorial Government over all the tribes, with a Legislature of two houses, a Governor of their own selection, a judiciary organized after the model furnished by the States of the Union, and the right to send a Delegate who shall have a seat on the floor of Congress at

Washington, to look after their interests. The Constitution or form of Government, which has been drafted, is to be discussed at the session, which convenes on the first of September.

....The Republicans of Minnesota have placed an excellent ticket in the field. The nominations are :

Governor, John S. Pillsbury; *Lieutenant-Governor*, James B. Weakfield; *Secretary of State*, John S. Irgens; *State Auditor*, O. P. Whitcomb, present incumbent; *State Treasurer*, Wm. Pfaender; *Attorney General*, Geo. P. Wilson, present incumbent; *Clerk of the Supreme Court*, Samuel H. Nichols; *Railroad Commissioner*, Chas. A. Gilman.

No nomination was made for Chief Justice (vacant by reason of Senator McMillan's election) upon the reason given in the following resolution :

Resolved, That, believing it a duty to elevate the choice of Judges above whatever is debasing in party contests, this convention will make no formal nomination for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, but, in recognition of the unanimous voice of the legal profession of the State, as well as the general judgment of men of all classes, which has found expression in executive appointments, we commend for election to that office the present incumbent, Judge James Gilfillan, a man pre-eminently qualified for the high position.

The following is the platform adopted :

1. The Republicans of Minnesota reaffirm the cardinal principles of their party, which have become the established policy of both State and national governments: The unity and indissolubility of the nation, and the equal rights and just protection of all men before the law.

2. That on the prominent questions of the day we favor that policy of finance which shall steadily keep in view a return to specie payments.

3. A tariff strictly for revenue, yet so adjusted as to be least burdensome and most favorable to the interests of home industry and labor.

4. We demand that all railway and other corporations shall be held in fair and just subjection to the law-making power, constitutionally exercised.

5. That we cordially indorse the progressive and liberal policy of the Republican party, in its well defined and clearly announced purpose to foster the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests of the country by a judicious system of internal

improvements, having for their object the enlargement of facilities and reduction in cost of transportation for inter-State commerce.

6. That to the Republican party is justly due the honor and credit of securing, for the first time, recognition by foreign governments of full and complete rights of citizenship, in reversal of the monarchical doctrine that a subject cannot absolve himself from allegiance to his sovereign by naturalization under our laws.

7. Commends the State government and points to the reduction of taxes.

8. That the example of Washington in refusing to be a candidate for a third Presidential term, and the affirmance of President Grant of that principle, is one we sacredly cherish, and we should regard a departure from it a dangerous innovation.

9. That we approve of the present Republican National Administration, and especially the earnest efforts to collect the revenue, to prevent and punish fraud, to expose past violations, and to guard against their recurrence in the future.

10. That we indorse the policy of adjusting difficulties between this and foreign nations by arbitration instead of war, and, as friends of justice, peace, and humanity, we shall hail the day when this policy shall be adopted throughout the world.

11. A grateful people can never forget the services of her soldiers, and it is due to them that liberality and generosity should be exercised in matters of back-pay, bounties, and pensions.

12. That since the purity and permanency of free institutions of government depend upon the universal diffusion of knowledge and virtue among the people, the Republican party of Minnesota reaffirms its conviction that it is the duty of the State, not only to maintain the integrity of the common school system, but to do all that is needful so as to increase its efficiency so as to secure the blessings of wise and generous education to every child within its borders.

It seems to be conceded that the ticket will be elected by a considerable majority.

...The Republican State Convention of Oregon, assembled on the 11th ult. An "independent" convention met at Salem, the capitol, on the preceding day. The principal business was to make a nomination for Congress in place of George A. La Dow, deceased. There are three candidates: Republican, Henry Warner; Democrat, Lafayette Lane, (son of General Joe Lane;) Independent, G. M. Whitney. Mr. La Dow was elected by only 302 plurality. The Independent

so called, has decreased and the Temperance vote will be given for Mr. Warner. The vote last year was, Republican 9,340; Democrat 9,642; Independent 6,350. The prospects are favorable.

...The Maryland Democrats held a stormy State Convention, and nominated John Lee Carroll, as Governor; Levin Woolford, Comptroller, and C. J. M. Gwynn, Attorney General. These nominations are denounced by Maryland Democrats, outside of Baltimore, as being made by dictation of a corrupt ring, formed by an alliance with the Catholic prelacy and priesthood, and Democratic managers, who are making riches out of politics. Their platform reads in the main like good Republican doctrine. The first resolve quotes from Thomas Jefferson's statement of a party's true purposes:

"Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever State or persuasion, religious, or political; the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expenses, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and the sacred preservation of the public faith; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of

the bar of public reason, freedom; freedom of the press; freedom under the protection of laws and trial by jury impartially

being to oppose in these opinions, as we have long since enforced,ocracy departed from. They then t a high protective tariff, want-r revenue; against the multiplir-al offices and the abuses of its rich tend to dwarf the States pt free institutions: Demand are, manufactures and com-and capital, should be the equal all-regulated governments:—nst any increase of the circuy, and favors specie resump-earliest possible moment:—ad subsidies or other monopoth resolution treats of State

affairs, the public schools and the good order prevailing. The last commends the nominees and party.

.. The Mississippi Democracy have been compelled to yield, in appearance, at least, to the public denunciation of the "color line" barbarism. At their State Convention, August 5, they did so, protesting of the Republican party, "you're another," and shouting, "It's not me, but that other fellow, Uncle Sam, who did the naughty thing." To the clearest-minded man in Southern Democratic ranks, Colonel Lamar, is due the sagacity which avoids the appearance of this atrocity. Like their Maryland friends, they are content to steal the livery of Heaven wherein to serve the other place. Their platform abounds with "glittering generalities." They first christen themselves as the "Democratic and Conservative party," invoke God's blessing and invite the co-operation of all who favor an honest and economical administration; they declare that they recognize, and will maintain the civil and political equality of all men, as established by the Constitution and its amendments; favor the education of all children in public schools; the election of honest men to office; economy in public affairs; biennial legislative sessions; an impartial judiciary; discountenance special legislation; ask encouragement of agriculture by relief from burdensome taxation; encouragement of manufactures; a more elevated standard of official life; the rebuilding of the river levees by aid of the general Government;—these are followed by denunciations of the State Republican administration, and the following resolve, heralded as an anti-color line declaration:

"That we cordially invite the voters of all the people of both races, to unite vigorously with us in the approaching canvass in a determined effort to give success to the foregoing principles, and thus to secure to ourselves and our posterity, the blessings of an honest, economical government, administered by able, efficient and competent public officers."

W. L. Hemingway was nominated for State Treasurer. L. Q. C. Lamar, W. T. Martin and O. R. Singleton, all ex-Confederate soldiers, are in the field for Congress. These brave collections of words are an evidence to the Republican voters and others

loyal to the National idea, to be careful of the men and their antecedents, for whom they vote.

OTHER CONVENTIONS.

The "convention of colored editors," held at Cincinnati, O., on the 5th ult., was assembled under the advice of Governor Pinchback, Louisiana, Frederick Douglass, Sr., Prof. Langston and others. Its attendance was considerable and its deliberations important.

The delegates and newspapers represented were: G. C. Jackson, *American Citizen*, Lexington, Ky.; E. D. Shaw, *Planet*, Tennessee; L. H. Douglass, *Elevator*, San Francisco, Cal.; P. B. S. Pinchback and S. T. Ruby, of Louisiana; G. Sella Martin, *Republican*, Concordia, La.; J. H. Burch, *Grand Era*, Baton Rouge, La.; Wm. M. Gibbs, *Pacific Appeal*; P. H. Clark, *Spectator*, Galveston; David Young, *Concordia Eagle*, Louisiana; B. W. Arnett and H. W. Turner, *Christian Recorder*, Philadelphia, Pa.; W. H. Parham, *National Monitor*, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Chas. Bell, *Colored Citizen*; T. M. Chester, *Progressive American*, New York; and W. G. Brown, Terre Bonne, La. Peter H. Clark, of Cincinnati, was selected as President. It had been proposed to change the conference into a convention, but under the advice of a letter, signed by Frederick Douglass, J. A. Emerson, and J. G. Barbadoes, and after earnest debate, it was resolved to call a national convention, to be held at Nashville, on the first Wednesday in April, 1876. Three delegates from each State, and one additional for every twenty-five thousand colored population and fractional part thereof, and one from each Territory, excepting the District of Columbia, which shall have four, are to be elected. A Press Association was formed, as also a Centennial Committee charged with the preparation of a volume, which shall give the origin of the negro, ancient history of the race, its introduction to the New World, and the negroes position for the century past, in battle, marine, school house, pulpit, platform, professions, press, business and labor, in literature and politics, and sketches of the negro martyrs.

EDUCATION.

...The annual meeting of the National

Educational Association was held at Minneapolis, Minnesota. Papers were read by or from D.C. Gilman, President John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; J. B. Angell, President University of Michigan; John Eaton, Jr., National Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.; Duane Doty, Superintendent Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan; A. P. Marble, Superintendent Public Schools, Worcester, Mass.; Leon Trousdale, State Superintendent Public Instruction, Nashville, Tenn.; W. F. Phelps, President State Normal School, Winona, Minn.; Dr. J. W. Hoyt, Madison, Wis.; Miss Grace C. Bibb, City Normal School, at St. Louis, Mo.; William W. Folwell, President State University, Minneapolis, Minn.; Lewis Felmeri, Professor of Pedagogics at the University of Klausenberg, Austria; H. A. M. Henderson, Superintendent Public Instruction, Frankfort, Ky.; J. B. Merwin, editor *American Journal of Education*, St. Louis, Mo.; Henry Kiddle, Superintendent Public Schools, New York City. The subjects of agriculture and polytechnic instruction, country schools, health in the school-room, school record-books, course of study in high schools and colleges, German pedagogy, education in the Southern States, Centennial Anniversary, caste in education, State school laws, art in education, co-ordination of schools with the State, etc., were among the principal topics discussed. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President—W. T. Phelps, of Minnesota. Secretary—W. D. Hinkle, of Ohio. Treasurer—A. P. Marble, of Massachusetts.

COTTON—STATE RAILROAD CONTROL—REVENUE AND FINANCE.

...The Cotton Exchange Convention met at Greenbriar, White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. since the last review. The President was John Phelps, of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange. Delegates were present from Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Baltimore, Boston, Memphis, Selma, Montgomery, Charlotte, St. Louis, Nashville, Augusta, Athens, Ga., Galveston and Louisville, and the Convention numbered about one hundred persons. The discussions related to the simplification of cotton exchange, forwarding, packing and transportation, though the Southern members had an eye to

politics as usual, by inviting "Bob" Toombs to participate in their proceedings.

...A notable meeting, or Convention, was held July 20, at Springfield, Illinois. Railroad commissioners were present from four or five States. The object was to compare the laws of the several States on railroad supervision and discuss the different policies pursued.

...A national meeting of greenback theorists, under the designation of "Industrial Convention," was called for the 18th of August, by a committee, appointed, their call stated, for this purpose, at the annual session of the Industrial Convention of Virginia and North Carolina, held at Petersburg, Va., in November, 1874. The call proposed to inquire why "the national wealth is rapidly increasing, and the producers of that wealth are growing poorer." They, therefore, ask for the election of delegates without regard to existing parties.

...The colored citizens of Virginia met by delegates in Convention at Richmond, on the 19th of August, to consider their condition in that State.

...What is known as the "National Greenback Convention"—no connection with the Indianapolis affair—met at Detroit on the 25th ult.

CONVENTIONS CALLED.

...Wednesday, September 1.—Reunion of all former Union and Confederate Soldiers in Caldwell, Ohio, to continue three days.

Wednesday, September 8.—Pennsylvania Democratic State Convention at Erie.

Wednesday, September 8.—Wisconsin Democratic State Convention, at Milwaukee.

Wednesday, September 8.—Maryland Republican State Convention, at Westminster.

Wednesday, September 15.—Nebraska Republican State Convention, at Kearney, to nominate three candidates for justices of the supreme court, and six candidates for regents of the University of Nebraska, to be voted for at the general election to be held in accordance with the provisions of the proposed new Constitution, on the second Monday of October next.

Wednesday, September 15.—State Labor Reform Convention of Massachusetts. The

practical nullification of the ten hour law is the chief point of appeal.

October 25.—Convention to discuss the internal revenue reform, and in favor of specie resumption. The movement originated with a number of gentlemen connected with the tobacco interest, who met in Richmond, Virginia, last May.

...At a recent meeting of business men held in New York, the following twenty-five delegates were appointed to attend the Cincinnati Convention, and a series of hard-money resolutions were adopted:

Messrs. F. K. Thurber, Lloyd Aspinwall, S. D. Babcock, A. L. Earle, George W. Clarke, Fred A. Conkling, George W. Sistar, Parker Hardy, D. H. Landon, C. M. Fry, Algernon S. Sullivan, A. A. Low, Wm. H. Wiley, G. A. Merwin, Thos W. Evans, Percy Pyne, John F. Henry, Wm. R. Kirkland, Charles A. Dana, Franklin Eason Myer, H. Myer, Clarkson N. Potter, John F. Agnew, C. Delamater, and J. W. Seligman.

This is a very strong business delegation, and the following, with other resolutions, was adopted:

"That we inflexibly set our faces against all schemes for currency inflation, or any form of paper currency, 'greenbacks,' or otherwise, so long as that currency shall consist of irredeemable promises to pay money; and we will not approve any policy which has not a direct purpose to establish the currency on a par with and actually interconvertible with coin."

KENTUCKY POLITICS.—In 1871, the Democrats carried the City of Louisville, Ky., by 4,663 majority. This year they carried it by only 2,783 majority. The vote was the largest ever cast in the city, at a State election. The result indicates a Republican growth. If the Republican party continues to put good men in nomination, the time is not far distant when the citizens of Kentucky will recognize in it the only political party that can add to their wealth, and develop the wonderful resources of the State.

WHEN the Republican party went out of power in Texas, some three years ago, it turned over to Democracy 2,067 public schools, with 5,625 teachers and 127,672 pupils. What has been the result? To-day, there is but 562 public schools in the State, with a corresponding reduction in the number of teachers and pupils. Yet the Democratic party pretends to believe in popular education.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS: By Franklin B. Hough. In two volumes, octavo. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1872.

These bulky and handsomely printed volumes are indispensable to the library of every editor, student, politician, and professional man. In fact, it would seem that any private library, at all formed for use in the study of public affairs, is incomplete without them. They contain correct copies of the State Constitutions in existence at the time of publication. The changes that have been made since 1872, in New York, Nebraska, Arkansas, Michigan, and Missouri, or are pending in Alabama and Texas, can readily be ascertained and compared. The Constitution of the United States, with an historical sketch of the preceding Confederacy and the facts relating to its formation, are given with clearness and precision. In an appendix of historical value, the Confederate Constitution is given, and the new Constitution of West Virginia (1872) is added. Each State Constitution is prefaced by a brief but inclusive historical sketch, relative to the early history of the State and the steps by which the Constitution was framed and admission or adhesion to the Union obtained and secured. An admirable map showing in a lucid manner the acquisitions of territory, the differing boundaries of the United States and the several States at various periods, accompany the work, and finely lithographed fac-similes of the seals of the Union and the several States are given. One of the most valuable portions of the work is a classified analysis of the Constitutions, according to subjects, thus "showing by comparative arrangement, every Constitutional provision" in force at the date of publication. A table of reference to judicial decisions is added. The editing of this valuable work is admirably done. As it can readily be kept level with the changes that are made from time to time, it must continue to remain a standard work. The price of the work, \$7.50 per vol., is very reasonable, taking in view the great labor and cost necessarily expended. Dr. Hough would confer a great favor on the public by the preparation of a companion volume, giving all the

former and now defunct Constitutions, from the organization of the several States and Colonies, with the ante-Revolutionary charters of the latter, arranged in such a way as to enable the student and editor to easily compare the operative instruments with them, and thus note the changes made in the organic laws, and the directions which such changes indicate. Such a volume would be a worthy accession to our Centennial literature.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND NATIONAL ECONOMY: By Robt. Ellis Thompson, M. A., Professor of social science in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1875.

This compendious and compact text book, as it modestly claims to be, is something more than that. Its review of the different schools of "Political Economy," known as "cosmopolitical" and "national" schools, and its broad and vigorous support of the latter, places Prof. Thompson in the foremost ranks of those who follow Carey and the American and German views. There is one feature and that the fundamental arrangement of the work, which will commend it to the general reader, as well as prove attractive to specialists in the same studies. The preface explains this better than any other words can: "The form of the book is entirely different from the ordinary arrangement under the three rubrics, 'production, distribution, consumption.'" The method pursued of itself excludes "that artificial and symmetrical distribution of its parts," which—the author believes—sacrifices life and reality to the system. The Professor believes that he has shown that social science is not "up in the clouds," but "one that touches on human life and the world's history at all points." The result is not a rehash of that "dismal science" which Carlyle derides and Ruskin scorns, but a vigorous and animated treatise full of interest and the warmth of human effort.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By J. A. Green, M. A., Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford. With Maps and Tables. New York: Harper & Brother, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1875.

This admirable volume is a marked tribute to the growing influence of the Democratic

spirit and philosophy, which recognizes in the movement of the masses—the great underlying elements of social life and historical growth—rather than in the exceptional lives of single and exceptional men—the true law of historical statement and progress. It is in another form the application of Taine's critical law, whereby the great French critic constructs from the æsthetic works—the poetry, painting, sculpture, literature—of any age or nation, the life of the epoch and people out of which they came. In truth this is the application of the Democratic idea to regions from which heretofore it has been largely excluded. Mr. Green admirably states it, when he declares his work "is a history, not of English kings or conquest, but of the English people." He has passed lightly over martial deeds, not caring to make "a drum and trumpet history" of foreign wars and adventures, court, political, and diplomatic intrigues, "to dwell, at length, on the incident of that constitutional, intellectual and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself." Admirably has this aim been attained, and the work is one that should be in every library.

OUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR.—A winter in Mexico. By Gilbert Haven. With illustrations and maps. Harper and Brothers, 1875.

This admirably printed and illustrated book is a great disappointment. Practically, our "Next Door Neighbor" are the people of whom we know the least, unless it be those American communities to which Mexico lies next door, and we are a little further removed. Bishop Haven's book will not enlighten us, except as to a certain objective life—the out-of-doors on which the traveler looks; the passing glimpses of every-day occurrences that attend his peregrination, and the general incidents sure to come within the range of a wide-eyed man—like the Bishop, we were about to say. That must be qualified, for no one not a bigot can rise from a perusal of this book and not note how the professional tone has narrowed, limited and dwarfed the writer. It is a surprising thing that a man of such talents and experiences as Gilbert Haven, could not get anything more than what almost might be termed "cant" if we did not know him to be so sin-

cere a man—within the lids of such a volume as this.

MAN AND BEAST. Here and hereafter. By Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A. Harpers, 1875.

This is a delightful book, full of charming anecdotes, attractively illustrating the authors theories that animals have reason, intelligence, and probably souls. It is a comforting theory to render, as it dignifies human nature, and teaches a more kindly spirit to our so-called dumb associates, friends and servants.

MACREADY'S REMINISCENCES and selection from his Diary and Letters. Edited by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., one of his Executors. Harpers, 1875.

Books relating to the theater and actors are always attractive to the general reader. Especially is this so when they relate to the lives of those who charm and hold on the "mimic stage." This is probably due somewhat to the fact that they seem to live in an atmosphere apart from our own. This volume is one of the most interesting of its class, but whether it will add to the general estimate of Macready's character is another question.

NEW PUBLICATION.

Received from the Secretary, *The Bulletin of the Iron and Steel Association*, and the valuable Annual Report for 1874. Also the August No. of the *American Exchange and Review*, a magazine devoted to Finance, Insurance, Transportation and other business interests.

It is a good sign to see the ultra Democratic sheets of the South venting their wrath upon old Confederate leaders, like Forrest and Pillow. It gives us to understand that some representative Southern men are using their influence to advance liberal ideas. When Democracy begins to abuse a man, North or South, we have some hope of that man's future. This is the gentle compliment paid to General Forrest, by the *Vindicator*, of Nachitoches, Louisiana, for addressing a colored meeting on the Fourth of July as "ladies and gentlemen:"

"Is there not some 'swash bucket' about all that Forrest said above—some lingering, hunting desire for a small piece of the chicken pie? Forrest was a blackguard as a soldier, and as a politician he is worse than a boot lick."

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1875.

It becomes the painful duty of the President to announce to the people of the United States the death of Andrew Johnson, the last survivor of his honored predecessors, which occurred in Carter county, East Tennessee, at an early hour this morning.

The solemnity of the occasion which called him to the Presidency, with the varied nature and length of his public services, will cause him to be long remembered and occasion mourning for the death of a distinguished public servant.

As a mark of respect for the memory of the deceased, it is ordered that the Executive Mansion and several Departments of the Government at Washington be draped in mourning until the close of the day designated for his funeral, and that all public business be suspended on that day.

It is further ordered that the War and Navy Departments cause suitable honors to be paid on the occasion to the memory of the illustrious dead.

U. S. GRANT.

By the President:

JOHN L. CADWALLADER,

Acting Secretary of State.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

INTERNATIONAL COUNTERFEITING SCHEME.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1875.

His Honor the Mayor of the City of New York:

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that a note has recently been received from the British Minister at this capital, accompanied by a copy of a communication addressed by the Governor of the Bank of France to the Governor of the Bank of England, in which it is stated that there is an association of counterfeiters, with headquarters at Barcelona, who have already placed a quantity of counterfeit twenty-franc notes in circulation, and likewise counterfeit gold pieces of the value of twenty and twenty-five francs each (Napoleons, Jabelinas, and sovereigns.) The association, it is said, are now preparing to issue, on a gigantic scale, Bank of England notes, and 1,000 franc notes on the Bank of France, which notes, to the amount of 12,000,000, are to be taken to New York, where a single banker is to see to their emission. The notes of the Bank of France are to be put in circulation at London and Frankfort, through the medium of bankers.

The person who made the disclosure says he has seen these notes, and that the paper

of the counterfeits is identical with that made by the Bank of England. These facts are communicated to you with the request that you will give the matter such consideration as you may deem proper.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

HAMILTON FISH.

THE VIRGINIUS INDEMNITY.

The amount of the indemnity from Spain, growing out of the capture of the *Virginus*, has been received by this Government, and is ready for distribution. Claimants to any share therein should address the Department of State.

PASSPORTS FOR TRAVELERS.

American travelers complain of frequent annoyance from officers of foreign governments in consequence of their not being furnished with passports. American citizens about to proceed abroad would, therefore, do well to provide themselves with these safeguards, which, if not procured at the Department of State here, can be obtained at any of the United States legations in foreign countries.

MINISTER BADEAU.

The President has signed the commission of Adam Badeau, to be minister resident at Brussels.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

INTERNAL REVENUE DISTRICTS.

The President has issued an order consolidating the First and Second Internal Revenue districts of Pennsylvania, and William B. Elliot has been retained as collector. The consolidated district will be known as the First District.

GOLD SALES FOR AUGUST.

The Assistant Treasurer at New York has been directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to sell gold during the month of August as follows, viz: One and a half million on the first and third Thursdays each, and one million on the second and fourth Thursdays each. The total amount to be sold is five million dollars.

COINAGE.

The following is the full report of the operations of the different mints throughout the country for the fiscal year, completed June 30, 1875, in the office of the director of the mints. The first table covers the coinage of the mint of Philadelphia:

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